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THE MATERIAL CULTURE OF THE CAPE NGUNI

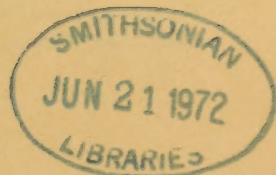
Part I Settlement

By

E. M. SHAW & N. J. VAN WARMELO

Cape Town

Kaapstad



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(With 17 plates, 13 text-figures and 1 map)

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I

INTRODUCTION

The objects of this work were to give a picture of the material culture of the people of the Cape Nguni group, and its change during the last two centuries; secondly to provide a reference book for material objects made and used by these people, as far as possible from the earliest recorded times to the present day; finally to try to give some clues to the various cultural streams that have combined in the Cape Nguni. It does not pretend to be a technological handbook. Each of the subjects with which the various sections deal could be, and in some cases more than others (for example clothing) needs to be, the object of intensive research, while here is only the outline. Since 1946, when the study was begun, change has been faster than ever and much that was then in use is now obsolete.

The original starting point was the terminology of the Xhosa language, which is spoken throughout the group, because it constitutes a complete inventory of the material culture, in a classification made not by outsiders but by the people themselves, and which contains, moreover, many clues to origins and affinities.

The sources for the study have been the extremely extensive literature, specimens from museums in South Africa and elsewhere and the people themselves.

While both authors have been to a certain extent concerned in all sections, the responsibility for utilization of the sources and for the discussion rests with Miss Shaw, and for the Xhosa terms and the plates, with Dr. van Warmelo who took most of the photographs.

ABBREVIATIONS

acc. to	according to
Afr.	Afrikaans
Alb	Albany Museum
AM	Africana Museum
Bh	Bhaca
Bk	Dr. W. T. H. Beukes, at one time ethnologist Transvaal Museum
BM	British Museum
Bo	Bomvana
CK	Ciskei
CT	University of Cape Town ethnological collection
D	Kropf-Godfrey Xhosa Dictionary
DC	Duggan-Cronin—see sources 1939
Du.	Dutch
EG	Griqualand East
EL	East London Museum
Em.	eMbo
Fgo	Fingo
FH	Fort Hare
GA	according to Miss Graham (missionary), Albany Museum
GEL	according to gardener, East London Museum, probably Xhosa
Hlu	Hlubi
HW	Hamilton-Welsh (Mrs. E. Hamilton-Welsh, collector, grew up and lived in the Transkei)

Licht	Lichtenstein—see sources 1803
McL D	McLaren's Xhosa Dictionary
Mak	Makalima—see sources 1945
Mp	Mpondo
Mpm	Mpondomise
Mz	G. Mzamane, lecturer at University College of Fort Hare
nD	not in Kropf-Godfrey Xhosa Dictionary
perh.	perhaps
SAM	South African Museum
SAL	South African Library
So	Sotho
SS	South Sotho
T	Thembu
TK	Transkei
TM	Transvaal Museum (collection now housed in National Cultural History and Open-air Museum)
UCT	University of Cape Town ethnological collection
Ve	Venda
vol.	volume
X	Xhosa
Xes	Xesibe
Zu	Zulu

BIBLIOGRAPHY AND SOURCES

The sources are listed chronologically. An alphabetical list of authors and artists will be published at the end of Part 3. The dates used in the chronological list are preferably those of the author's or artist's sojourn in that part of the country, or, if the work was published while the author was still in the country, the period between arrival and publication. If the author dated his narrative as it went along, that date is used. For short current reports the current date is given. In the case of later reports or compilations, or if the author is an editor, the date of the period described or of the source used, if either is known, is given. Where no actual dates are known the date of publication is used, and given in brackets. If the dates cover a period of more than two years, the middle date of the period has been used for the chronology, though the full dates are given.

The references for each subject are quoted at the beginning of each section to avoid the necessity of bracketed references in the text or numbered footnotes, except in the introduction.

In quoting references on any subject, the earliest is quoted in full, and thereafter only such as give additional information, or the same information at a much later date. In this way it is hoped not only to relate descriptions of objects to their proper date, but also to quote the original descriptions, since in very many cases later authors have taken over, verbatim, whole passages from previous publications with or without acknowledgment. It should also be noted that the tribal name put against each quoted reference has not always been given by the author, particularly in the early years, when *Kafir*, an Arabic word meaning 'infidel', was used, particularly for the Xhosa, but also for all the Cape Nguni and even more loosely to include other tribal people as far as

Delagoa Bay. An attempt has been made to sort these out by the geographical position of the writer at the time.

The sources listed here represent the bulk of the literature relating to the material life of the Cape Nguni, but there are several that it was not possible to obtain for consultation, though the titles were known, and there are likely to be others.

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THE CAPE NGUNI: HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

The Bantu-speaking people who have been known since the sixteenth century to have inhabited the eastern part of what became the Cape Province of the Republic of South Africa, are known to anthropologists as the Cape or Southern Nguni. The term indicates their relationship to other groups of the south-eastern Bantu—the Zulu-speaking Nguni, with their offshoots in Mozambique, Rhodesia and Malawi, the Swazi and the Transvaal Ndebele. With the exception of that between the Nguni of Natal and their offshoots, most of whom have broken away within historic times, the relationship between the various sections of the Nguni, and also between the various tribes in each section, is not entirely understood.

Of the Nguni in the Cape and just across the border in Natal, the largest, oldest established and most important existing tribes are Thembu, Mpondo, Mpondomise, Xhosa and Bomvana. To them were added, during the first half of the nineteenth century, fugitives from the reign of terror instituted by Shaka in Natal—the Fingo (from *infengu*=a destitute homeless wanderer) who represent the remnants of a number of tribes¹ and who came via the Drakensberg foothills right through to the west of the area; the Hlubi, most of whom remained in the north, along the foothills of the Drakensberg; the Xesibe, who are said to be close relatives of the Mpondo and Mpondomise and who settled to the north-east of the latter; and the Bhaca, who settled still further north-east, but some of whom still live on the Natal side of the border and who are said to have no affinities with any of the other Transkeian tribes.²

Many of the records, well into the nineteenth century, refer to another people, known variously as Embo, Amanbambo, Abambo, Mambookie. According to Soga³ they comprised the Mpondo, Mpondomise, Bomvana and Xesibe. According to Ayliff & Whiteside⁴ they were the ancestors of the Fingo.

Very little is known of the pre- and proto-history of the area between the Drakensberg and the sea and west of the Umtamvuna River, but before the sixteenth century, as far as is known, it was occupied by the Bushmen in the interior, and the Hottentots in a fairly narrow strip towards the coast. Some historians consider that the Hottentots advanced as far east as the Buffalo (Wilson),⁵ the Kei (Schapera)⁶ or the Umtamvuna (Theal).⁷ The Hottentots are

¹ Ayliff, J. 1835. Account of the Fingoes including a list of tribes composing them. . . . *Methodist Missionary Notices* 8: 193–194, 210.

Hammond-Tooke, W. D. 1969. Present state of Cape Nguni ethnographic studies. *Ethnol. Publs S. Afr.* 52: 84.

² Hammond-Tooke, W. D. 1955. The Tribes of the Mt. Frere District. *Ethnol. Publs Un. S. Afr.* 33: 33.

³ Soga, J. H. 1927. Aba-Mbo Genealogical Tables, *Bantu Stud.* 3: 49.

⁴ Ayliff, J. & Whiteside, J. 1912. *History of the Abambo*. Butterworth: Gazette Office.

⁵ Wilson, M. 1969. The Hunters and Herders. In Wilson, M. & Thompson, L. eds. *The Oxford History of South Africa* 1: 57. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

⁶ Schapera, I. 1930. *The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa*: 43. London: Routledge.

⁷ Theal, G. M. 1910. *History and Ethnography of South Africa before 1795*. 1: 34. London: Sonnenschein.

believed to have come from the west or north-west and pushed the Bushmen back inland or isolated them in groups, as they went. Into this situation, and a sparsely populated country, the Bantu-speaking tribes began to move. There is some evidence (Wilson)⁸ that in places they lived side by side with Bush and Hottentot groups, but in the end, by their greater numerical strength, they must have, in their turn, pushed back, isolated, destroyed or to a considerable extent, absorbed those who were there before them.

It is difficult to reconstruct the arrival and subsequent movements of the several tribes, and in view of the number of accounts that have recently been published, no more than an outline will be attempted here.

The starting point was, according to tradition, the headwaters of the Umzimvubu River, where the main Cape Nguni tribes, except the Thembu, had been living for some generations before the seventeenth century,⁹ when Mpondo, Mpondomise and Xhosa are thought to have started moving south and west. But people who were evidently Bantu were encountered by survivors of Portuguese wrecks east of the Umzimvubu River in 1552¹⁰ and west of it and as far south as the 'Infante' (?Keiskama) river in 1554.¹¹ These could have been Thembu, who according to Bryant¹² lived on the Natal coast and moved into the Cape along the sea. The graves of Thembu chiefs are recorded in more or less the present Thembuland as far back as shortly after 1600,¹³ which gives strength to the suggestion that the Thembu were the first Nguni arrivals west of the Umzimvubu.

According to tradition, the Mpondo, Mpondomise and Xhosa started moving south to the coast only from about the middle of the seventeenth century. The Mpondo settled on the eastern side of the Umzimvubu and the Mpondomise to the east of them. The Xhosa settled on the west of the river, where they were joined later by the Bomvana.¹⁴ With the splitting off of sections of the tribe under independent sons of chiefs (a characteristic of the Nguni social system),¹⁵ and some pressure from the rear, all these tribes except the Bomvana gradually moved westward.

It was not until 1686 that the actual tribal names were mentioned in written records of this area. In that year the *Stavenisse* was wrecked just south of the Umtamvuna and some survivors who set out to walk to the Cape recorded the names, in order, of the tribes through which they passed. Despite the variety of spelling in each account, these are easily recognizable as Mbo, Mpondomise, Mpondo, Thembu and Xhosa. Between the Thembu and Xhosa they recorded

⁸ Wilson, M. 1959. The Early History of the Transkei and Ciskei. *African Stud.* 18: 176-177 (167-179).

⁹ Soga, J. H. 1930. *The South Eastern Bantu*: 91, 92, 469. Johannesburg: Wits. Univ. Press.

¹⁰ Anonymous, 1552. Wreck of S. Joao. In Theal, G. M. 1898. *Records of South Eastern Africa* 1: 135. Cape Colony: Govt. Printer.

¹¹ Perestrello, M. de M. 1554. Wreck of the S. Bento. In Theal, G. M. 1898. *Ibid.*, 218.

¹² Bryant, A. T. 1929. *Olden Times in Zululand and Natal*: 8, 242. London: Longmans.

¹³ Soga, J. H. 1930. *Ibid.*, 468-470.

¹⁴ Soga, J. H. 1927. *Ibid.*, 52-53.

¹⁵ Hammond-Tooke, W. D. 1969. *Ibid.*, 84.



the Makrigga, which Soga¹⁶ identifies as Hottentots and Theal¹⁷ as Bushmen, but which seem more likely to have been the Ngqika, a branch of the Xhosa. This agrees with Soga's record of the traditions, except that the Mbo are included as a separate people, and that the Xhosa are placed west of the Thembu. The men of the *Stavenisse* stayed with the Xhosa for many months and were rescued by the small ships *Centaurus* and *Noord*, who found them between the Kei and the Buffalo rivers.¹⁸ By the end of the seventeenth century the vanguard of the Xhosa had reached the Fish River. Fifty years later the forward clans had crossed it, settled sparsely as far west as the Gamtoos River or beyond,¹⁹ were living in intercourse, friendly or quarrelsome, with the Hottentots, and were the first of the Cape Nguni to meet the white colonists who were spreading eastward from the Cape, and with whom they soon had their first conflict.²⁰ In 1803 a group of about a hundred fled from internal quarrels and settled in the Koup on the Karoo.²¹

Meanwhile the Hottentots east of the Fish River had more or less disappeared or been absorbed, as had the Gonaqua west of the Fish, who became the Xhosa tribe amaGqunukhwebe. The Fingo emigrants from Natal came in during the first half of the nineteenth century.²²

The Thembu, through this and other pressure from the east, moved somewhat further west, and the main branch settled early in the nineteenth century at the headwaters of the Kei, near Shiloh.²³

The above over-simplified account of the arrival and settlement of the Cape Nguni into the territory they now occupy does not include details of the many tribal and intertribal wars nor of the century of war, threatened war, or uneasy peace with the colonists on their western border from the time of the declaration of the Fish River as the boundary in 1778 to the annexation by the Cape Colony of the last of the Transkeian territories, Pondoland, in 1895. Nor does it include details of the events which led up to the declaration of the Transkeian Territories as the first Bantu Homeland in 1963.

¹⁶ Soga, J. H. 1930. *Ibid.*, 110.

¹⁷ Theal, G. M. 1897. *The History of South Africa*. 2nd ed. 1: 298, 306. London: Sonnenschein.

¹⁸ Dagregister van de *Centaurus*. *Scheeps en andre journalen 1644-1688*. Cape Archives C. 660.

Theal, G. M. 1897. *Ibid.*, 291-296.

¹⁹ Thunberg, C. P. 1793. *Travels in Europe, Africa and Asia* . . . 1: 203. London: Richardson Egerton.

²⁰ Theal, G. M. 1910. *History and Ethnography of Africa south of the Zambesi* 3: 128. London: Swan Sonnenschein.

²¹ Van Reenen, D. G. (1803) 1936. *Die Joernaal van Dirk Gysbert van Reenen, 1803* 18: 245. Cape Town: V.R.S.

²² Stanford, W. 1958. *The reminiscences of Sir Walter Stanford*. [Ed. J. W. Macquarrie] 1: 9. Cape Town: V.R.S. 39. 'The Tembus called them all Imfecane . . . one afternoon without any premonitory signs the pathways over the hills between Glen Grey and the country towards Qoqodala and the Lukanji . . . were crowded with men, women and children with their stock and carrying their household effects in full flight into the valley of the White Kei. First came the men and big boys from each village or kraal driving stock, the men fully armed with assegais and shields. Then followed the women and the children.'

²³ Anon. 1839. *Periodical accounts . . . of . . . the . . . United Brethren* 15: 168.

In considering the contribution that a study of material culture might make towards understanding the relationship of the Cape Nguni tribes to each other and to other groups it must be remembered that since their migration into their present area, they have lived in increasingly greater proximity to each other than to other Bantu groups. Records of those who were shipwrecked mention 'deserts' between groups, but these have diminished with the increase of population. Each group would, moreover, have been subject to many of the same influences, from the land itself, the previous inhabitants and the later arrivals. So that fundamental differences which may have existed formerly in the material culture of the individual tribes are unlikely to be found now, though numerous differences in local style and fashion are found.

The country itself must have modified their technology to accord with available materials. Did the Xhosa, for example, never know how to smelt metal from the ore, or did they lose the art from lack of ore to smelt?

The people they met first were Bushmen and Hottentots, from the latter of whom, in all probability, they acquired the clicks in the language.²⁴ T. B. Soga thinks that the use of red ochre on the person and clothing was learnt from the Bushmen.²⁵ It seems likely that it was only the Thembu and to a greater extent the Xhosa who came in contact with the Hottentots. For the Xhosa it was a contact lasting probably about two hundred years, and there seems no doubt that there was a borrowing of cultural elements. For example the swallow-tail apron and elaborate cap worn formerly by Xhosa women seems to have been a Hottentot style, as does the wearing of an apron by men.

A group of the Bafokeng tribe of the South Sotho moved into the area from Natal early in the seventeenth century,²⁶ and eventually north into Lesotho.²⁷ A potentially more far-reaching Bantu influence was the immigration of the broken Natal tribes in the early nineteenth century, who came in via the north and settled there and in the extreme west. Again it was the Thembu and Xhosa who were most in contact, but who influenced the Fingo as much as they were influenced by them.

As far as can be judged, the most far-reaching effect on the material culture was, however, from contact with Europeans. At first European wares in very small quantities—beads and metal for example—were brought from the north-east over old trade routes of which little is known. Then over a period of nearly two centuries, Europeans themselves and Asiatics were stranded on the coast by shipwreck. These persons, though a number married and settled among them, cannot have given them much of material things, except ornaments and the metal they already knew how to use. After the Dutch settlement at the Cape it did not take very long for certain objects from that source to reach the Cape Nguni via the Hottentots. The survivors of the *Stavenisse* in 1686 reported an

²⁴ Van Warmelo, N. J. 1936. Grouping and Ethnic History. In Schapera, I. *Bantu-speaking Tribes*: 45.

²⁵ Soga, T. B. 1937. *InTlalo ka Xosa*: 236. Lovedale Press.

²⁶ Ellenberger, D. F. & MacGregor, J. C. 1912. *History of the Basuto*: 19. London: Caxton.

²⁷ Walton, J. 1956. *African Village*: 27. Pretoria: Van Schaik.

annual meeting between Xhosa and Hottentots for the purpose of exchanging tobacco and dagga (hemp) by the Xhosa for beads and copper by the Hottentots.²⁸ The real influx of European wares from the Colony in the west began, however, about the middle of the eighteenth century. At first the wares came slowly and sporadically, then the tempo increased and by the middle of the nineteenth century traders were known throughout the area.

It is interesting to consider the different ways in which European wares were introduced once direct contact had been established. In the first place haphazard; cattle were acquired from the border colonists by theft or trade that was illegal, in sufficient numbers to influence the native strain; beads, trinkets, or sets of fine clothing were given as presents or rewards for service by travellers or government missions; guns were acquired from gun-runners, and fallen soldiers. In the second place there was legitimate, and later on organized trade, in which ivory, horn, hides and a little garden produce were exchanged for beads, cloth, tobacco and a few garments; eventually trading stations were established where European or local Nguni wares could be bought for cash or produce. Thirdly, there was definite training on the part of missionaries and government agencies, both generally and at the industrial schools that were established. Among the most notable introductions by missionaries were European-style clothing for converts, the rondavel and later the square hut, the iron hoe and the plough. Finally there has been the impact of a money economy, which has probably been the most far-reaching influence of all.

²⁸ (Stavenisse, 1686) 1922. *Stranding van . . . de Stavenisse*. In Godée Molsbergen, E. C. *Reizen in Zuid-Afrika in de Hollandse Tijd*. 3: 61. 's Gravenhage: Nijhoff.

HOMESTEAD: SOURCES

- 1686 (Stavenisse) p. 63 Xhosa: removal
 't Huijs daar hij in . . . gestorven is, word ter neder gesmeeten, . . . Vorders breeken sij met alle man, pak en sak op, na een ander plaats dewijl se deese ongelukkig en onreijn achten.'
- 1776 Swellengrebel p. 13 Xhosa: fences and gardens
 'Naast de kraal zagen wy 2 stukjes grond, rontom met doorn afgezet; in de eene stonden tabakplanten, en in 't andere kalbassen en pampoenen.'
- 1776 Hallema pp. 133, 134 Xhosa: size
 p. 133 'In deze kraal stonden 14 à 15 hunner huisjes, . . .'
 p. 134 'Tot deze kraal behoorden ruim honderd Kaffers . . .'
- 1776 Schumacher Pl. 18 Xhosa: homestead
 General view.
- 1778 Van Plettenberg p. 48 Xhosa: removal
 Nothing more.
- 1777-9 Paterson p. 90 Xhosa: size and situation
 'This village consisted of about fifty houses, situate on the banks of a pleasant river called in the Caffre language Mugu Ranie; and it belongs to their chief. It contained about three hundred inhabitants, all of whom were servants or soldiers to their chief, who was likewise the proprietor of the numerous herds of cattle.'
- 1782 Hubberly p. 114 Gqunukhwebe: guest hut
 ' . . . he conducted me to a hut with a fire in the middle of it. He then made me understand I was to remain here all night.'
- 1788 Von Winkelman pp. 75, 76 Xhosa: general description
 p. 75 'Diese frohe und grössentheils gutmüthige Nation wohnt in niedern—runden—von Schilf und Stroh aufgebauten Hütten nach Art der Hottentotten. Sie suchen zur Anlegung [*sic*] ihrer Dörfer, wie ich schon erwähnte, meist Gras- und Wasserreiche Thäler oder Hügel auf, wo sie dann ihre Hütten allezeit an einen kleinen runden Busch und längs den beiden Seiten des Bachs oder Flusses bei einander bauen. Jeder hat dann seinen eigenen Vieh-Kraal bei siener Hütte, wo er sein aus der Heerde ausgetriebnes Vieh in denselben am Abend treibt. So ist auch die Anzahl ihrer Häuser in den Dörfern oder Kraalen sehr verschieden; es gibt dergleichen, welche aus 6-8 auch welche die aus 100-150 und mehr Hütten bestehen.'
- p. 76 Xhosa: removal
 'Abgeweidete und dürre Gegenden verlassen sie, und ziehen in fruchtbarere Thäler; und finden sie da ehemals verlassene Hütten, so nehmen sie Besitz davon oder bauen sich neue. In diesen Hütten empfangen sie den Fremdling mit Freundlichkeit, der sich denn bei ihrer Verlassung jeder zeit verbindlich

fühlt, ein kleines Geschenk an Korallen, Tobak oder Eisen, für das gastfreie Darbieten ihrer Milch, zurück zu lassen.'

1797 Barrow pp. 145, 152

p. 145

Xhosa: cattle post

'On arriving at his place of residence, we found that the king, not having expected us until the following day, had gone to his grazing village situated about 10 or 12 miles to the northward, in consequence of some intelligence he had received. . . .'

p. 152

Xhosa: homestead

Nothing more.

1800 Van der Kemp p. 437

Xhosa: fence and gardens

'Every kraal has its common garden and many families private gardens; they are fenced nearly in the same manner as the beast kraal, but they use more wood to them; every year they make a new fence, and the old one serves for burning.'

1803 Howen Three paintings

Xhosa: homestead

General views.

1803 Paravicini di Capelli p. 132

Xhosa: homestead

' . . . stellen verscheidene families hunne woningen circiels gewyze by den andern dat dan eene Kraal is genaamd, van welke de rykste en magtigste de Kapitein word. . . .'

1802-6 Alberti pp. 111-12, 144, 188-9, 203

pp. 111-12

Xhosa: fenced gardens

'Een stuk Land, welks vlakke inhoud somtijds 20 tot 25 Quadraat-roeden bedraagt, wordt in eene onregelmatige gedaante, naar gelang het door in den weg staande boomen, bosch of rotsbank, beperkt is, met vereenigde doornen-struiken omtuind, en deze is de éénige arbeid, dien de Mannen omtrent den landbouw verrigten.'

p. 144

Xhosa: sites, cattle post

'Behalve dit alles, heeft men nog eenige Omtuiningen, waarin een gedeelte van het vee gedreven wordt, wanneer de woonplaats zelve geen voedsel genoeg levert, of wanneer men zich, bij aanhoudende droogte, van genoegzaam water en weiden beroofd vindt.'

pp. 188-9

Xhosa: hut for shields

'Ieder weerbaar Man is verplicht, zich zelf een Schild aan te schaffen; doch tevens hetzelfde aan het Opperhoofd der Horde af te leveren, die dezelve allen in eene daartoe afzonderlijk bestemde hut, tot op het tijdstip van noodig gebruik, doet bewaren.'

p. 203

Xhosa: abandonment

'Wanneer een volwassen Persoon, bij een onvoorzien toeval, in zijne hut sterft, is de gansche woonstede verontreinigd, en wordt alzoo onverwijld

verlaten, zonder dat men zelfs gebruik maakt van de veldvruchten, ofschoon tot volle rijpheid gekomen. Het doode Lijk blijft onaangeroerd in de hut liggen. Kinders, van 5 tot 6 jaren oud, worden bij den naderende dood buiten de woonstreek gevoerd. Slechts jongere Kinders sterven in de hut. Deze wordt alsdan gesloten en verlaten, zonder dat de onreinheid zich tot het overige gedeelte der woonplaats uitstrekt.'

1804-5 Daniell pl. 4 Xhosa: homestead

1809 Collins pp. 10, 21 Xhosa: homestead, size
p. 21 'Wy zagen verscheidene kralen, bestaande uit twee tot vyftien hutten, waaruit het volk op onze aannadering kwam loopen. . . .'

1821-4 Thompson II pp. 359-60 Xhosa: fences
Nothing more.

1824-5 Smith
p. 77 general: building, fencing
'All the laborious and unpleasant duties . . . devolve upon the poor unfortunate females. . . . She is the object fixed upon for building the hut and conveying the material for its construction as well as preparing them. She is required to cook the victuals dig the ground sow the corn fence the garden. . . .'

p. 96 general: abandonment
Nothing more

1815-37 Shaw p. 59 Xhosa: fences
Nothing more

1820-31 Steedman II p. 268 Mpondo: homesteads
(quoting Boyce) ' . . . from one hill near the Great Place Mr. Shepstone counted a hundred kraals, each of which contained from twenty to forty houses. . . .'

1827 Dundas Xhosa: size, situation, fences, cattle post
'Proceeding [from Wesleyville] toward the Kei . . . the people are collected in Kraals of from five to twenty-five huts, which are generally placed on Banks declining towards some river or streamlet near which in the bottom is their cultivated land, which they enclose with great care, in it one sees millet or Kaffir corn in great abundance . . . Indian corn, pumpkins and beans. . . . From the common millet a kind of beer is made. . . . From this ridge we descended, after visiting the great cattle place of Gaika on the Namaka River, a branch of the Buffalo . . . visited Tslambie's kraal . . . and . . . proceeded on our journey. . . .'

1827 Hallbeck & Fritsch p. 305 Thembu: homestead
'A Tambookkie [*sic*] like a Caffre kraal, contains one family, a father with his wives, children, and servants. They live by the breeding of cattle. The cattle kraal is a round place, surrounded with thorn bushes. About it are placed the people's huts in the shape of bee-hives. . . .'

At Bowana's place, I observed, that each of his seven wives had her separate hut, which she builds herself. There was another kind of dwelling in which some of the men lived, being either servants or guests.'

1825-9 Kay pp. 15, 16, 106, 118-19, 131, 143, 154 Xhosa: homestead

p. 106

Xhosa: fencing

'... the Coral tree. The natives frequently use its branches for fencing; and being easily propagated and of rapid growth, the naked and hewed pole soon takes root, and forms a living hedge; which, when full grown and in blossom, might seem to vie in beauty with the richest flowers of the field.'

p. 131

Xhosa: fencing and gardens

'The erection of fences around their cultivated grounds constitutes another part of the men's occupation in the planting season; but to this they seldom attend until the blades have made their appearance; and they are generally so slight and loosely put together as scarcely to deserve the name of hedges. Sometimes, indeed, posts or branches of trees are planted, which easily and quickly take root. When this happens (for it is more the consequence of accident than intention, that they lay hands upon this kind of material), it saves them much trouble, as the other parts of the hedge are of course considerably strengthened by them. They never think of making their enclosures of durable materials, although this might in many places be done with quite as little trouble. This inconsiderateness, productive of manifold disadvantages, owes its origin doubtless to the unsettled mode of life induced by their pastoral habits, and its universal prevalence to the custom of their forefathers from time immemorial. No sooner has the harvest ended than the garden is again thrown open, and becomes a part of the common as before, the fence being converted into fuel. . . .'

p. 143

Xhosa: fencing

'The rubbish is then gathered together in heaps and burnt; and the men called upon to perform their part, which, as I have already stated, is to erect the *utango* or hedge, in which also the poor women are oft-times compelled to assist.'

p. 154

Xhosa: courtyard

Nothing more.

1828 Steedman II p. 265

Mpondo: homesteads

Nothing more.

(1829) Rose p. 183

Xhosa: size

Nothing more.

1831-2 Smith p. 142

Xhosa: abandonment of homestead

'... When the thunder shakes a kraal they move from it, burn their karosses and then make a new kraal after having wandered about with their cattle in the fields for one month. Before leaving the kraal they kill an ox and burn the flesh, then bury the ashes and make a kraal round it. This practice has

been abandoned since the time of Lynx who said that it was not good to leave their abodes on account of the thunder. They during the month that they wander in the fields are only covered with dresses of rushes, but after the expiration of the time of their atonement they kill cattle and make new karosses.'

(1832) Anon. p. 142

Xhosa: women's work

'... the most laborious part of their occupations being performed by the women; they build the houses, till the ground, cut the wood, do all the drudgery in the formation of a kraal. ...'

1833 Morgan pp. 10, 33, 34

Xhosa: composition of homestead, site, fences

p. 10 'Kraal is the name given to their villages by the Europeans; these in general are formed by the members of one family, and by others united to that family in bonds of friendship or servitude, for there exists in Cafferland a state of vassalage. This kraal is under the controul of a person who is generally the senior of the whole, and always the father of many who form this society; to him belong the greatest part of the flocks, which are pastured near it; to him they look for assistance and advice,— a sort of patriarchal authority exists in him. ...'

p. 33

Xhosa: arrangement of homestead

'The kraals or villages of the Caffres are situated on rising grounds near the sources of the various streams, or at the heads of the different ravines, where water is to be found. They consist of several huts of an hemispherical form placed in a semicircular position, to enable them to have a view of their cattle-fold which is formed of bushes and is in the middle of the villages.'

1834 Bonatz p. 308

Thembu: moving homestead

'Even in their best state, the kraals afford a miserable shelter, and the cattle suffer much from the violent rains and high winds. On this account the Tambookies are accustomed, when the winter sets in, to retire with their cattle into the narrow mountain glens, where they meet with better protection from the inclemency of the weather.'

1834 Palmer p. 597

Bhaca: homestead

'... we reached Ncapai's people; everything around us had the appearance of war, and the manner in which the houses are placed round the cattle-fold, showed very clearly, that they were a people not accustomed to sit in peace.'

1834-5 Godlonton p. 227

Xhosa: fences

Nothing more.

1835 Alexander I pp. 392, 393

Xhosa: situation, fences

Nothing more.

1820-56 Shaw 343, 410-11, pl. p. 400

Xhosa: homestead

p. 410

Xhosa: description, courtyard

'The dwellings of the Kaffirs consist of huts, a collection of from five to thirty of which constitute what the Colonists call a kraal, but which the natives

denominate *umzi*. The cattle-fold is a circular enclosure made from the trunks and branches of trees, so placed and sometimes intertwined as to make a strong fence, alike for the shelter of the cattle during the cold winds of winter, and to prevent them from breaking out at night during summer, and roaming into their cultivated lands, where they would do much mischief. The enclosure is also designed as an impediment to robbers and cattle-lifters. The kraals are usually formed on ridges, but so as to be sheltered by still higher lands; and they are invariably so placed as to have an eastern aspect. There may have been originally some special reason for this, but the only one assigned to me was that by this means the cattle obtain the first rays of the rising sun after the night is finished, and that when so placed the cows give more milk at the morning milking-time. The huts are erected on the higher part of the slope, at a convenient distance say from thirty to fifty yards, from the cattle-fold, the gate or entrance to which is placed on the upper or higher side of the circular enclosure. The residence of the principal wife of the headman or master of the kraal is always that which is on the highest ground, and nearly opposite to the entrance of the cattle-fold. The space between her hut and the gateway is called the *isikunthla*, and is used for various purposes. Sometimes when the fold is wet and disagreeable for the cattle and their owners, by reason of heavy rains, the cattle stand on it, and the cows are milked there. It is also the area for assemblages of all kinds, and more especially for dancing parties; while on the kraals of the principal Chiefs this is the usual place where the legal courts are held, and whereon Kaffir law, if not always justice, is dispensed to the various suitors in the open air by the Chief, assisted by his *Amapakati* or Councillors. The huts of the entire *umzi* are placed at regular intervals around the kraal, more or less distant from each other, according to the number of families who reside on the place, and the consequent number of huts required. Every married woman constructs her own hut, and is sole mistress of it. If a man has several wives, each wife has her own dwelling; and there are on every kraal other huts in which the unmarried men and women find separate lodgings. On most kraals there is a hut for strangers or travellers. This is usually placed in the least desirable spot on the kraal, and is almost invariably the worst-constructed hut on the place, and is, withal, generally found to be in a dilapidated condition, because it is not under the care of any woman in particular, but of all the females of the kraal in general. The badly lodged traveller finds that the rule holds good here as elsewhere, 'What is everybody's business is nobody's business'. Indeed, the Kaffirs possibly think there is no wisdom in making strangers or visitors very comfortable, as it might induce them to prolong their stay, while the usages of hospitality oblige them to supply all such persons with food during their sojourn.'

1837 Döhne

p. 63

Xhosa: size of homestead

'Ihre Kraale bestehen meist nur aus 8 bis 12 Hütten.'

p. 64

Xhosa: removal

Nothing more.

1838 Dugmore p. 56

Xhosa: cattle post

[Umhala fixed an *Itanga* (grazing establishment) close to the mission station.]

1836-44 Döhne pp. 15, 22

Xhosa: law court, removal

p. 15 'Merkwürdig sind dergleichen Versammlungen durch die grosse Mässigung, Bedachtsamkeit und Stille, die dabei beobachtet werden. Der Versammlungsort ist der Viehkraal, und hier kommen zunächst die Amapakati zusammen, während der Inkosi zu Hause bleibt. Die etwaigen Kläger dagegen versammeln sich bei dem ungefähr zehn Schritte entfernten Kälberkraal, wo sie, selbst bei Regen und stürmischem Wetter, ruhig sitzen bleiben, dort bringen sie ihre Klage vor. . . .'

p. 22 'Wenn ein Mann oder eine Frau stirbt, so ist die Familie dieses Platzes unrein; die erwachsenen Personen beiderlei Geschlechts müssen drei Tage lang im Busche bleiben, alsdann sich im Flusse waschen, mit dem Fett von einem frisch geschlachteten Thiere sich einschmieren und allesammt das Haar abschneiden. Letzteres thun dann auch weitläufigere Verwandte. . . . Auch wird, wenn der Verstorbene der Herr des Platzes gewesen, dieser Platz gewöhnlich verlassen und ein neuer angelegt.'

(1840) Schultheiss p. 40

Xhosa: abandonment

'Es hatte in dieser Woche auf einem benachbarten Kraale eingeschlagen, ein Haus war durch den Blitz in Brand gerathen und ein Ochse getödtet worden. Die Bewohner des Kraals riefen nun eine alte Zauberin herbei, ein Ochse wurde nach Kaffergesetz geschlachtet und als Opfer verbrannt, um den Himmel zu versöhnen und den Platz vor fernerer Gefahr zu sichern. Der Kraal selbst aber ist ein wenig weiter weggezogen, da die Leute dem alten Platz nun doch nicht mehr trauen.'

(1841) Read pp. 166-7

Thembu: removal

'Wir hörten . . . dass ein alter Mann und sein Weib von ihren Freunden hinaus auf den hohen Rand eines Abgrundes getragen und dort liegen gelassen seien, damit sie vor Hunger und Kälte sterben möchten. . . . Pala (Bruder des Häuptlings) . . . sagte: . . . da giebt es ein Gesetz, dass solche Leute nicht sterben sollen in einem ihrer Häuser oder nahe am Kraal, sonst muss die ganze Nachbarschaft aufbrechen und fortziehen.'

(1843) Schultheiss p. 173

Xhosa: homestead

'Jeder Mann, der eine Menge Vieh (50, 100, 200 Stuck u.s.w.) hat, macht seinen Kraal und Wohnplatz für sich, am liebsten an einem Orte, wo Niemand wohnt, denn die Furcht bei ihnen ist sehr gross, dass ihr liebes Vieh möchte mager werden, und wenn sie mit Jemand anders die Weide theilen müssen, so ist der Neid unaussprechlich. Zugleich bestimmt sie dazu ihr unbändiger Trieb nach Freiheit und Unabhängigkeit. Sie wollen unter

1859 Warner pp. 5, 19

Thembu: homestead

p. 5

Thembu: great hut

'The "ibotwe" or house of the great wife, is erected on the upper side of the cattle fold, and as nearly as may be, opposite the gate thereof; and the houses of the other wives are arranged in a semi-circle right and left of it, according to their rank. Then come the houses of the Retainers, and which are carried round the under side of the cattle fold, and join up to the houses of the wives on the other side; thus forming a circle of huts round the cattle fold.

The "ibotwe" being the principal residence of the "umninimzi" or master of the kraal, is the place of general rendezvous. . . .'

p. 19

Thembu: chief's homestead

'No one is allowed to reside permanently on a Chief's place, but such as properly belong to his own personal establishment. Hence a Chief's Kraal does not much exceed in the number of its huts etc. that of an ordinary kraal belonging to a respectable private Kaffir—the only distinguishable difference being the number of men who daily resort thither. . . .'

(1862) Anon. p. 84

'Kaffir': abandonment

'The hut in which a man dies is abandoned. On the death of a chief the kraal is deserted, and the spot and all its belongings tabooed.'

1863-6 Fritsch p. 78

Xhosa: plan of homestead

'Die Dörfer der Xosa sind meist ganz regellos angeordnet, ohne bestimmten Plan, wie gerade die Bodengestaltung es wünschenswerth erscheinen liess. Die Viehhürden, im colonialen Dialekte Kraale genannt, von dem portugiesischen "coral", bilden nicht immer den Mittelpunkt des Ganzen, wie bei andern Stämmen als Regel anzunehmen ist; sie haben eine unregelmässig kreisförmige Gestalt und die Hütten gruppieren sich darum, ohne nach Aussen von einem zweiten Dornenzaun eingeschlossen zu sein. Die Kraale sind von starken Dornen und Pfählen unter Benutzung von Streifen roher Thierhäute oder Bastseile dicht zusammengefügt, um das Ausbrechen des Viehes wie das Eindringen von Raubthieren zu verhindern und stellen in den Augen der Kaffern als Bewahrungsort ihres ganzen Reichthums eine Art Heiligthum dar. In Gegenden, wo Baumwuchs fehlt, pflegt man die Einfriedigung von Steinen oder Rasenstücken aufzubauen. Als ein wie integrierender Bestandtheil die Viehhürde für die ganze Niederlassung betrachtet wird, geht schon daraus hervor, dass man den dafür erfundenen Namen "Kraal" allgemein ohne Weiteres für einen Wohnplatz der Eingeborenen braucht.'

1845-89 Kropf pp. 97, 98

Xhosa: description and situation

Nothing more.

1871 Meyer p. 516

Hlubi: site of homestead

'The people here have a way of building places so different from Kaffirland, and the Colony, that strangers often do not see the kraals, which are for the

most part situated upon cliffs of the mountains in high and hidden localities, where there is more safety, and time for preparation against the approach of the enemy.'

- (1874) Körner fig. 105 fp. 176 Xhosa: arrangement of huts
 1877-8 Norbury pp. 5, 6-7 Xhosa: arrangement, situation
 Nothing more.
- (1886) Roskell picture fp. 52 Fingo: homestead
 1893 Buchner pp. 140-1 Ciskei: description
 Nothing more.
- 1901 Scully pp. 43, 45 Hlubi: plan of homestead
 p. 43
 Nothing more.
- p. 45 Hlubi: use of courtyard
 'The gate of the cattle enclosure is the place where all important discussions take place, and, in the case of the kraal of a chief, the place where cases are tried and judgment delivered. The magistrate's court is called his "inkundla", or "the gate of his kraal".'
- (1907) Sim pp. 6, 7, 8, 9 Eastern Cape: timber and deforestation
 General discussion.
- (1911) Schachtzabel p. 15 Xhosa: homestead
 Nothing more.
- (1915) Kropf-Godfrey p. 41 Xhosa: sanctuary
 'ibhotwe the great hut; it is held sacred as a place of refuge for culprits.'
- 1925 Cingo p. 74 seq. Mpondo: plan of homestead
 'Umzi womnumzana ubonakala ngezindlu ezininzi zawo (ingqili) zakiwe zaluluhlu olumi njengenyanaga xa iliceba, zonke zijonge ubuhlanti benkomo —eyona nto yayikangelwe njenge banki yomzi.'
 ['The kraal of a man of rank in society (*umnumzana*) was conspicuous by the multitude of huts (*ingqili*) built in the shape of a half-moon, all facing the cattle-fold—which was regarded as the bank of the kraal.']
- (1926) Müller p. 19 Hlubi: description of homestead
 'Die Hlubi wohnen nicht in geschlossenen Dörfern, sondern in einzelnen, über den ganzen Distrikt verstreuten Plätzen. Ein einfacher Kafferplatz besteht aus einem Wohnhaus und einem Vorratshaus, sowie einem mit Mauer umgebenen Viehkraal. Gekocht wird entweder im Wohnhaus oder im Freien vor demselben. Zu dem Zweck errichtet die Frau zwei kleine Mäuerchen die sich in der Mitte kreuzen. So entstehen vier Ecken, in die sie mit ihrem Kochtopf je nach der Richtung, aus der der Wind weht, flüchten kann.
 Reichere Kaffern errichten auch mehr Häuser, und besonders, wenn die Familie sich vergrößert, muss zugebaut werden. Ebenso bauen Kaffern,

die noch in der Vielehe zu leben wünschen, für jede ihrer Frauen Wohn- und Vorratshaus, entweder am eigenen Platz oder mehr oder weniger weit davon entfernt.'

(1926) Vogel p. 358

general: homestead

'Der eigentliche Kaffernkral [*sic*] besteht wenigstens aus zwei Rundhütten, einer grösseren, die als Wohnung und einer kleineren, die als Vorratsraum und zur Aufbewahrung von Werkzeugen, mitunter auch als Schlafraum für die Kinder dient; dazu kommt dann noch der runde, mit einer Dornhecke eingefriedigte Platz, der Viehkral [*sic*]. Doch nur die wohlhabenderen Kaffern können sich einen Kral mit mehreren Hütten leisten; die ärmeren begnügen sich mit einer einzigen Hütte und einem kleinen offenen Verschlag für die Hühner oder das Schwein.

Es ist merkwürdig, welche Vorliebe die Kaffern in unserem Missionsgebiete für Berge und Hügel als Wohnplätze haben. . . .

Der Hausbau ist Sache der Männer und ihrer erwachsenen Söhne, nur das Gras für das Dach müssen die Frauen und Mädchen herbeischaffen, oft aus grosser Entfernung.'

(1927) Poto Ndamase p. 114 seq.

Mpondo: description

Nothing more

(1929) Kawa pp. 79-80

Fingo: fence

'Bekuye kubeko utango lwamatye olujikeleze wonke lomzi, olwenzelwe ukukusela umzi lowo ezintshabeni. Beluvalwa ke olutango ngendlela enqabileyo, neqinileyo; ukuze utshaba luxakwe kukungena.'

['There used to be a stone fence round the whole kraal to protect it against enemies. This fence was built strong and impenetrable so as to make it impossible for the enemy to enter.']

(1931) Cook pp. 12-15, 17

Bomvana: description of homestead

pp. 12-13

Bomvana: more than one homestead

'Further a man may have several kraals. At one kraal he may have the huts of his Great House and at another the huts of his right-hand House. . . .'

p. 17

Bomvana: hut for young men

'This [*isigqebe sombuso*] is a hut built at the end of the left-hand side row of huts for the young men who have come to the chief's kraal to serve him in the hope of being rewarded with cattle.'

(1932) Soga pp. 122-3

Xhosa: cattle posts

'By means of the *um-qolo* (free gift of cattle), by fines imposed on law breakers and other sources of income the chief was well provided with cattle which represent coin of the realm. His banks or feed kraals were so placed within his territory as to obviate the possibility of over-crowding.' [There follows a list of four owned by Kreli.]

pp. 236, 408

Xhosa: courtyard, homestead

Nothing more.

1932a Hunter p. 681

Mpondo: size of homestead

'The change in the content of the family group, the *umzi*, is very apparent. Within the memory of living men in Pondoland, it was usual for twenty or more married men, related in the male line, to live together in one *umzi*. Now, even in the country districts, it is rare for more than one married son to live with his father. . . .'

1932b Hunter pp. 15, 16, 17

Mpondo: arrangement, size of homestead

Nothing more.

p. 17

Mpondo: naming

'Each hut and each *umzi* has its own name, given by the owner. When a man builds his own *umzi* he sometimes calls it by the name of his great wife's hut, but he may choose another name. One *umzi* I used to visit was called by neighbours "the place of tricks" because the owner was a wily old man. No one but himself used the more reputable name he had given his home.

p. 65

Mpondo: cattle posts

'In some coastal districts stock are sent to cattle-posts inland during the summer months, and inland districts send their cattle to the coast, or to posts in the river valleys, during the cold winter months. The cattle-post of 'mBotyi was only five miles away, and from there milk was sent back every day. To the more distant posts only oxen and dry cows are sent.'

p. 419

Mpondo: sanctuary

'Within the country of a man's own chief, the great hut of the chief and the grave of a deceased chief were sanctuaries. A man, having committed murder or accused of witchcraft, could flee to the chief's great hut, and having attained it could not be touched, "even though it was the chief himself who was chasing him". . . . A person having taken sanctuary paid the chief a goat, "because something unclean had gone into his hut".'

1937 Soga pp. 120, 130, 151

p. 120

Xhosa: building homestead

'Be kungumsebenzi ukwakha izindlu namaphempe, izibaya nentango zenkomo nezegusha, kude kuye kwezezicuba. Kula misebenzi ke thina kuya ncedwana bhukuqu ngezandla. Kuncedwana xa kufulelwayo, kuxhonywe uphahla lwendlu, xa kubiywayo, kuhlakulwayo amalima de kube sekuchebeni, ekusikeni inqholowa nokuba yihabile ukuba asiyoncha njalo-njalo.'

[' . . . Other trades included the building of huts and temporary small huts (*iphempe*), sheep folds (*isibaya*) and cattle and sheep hedges (*uthango*) including tobacco gardens. In these works the people worked in full co-operation. They helped one another in thatching and putting on the roof of a hut, in fencing, weeding in teams including shearing, cutting wheat or oats if not thatching grass, and so on.']

p. 130

Xhosa: abandonment of kraal

'Ngokuhlwa ma zitshiswe nqu izindlu nobuhlanti buchithwe kwakhiwe bumbi "intondo" ngegama ze buthiwe ngqu ngala maxhanti madala, koko ke bona busenkundleni ngoku xa lona inchwaba lendoda lingasezantsi ngaphandle ekupheleni kwamahlaha.'

['In the evening the huts must be burnt to the ground; the cattle kraal destroyed and another built, called *intondo*; the old gateposts of the kraal removed. As a result, the old kraal is now on the *inkundla* if the grave of the man is down below, outside, where the fence-bushes end.']

p. 151

Xhosa: cattle-posts

'Kwizizwe ezi-Ntsundu be kuba ko imizi yasemathanga okuphungulela khona impahla yasekhaya ingaxinani ndaweni-nye, kusenzelwa amaxesha ezifo nokusulelana, amaxesha embalela nenqini kwa nench' etyiwa zimpahla ukuba ingafani, kujongwe ekubeni impahla yonwabe, yande, ityebe. Amathanga sel' ephelile ngenxa yamaxesha ka-Rulumente wasem-Lungwini. . . .'

['Among the Native peoples there were cattle-posts where the stock could be sent to relieve the congestion at home. This was done during epidemics, when there was danger of infection, during times of drought and *inqini* (cattle disease following drought) and for the sake of rotational grazing, the object being to improve the condition and reproduction of the stock. Cattle posts no longer exist, owing to the European Government. . . .']

(1939) Duggan-Cronin pp. 25, 28

Xhosa: courtyard, storage

p. 25 Nothing more.

p. 28 ' . . . the storage hut was held to be very private and was called *wimba* (the stingy one). . . . '

1945 Makalima MS. Chap. 3

para. 35, 36, 41

Fingo, Thembu, Mpondomise: gardens, abandonment and arrangement of homestead

para. 35

: gardens

'*Izitiya*: Igadana ezincinci zikho emzini. Zenziwa phambi komzi kufuphi. Zisebenza ukulima imithi yeziqamo, namatpile, nama kapetshu, neminqate njalo ke.'

['Gardens: There are small gardens in a kraal. They are made in front of it and not far away. They are used for planting fruit trees, potatoes, cabbages, carrots, etc.']

para. 36, 41

Nothing more.

1949 Duggan-Cronin p. 10

Mpondo, Mpondomise: size of homestead

Nothing more.

1949-55 Hammond-Tooke pp. 51, 54

Bhaca: homesteads

p. 51 'In each location the households (*imiti*) are concentrated in certain localities (*izigodzi*), usually on the slopes of a hillside, in a river valley or on

the top of an escarpment. *Izigodzi* are usually occupied by members of the same clan or lineage. . . .'

P. 54

Nothing more.

1949-62 Hammond-Tooke pp. 33, 36, 147-9 Bhaca: settlement, decoration of huts, distribution of land, homesteads

P. 33

'Everywhere one comes across clusters of brown-thatched huts, each facing north-east away from the prevailing south winds that drive the mists and rain in from the sea. On each hut is painted a design in whitewash, about two feet wide and encircling the walls just below the eaves. It is said that these markings were first used by the Christians to distinguish them from their pagan neighbours, but today practically every hut is so painted.'

'These huts are not spread uniformly over the country but tend to be concentrated in definite areas, forming little communities, usually on the slopes of a mountain or hill to ensure good drainage. Each concentration consists of a number of hut groups, consisting of four or five dwellings built in a row and facing a cattle byre and perhaps a garden fenced with brushwood or aloes. This group of huts, or *umti* (Xhosa, *umzi*), is the basic unit of settlement among the Bhaca and is occupied typically by a man, his wife or wives and their children.'

p. 36 'Within the polygamous household each wife has her own hut and, usually, also a store hut. Huts are seldom built in the traditional semicircle, a straight row being preferred, and kraals today average four to five huts. A newly founded family needs basically four huts—a sleeping-hut, kitchen, store and guest-hut.'

P. 149

Bhaca: cattle-post

'This pattern of grazing within the area of the cluster is modified by the institution of the cattle-post (*ithanga*). People who own large numbers of cattle often have cattle-posts in other locations, some situated as far as eleven miles away.'

(1956) Walton pp. 150-2, fig. 55

Cape Nguni: homestead

p. 152 'The . . . kraal . . . of the Cape Nguni is normally only a few huts arranged in a semicircle with the cattle kraal at the centre. The kraal of the Vundle chief, Maama Vova, which is based on the Thembu pattern, has a semicircle of huts belonging to the great wife. Those of the first and second wives and of married sons remaining in their father's kraal form a second semicircle to the left of that of the "great wife", the Cape Nguni regarding right and left from the point of view of a person looking out of the "great hut". The cattle kraal, with its adjoining calf kraal, has its entrance facing the "great hut" and the *khotla*, which consists of a semicircular hedge sheltering the stone seats of the chief and his councillors, is some little distance away.'

1956-7 Hammond-Tooke pp. 53, 78

P. 53

Xhosa Ciskei: homestead

'The people live in scattered homesteads (*imizi*), each occupied by a single family, occasionally polygamous in which case each wife has her own hut and storehut. Due to economic pressure, as well as Christian teaching, very few men are today polygamists and the usual extension of the family is the inclusion of a widowed mother or unmarried brother or sister. Young men tend to set up their own kraal after marriage and no longer remain at their father's homestead as formerly. The average *umzi* is small, containing perhaps two or three huts built in a row facing the cattle kraal (*ubuhlanti*). There is, occasionally, also a calf kraal (*isibaya*). Unlike the position in the Transkei, where most kraals have a garden near the cattle kraal in which early maize and pumpkins are planted for early harvesting, a large number of homesteads have neither garden nor cattle kraal, indicating a maldistribution in the ownership of stock and land.'

p. 78

Xhosa Ciskei: *inkundla*

'On occasions the whole tribe is called together at the great place. Because of distances and the difficulties of transport this is not a common occurrence but all important decisions affecting the tribe must be sanctioned by this body, called the *inkundla* (lit. space between the huts and cattle kraal).'

HOMESTEAD: TERMS

The Xhosa terms relevant to each section are listed at the head of that section, in more or less logical sequence, proceeding from the general to the particular. Completeness was aimed at, with the inclusion of terms culled from all sources and in some instances not confirmed by any of the informants we consulted.

The capitalization of stems used in dictionaries has not been employed here as it does not help unless one is familiar with the structure and sound laws of Xhosa.

A term may, according to its many and varied meanings, be listed under as many headings, and therefore bear as many numbers, which are shown at the end of each entry.

It is important always to have the basic first meaning before one at all times, followed by the other extended meanings. These are therefore given every time, save in a few exceptional cases.

All the insights that might be gained from the linguistic material have not been extracted here as this would have required too much philological discussion. On the other hand the Xhosa terminology reveals problems which do not even exist for the worker who neglects to obtain and scrutinize the vernacular names.

The terms are numbered in bold type as one series throughout, to facilitate indexing. Where a term appears in more than one place its other numbers are given as well in parentheses.

- ikhaya* place of residence, home D. This definition is only correct to the extent that home is always a place of residence. The true meaning is 'home' and only that. The same root occurs in other South African Bantu languages, (So. *hae*, *gae*, Venda *haya*, Tsonga *kaya*), but not in languages further north. This is therefore one of those terms which, like that for 'bovine', serve to define the southern African culture area **1**
- umzi* (pl. *imizi*) assemblage of houses, village, town D general **2**
- ithanga* cattle-post, general. This root occurs in the languages of the interior with the meaning 'cattle-kraal' or 'cattle-post' (So. *lesaka*, *moraka*; Ve. *danga*) **3**
- isiza* site for house to be built on; building lot, D general **4**
- ingqili* **1** round village; large cattle-kraal; district D; last two meanings not confirmed. **2** large round homestead, group of huts, site for homestead Mp X Bo general **5** (23)
- inxuwa*, *inxowa*, *inxuwa* deserted homestead, general. But some Mpondo maintain that the first is Mpondo, the 2nd Thembu and the last Xhosa, whilst other Mpondo themselves say *inxuwa* **6**
- indlu* hut, dwelling. This is from the common Bantu root for 'hut', also shared with other Nguni groups and with the groups of the interior, even though the latter have a different type of construction **7** (22)
- ibhotwe* **1** house of great wife of chief, where councillors meet; capital D (first meaning general, second rare, third not confirmed). **2** large hut for head of *umzi* Bo, but acc. to some: of chief only Bo Xes **8**
- isigqeba* **1** house of chief, where he meets councillors or distinguished strangers, D X (Bo-Cook). **2** principal hut (X-DC). **3** courtroom (X-Soga). **4** privy council, not a structure, general but unknown to many others T Mp **9**
- iqhamthwa* **1** (Hlubi) milk-sack, D 523. **2** store, private room of chief, D 347. **3** not confirmed **10** (359)
- inkongo* (No. **1**) **1** (a) mat put up lengthwise in a doorway to form a draught or to screen from the smoke of a fire; (b) the *umtshotsho* or Saturday night dance of boys D. **2** screen or half-open door, general. **3** hut for dancing, Mp Bo but unknown to many others **11** (80)
- uvimba* store-house D X Xes **12** (116)
- inyango* (cl. 9) **1** small hut on poles for storing corn D. **2** nowadays ordinary store- or kitchen-hut, general **13** (108)
- unyango* (= *inyango* of elsewhere) ordinary store- or kitchen-hut Mp Xes Bh **14**
- ikoyi* **1** frame or crib for storing maize, from Du. *kooi* D. **2** storage hut or enclosure, general **15** (105)
- inkundla* **1** clean, well-trodden place before a cattle-fold, where councillors gather to judge D general.

This is etymologically the same word as *kgotla* found in the Sotho languages of the interior, meaning 'courtyard, public or men's place in village'. Also found in Zulu and Ndebele dialects. Not found in language clusters further north. Connected with the southern African layout of villages. A

- root, like *-kaya*, confined to southern Africa **16**
- ibala* bare space anywhere, also near or round a house **17**
- ujilo* (*-jila* interweave bushes in hedge or fence, etc.) 1 fence made of wattles, woven on stakes about 30 cm apart; right half of an ox's or bull's skin, formed into a shield, D. 2 'fence' confirmed by some X and Bo only, otherwise not confirmed. 3 'shield' not confirmed **18** (451)
- ikhala* 1 the Cape Aloe, whose leaves are burnt to make smoke for driving away insects; the dried leaves are ground and mixed with snuff to make it pungent D. 2 American Aloe (*Agave americana* L.) used for hedging kraals and gardens X Mp Xes **19**
- uthango* 1 fence or hedge, D general, hence 2 cattle-kraal, or for small stock, except pigs, general **20** (96)
- isife* 1 small garden where sweet-cane grows D (cf. *imfe* sugar-cane). 2 small garden planted early Bo Mp **21**

HOMESTEAD: DISCUSSION

The typical settlements of the Cape Nguni were, and still are, not villages but individual homesteads (*imizi*), situated a little distance apart, and occupied by the owner and his family and dependants. Formerly some owners liked to be as isolated from other homesteads as possible, to avoid having to share the grazing for their herds.

The favourite sites for the homesteads have always been on the slope (Pl. 1:2) or top of a rise, on sloping ground above a river or along the ridges between the numerous valleys that are typical of the eastern Cape Province (Pl. 3:3). The choice is made with regard to drainage and a good and if possible an eastern outlook. It was said, further, of the Hlubi, on the northern border, who for many years lived in a battle area, that they placed their homesteads so as to be well camouflaged by rocks and vegetation. Homesteads should be near, but not too near, water, and near suitable garden land. The older authorities mentioned preference for a woody site, which, however, like an isolated one, is not easy to find these days. When the Cape Nguni first entered the country that they now occupy it was very well wooded. Even the non-forest areas were covered with *Protea*, *Acacia*, or other useful trees. But by the extensive cutting of saplings for hut frames, fences, etc., and by clearing and burning the veld to make gardens, the forest areas have been considerably reduced and the non-forest areas have become in many places open grassland.

It is customary for each married woman of the homestead to have at least her own living-hut and store-hut, perhaps a kitchen-hut as well and sometimes a hut for children and visitors. Formerly a separate hut was kept for the use of visitors and is still so kept occasionally. In the larger homesteads there would be a hut for unmarried men and another for unmarried girls.

Formerly, though it varied according to the means of the owner, the average homestead consisted, among the Xhosa and Thembu, of six to twelve

huts, and in Pondoland of about twenty. Nowadays only a few of the largest homesteads have as many as that, and the average number of huts is about four or five (Pl. 2:3). Men have fewer wives, a large proportion have only one, and married sons, instead of remaining at their father's place as was previously the custom, tend to establish their own homes. The need to gather together for defence has passed. Moreover, in surveyed areas the size of the homestead is now by common practice limited to half a morgen (0,43 ha), and that includes fenced gardens.

The homesteads of the chiefs were much bigger than those of ordinary men, and might formerly have numbered, at least amongst the Xhosa, over a hundred huts, since they had to accommodate, not only the immediate family, but also servants, warriors and others who might be serving the chief in any capacity and for whom, although they were only there temporarily, huts had to be specially set aside. The chief also had a hut for his subjects' shields, which were kept there when not in use, and in some, possibly in all the tribes, he had a 'hut of the ancestors' where the medicines were kept and the messengers or the chief's doctor lived. The Bhaca still have such a hut. A chief's homestead also has a hut set aside for meeting distinguished strangers or his councillors. Nowadays, even chiefs' places are quite small, but a rich man may have more than one homestead.

The hut of the great wife of a chief was regarded as a sanctuary for fugitives.

Well-to-do Xhosa had cattle posts (*ithanga*) where they lived when they took their cattle to find better grazing in time of drought or overstocking. Similarly the Thembu are said by Bonatz to have retired to the mountain kloofs, when bad weather set in, so that the cattle in their kraals might have better protection. This must have become less and less possible as a general practice as land became scarcer, but Hunter recorded that in 1932 in Pondoland there were cattle-posts inland, where stock from the coast was sent in summer, and posts at the coast or in river valleys, where inland stock was sent in winter. The Bhaca were still using cattle-posts in 1949.

The classical arrangement of the average Xhosa homestead was a semi-circle of huts roughly equidistant from each other, centring on the cattle-kraal (*ubuhlanti*), and if on a slope, above it. (Pl. 1:1, 2:1 and Text-fig. 1.) The doors faced the kraal. In the homesteads of the Thembu, Mpondo, Fingo, Bhaca and presumably other immigrant tribes following the Natal pattern, the circle was complete round the kraal. Among the Xhosa this was only the case in large homesteads, when there might even have to be a second circle of huts outside the first. The chief wife's hut was in the highest position of the semicircle or of the first circle, its door generally directly opposite the gate of the kraal, and her store-hut and the huts and store-huts of the other wives were arranged alternately on either side. Then followed, in chiefs' homesteads, huts for councillors and servants and for other purposes.¹ The full circle of huts, and the large

¹ For the sociological aspect of the arrangement see Soga, Cook, Hunter.

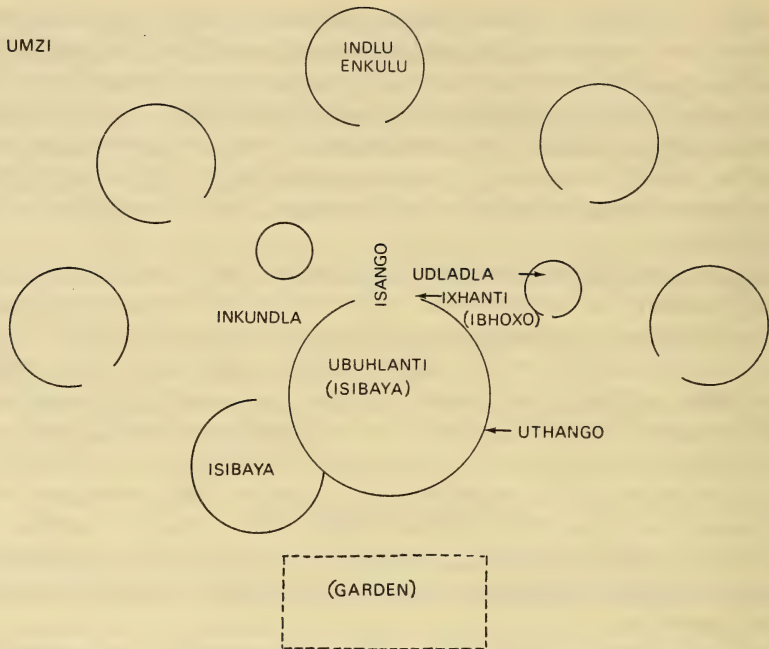


Fig. 1

establishments that needed it, persisted longest in the eastern part of the territory, before giving way universally to the semicircular arrangement, which though still to be seen near the coast (Pl. 2: 1 & 2), is itself now giving way to a straight row of huts, particularly in Thembuland, east Pondoland and Griqualand East (Pl. 3:1) whether or not there is a cattle-kraal attached to the homestead. Cattle are often, for a variety of reasons, kept at someone else's homestead.

The kraal for calves and small stock (*isibaya*) may be attached to the cattle-kraal or built separately, in which case it is frequently, but not invariably, to the right of the great hut.

Granaries and fowl-coops are placed haphazard in the open space between huts.

The space between the main hut and the cattle-kraal is the *inkundla*, where guests are received, dances and functions are held and, at chief's places, court-cases are heard (Pl. 4).

In each homestead, generally at the back of the cattle-kraal, there is usually at least one private garden where vegetables and tobacco are grown (Pl. 3:2). In the Ciskei, nowadays, many homesteads are without a garden or even a kraal. The main gardens or cultivated lands were, and still are, away from the homestead, often at some little distance, with other gardens of neighbours.

Among the Cape Nguni proper, at least from the end of the eighteenth century,² it was not customary for the whole homestead to be fenced, but the Fingo immigrants appear at first to have fenced theirs, or built a stone wall round them.

Private gardens were and still are fenced, and early travellers mention the fencing of the fields as well but this is no longer seen. In the early days fencing was done with wood or brushwood, most commonly *Acacia*, but other woods are mentioned, which sometimes took root and formed a living hedge. New fences were cut and erected each year when the crops began to come up. After the harvest the gardens were thrown open as part of the common ground, and the fencing was used for firewood, which may account for the fact that in some parts of the Transkei the only fencing material available today is stone or the latterly introduced *Agave americana* L. Today there is no annual rebuilding of fences. They are merely renewed when in disrepair. Very commonly gardens are hedged with agave.

There is no record of a ceremonial laying-out of a new homestead. Men and women have always shared the work of building the huts, the man's share of the work increasing with the change in style of the huts. Men built the kraals and in most cases fenced the gardens. When the homestead was ready, the doctor was called in to plant medicated pegs round the homestead and the kraals, and thereafter, in a headman's homestead, a beast was sacrificed. According to Xhosa informants this is now rare.

Among the Mpondo only, each homestead has a name, given by the original owner. At Mpondo chiefs' places each wife's hut has a name too, and when younger sons found their own homesteads, they usually give them the name of the mother's hut.

According to the earliest accounts, the whole homestead with its immediate gardens was abandoned and the materials not touched again if lightning had struck or if a death other than that of a young child had taken place in it, hence the anxiety to remove a dying person from it. The custom was gradually modified until by the second half of the last century it was fully observed only in the case of the death of a chief, while in the case of other deaths, only the affected hut was abandoned. The site was also abandoned if the lands proved unfertile. The homestead was not necessarily moved very far. Nowadays complete removal takes place only for utilitarian reasons, or if the site has become unhealthy or unlucky. In the latter case the huts may be burned. Von Winkelmann states, but there is no confirmation of it, that if a family on the move came across an abandoned homestead not connected with themselves, they would occupy it.

Most of the modifications that have taken place in the arrangement of the homestead during the last 150 years have been due to the restrictions of movement of the tribes and the considerable increase in population.

In the last few years very considerable changes in the living pattern have

² Theal, *Records* . . . II, p. 294: . . . the people near the Umtata River in 1593 'surround the huts with a hedge within which they keep the cattle'. This is the Hottentot style.

been brought about by rehabilitation and resettlement. Rehabilitation, or betterment, involves the planned demarcation of arable land, grazing and residential areas where people are encouraged to build their homesteads in clusters or villages, instead of the widely separated homesteads of former days. Individual homesteads may still follow the same pattern, but more often the huts are arranged in a straight row, and the homesteads may be in long rows with roads in between. These are the most visible signs of the social revolution implicit in this new pattern of settlement, which is even more closely followed in the resettlement areas, generally near towns, for people who have come back to the area from the cities.

HUTS: SOURCES

1554 Perestrello p. 162 near R. St. Christopher: huts
 ' . . . a Aldea que tinhamos visto, a qual seria de obra de vinte choupanas, armadas sobre varas, e cubertas de feno, da feição e tamanho de hum forno de paõ, das quaes usa e se serve toda a gente daquella Costa, mudandoas com as tempestades de humas partes para as outras, segundo a bastança ou esterilidade q̃ daõ de si os matos, de cujos frutos elles principalmente se mantêm.'

[p. 230 ' . . . the village that we had seen. . . . It consisted of about twenty huts built with poles and thatched with dry grass, in form and size like a baker's oven, such as is usual among all the people of this coast. They move them from place to place with the seasons, according to the abundance or barrenness of the ground, upon the wild fruit of which they principally subsist.']

1593 Lavanha p. 235 Umtata R.: huts
 'Vivem juntos em pequenas povoaçoens de cazas feitas de esteiras de junco, que não defendem a chuva, as quaes são redondas e baixas, e se nellas morre algum delles, logo os outros as desfazem, e toda a povoação, e da mesma materia fabricaõ outras em outro sitio, havendo que na Aldea, em que o seo vizinho ou parente falleceo, succederà tudo desgraçadamente.'

[pp. 293-4 'They live in small villages, in huts made of reed mats, which do not keep out the rain. These huts are round and low, and if any person dies in one of them, the others take it down with all the rest of the village, and remove to another spot, thinking that in a place where their neighbour or relation died everything will be unlucky.']

1686 (Stavenisse) p. 63 Xhosa: destruction at death
 ' 't Huijs daar hij in gewoond heeft, mitsgrs daar hij in gestorven is, word ter neder gesmeeten. . . . '

1752 Beutler p. 309 Xhosa: construction, screen
 'Haare huysen sijn rond spits op lopende van 10 a 12 voeten in het kruys met een klijn vierkant deur daar inne, waardoor men om in huys te komen op

handen en voeten kruypen moet, dat 't welk voor muragie dier woningen strekt is van sparren en biesen door malkander gevlogten van buyten met lang gras gedekt en van binnen met koey mist gesmeert so dat de reegen daardoor niet kan; voor de deur van het huys staad een hoog muragie van kley, dat voor scherm dient en belet dat men sien kan wat in huys omgaat.'

p. 310

Xhosa: destruction at death

'Als iemand onder haar sterft word het huys waarinne soo een heeft gewoond verlaaten, en een ander niet verre van daar opgeset sonder egter dat tot den opbouw van dit laatst huys iets in het minst van die materialen van het ander wordt gebruykt omdat daarinne so se seggen iets quaads in steekt, en dat so een huys hierom onbewoont moet blyven.'

1772-6 Sparrman II p. 165

Xhosa: huts

'Their houses, or huts, are said to be small and square, composed of rods, and covered with clay and cow-dung, which gives them the appearance of small stone-houses.'

1776 Swellengrebel p. 13

Xhosa: construction

'... hunne huysjes gemaakt in 't rond, van omgebogen staaken, met teen doorvlogten en van lang gras digt gestookten, mitsgaders met kley en beestemist verder toe gesmeert, 8 à 10 voet wijd en zoohoog, dat men er ruym in overeynd konde staan, maar den ingang zo laag, dat men er in kruypen moet. Even binnen die ingang stond een scherm van digt gevlogte teen, die zy zeyden, dat diende ter afweering der pylen van de Bosjesmans. ...'

1776 Swellengrebel (Hallema) p. 133
Same.

Xhosa: construction

1778 Van Plettenberg p. 49
Nothing more.

Xhosa: construction of huts

1792 Le Vaillant II p. 129

Caffre: huts

Sparrman '... qu'il se fût aussi gardé de substituer la forme carrée à la forme ronde des huttes de la Caffrerie, qu'il n'a jamais visitées.'

1782 Carter pp. 38-9
Nothing more.

general: description

1788 Von Winkelman pp. 75-6

Xhosa: construction

p. 75

'Diese sah ich ohne Beistand der Männer, blos von Frauen erbauen. Sie schlugen ruthenähnliche Pfähle in einer Zirkellinie, oder auch als ein Oval in die Erde. Der grösste Durchmesser mochte etwa 8-10 Schuh betragen. Diese biegen sie oben in Bögen gegen einander, und nehmen so denn Ried oder Schilf, und flechten, binden und heffen es dicht an, und auf einander, so dass schon jetzt kein Regen durchdringen kan. Alsdenn beschlagen sie die Hütte mit Rindsmist, den sie in beträchtlicher Dicke glatt und dauerhaft darauf anbringen. Das alles zusammen genommen, schützt die Kaffern denn nun freilich gegen Regen und Wind. ...'

p. 76 ' . . . Die grösste Höhe dieser Hütten ist so ziemlich allgemein 8.9. Schuhe. Der innere Raum derselben richtet sich hingegen immer nach der Stärke der Familie. Sie machen gleich den Hottentotten auch ihr Feuer darinnen, an, braten daselbst ihr Fleisch und Millis.'

1797 Barrow I pp. 122, 152-3

p. 122

Xhosa: temporary huts

'Their dwellings were all concealed in the midst of the shrubbery, consisting only of a few living twigs, whose tops were bent and interwoven into each other, forming a frame, of the shape of a parabola, about 5 ft. high and 8 in diameter. These frames were rudely covered over with branches of trees and long grass, and were evidently intended only as temporary abodes.'

pp. 152-3

Xhosa: description of hut

Nothing more.

1800 Van der Kemp p. 437

Xhosa: description

' . . . they are hemispheroidal huts, built by their women; they draw a circle on the ground, of about eighteen to twenty-five feet diameter; they place on its circumference long sticks at the distance of about a foot, leaving a place for the door; these they bend, and join them so as to form so many arches, crossing each other at the top; across these they fix thinner ones in various directions; this kind of dome is supported by one or more strong poles, thatched with straw and lined on the inside with clay, mixed with the cowdung; the entrance is two or three feet high, at the inside there is commonly formed a kind of portal, which prevents the fire from being seen from the door, the fireplace is in the centre, but they have no chimney, the smoke passes through the straw of the roof.'

1803 Paravicini di Capelli p. 103

Kaffer: huts

' . . . de hutten, welke enigzints beter gesteld zyn, dan die der Hottentotten, leggen op eene hoogte in een kreupelbosch. De zelve zyn te samengesteld van zestien à twintig sparren, ter dikte van circa twee duimen en 14 à 16 voeten lengte; deze steken zy op een gelyken circulsgewyze in de grond en buygen de bovenste dunne eindens gekromd op de wyze van een couplet boven te samen, dit met peezen van dieren vastmakende. Eenige andere sparren buygen zy in eene vlakke rigting twee à drie ryen hoog om dit couplet geraamte heenen, de zelve wyders met gevlogte rietmatjes bekleedende waar over verder biezen-stroo gelegd zynde, de geheele bouwning met kleyaarde word bevestigd; zy laten aan de eene zyde eene opening hun tot een deur verstrekkende, benevens een gat juist midden boven in het dak waar door de rook van hun vuur dat te midden in de hut gestookt word optrekt. Als het koud word sluyten zy de ingang met een beeste huid dat op sparren in de manier van een raam opgespannen is.'

1803 Howen Three paintings

Xhosa: huts

1802-6 Alberti pp. 105-6

Xhosa: construction

Nothing more.

p. 106

Interior tribes: double huts

'Verder af van de grensen der Volkplanting, alwaar de Horden haar verblijf minder verlaten en verwisselen, zijn deze woningen meestal dubbeld, zoodanig dat twee tegen elkanderen over staande Hutten, behalve de inwendige ruimte, nog een tusschenvak bevatten, hetgeen voor de Kinderen tot eene slaappleats, of ter bewaringe van menigerlei noodwendigheden dient.'

1801-3 De Mist p. 116

Xhosa: description

Nothing more.

1803-6 Lichtenstein p. 440

Xhosa: construction, door, floor

'Der Eingang ist etwa vier Fuss hoch und wird mit einer Thür von Flechtwerk verschlossen. . . . Der Boden der Hütten ist eben und hart, sie halten ihn reinlich und erneuern ihn oft, indem sie aus zerstampften Ameisenhaufen eine Art von Estrich bereiten. . . .'

1809 Collins pp. 11, 12

Xhosa: description

p. 11 ' . . . Met den avond begaven wy ons naar eene hut, gemaakt in de gedaante van eene byenkorf, omtrent veertien voeten in diameter en in het midden zeven voeten hoog, ondersteund door vier palen, met eenen ingang, juist zoo groot, dat men bukkende daarin kon komen.'

p. 12 ' . . . De hut van het Opperhoofd was grooter en netter, dan eenige, welke wy nog gezien hadden.'

1821-4 Thompson p. 358

Xhosa: at death

'The hut, also, of the deceased, although he were removed from it before death, must be shut up; no person ever enters it again, and the children are forbid to go near it. It is called the house of the dead. It is left to fall gradually to decay, and no one dares even to touch the materials of which it is constructed till they have crumbled into dust.'

1824 Ross p. 215

Xhosa: beehive and square huts

' . . . Their houses are exactly after the shape of a bee's skiphive. They are composed of a frame of osier similar to our bowers, covered with long grass for thatch, which is bound on the frame. They are generally about [] feet in circumference. At Chumie station many of the people have some square houses.'

1824-5 Smith p. 96, 397

p. 96

Kaffir: abandonment at death

'If a grown person dies in a house the whole kraal becomes impure and must be abandoned, if a child dies in the same manner the hut alone becomes impure and must be closed up and forsaken. The corpse of persons so dying remains undisturbed in the hut.'

p. 397

Mpondo: hut

'Their houses are not so neat as the Zulu, but warmer being daubed inside with clay.'

1820-31 Steedman pp. 200, 262

p. 200

Mbo: description

'... the floor is raised at the higher or back part of the house, until within three or four feet of the front, where it suddenly terminates, leaving an area from thence to the wall, in which every night the calves are tied, to protect them from the storms or from wild beasts.'

p. 262

Mpondo: description

'Their huts which have the form of a hemisphere, are from eighteen to twenty feet in diameter, and from six to seven feet high; ... A small aperture is left for the door, which is formed of basket-work, and usually screened by a rustic kind of portal.'

1825 Phillips pp. 137-8

Thembu: hut

p. 138 'To prevent the cattle from destroying them, they sometimes cover them with mud and manure, or fence them round with thorns. The inside roof is not 4 feet high, black with smoke, and covered with millions of flies, ...'

1831-2 Smith p. 151, 167

p. 151

Thembu: mourning

'When a wife dies they kill an ox and eat the flesh. He stops secreted in the house where the woman dies and no person can come and visit him for about 1 month. In the meantime a new house must be built by a young woman who comes and makes it and then he pays for her and makes her his wife.'

Thembu: abandonment of hut

'When the thunder strikes a house they kill an ox and bury it ... When the doctor comes they shut the house up and surround it with thorns. This place they will not leave; the doctor says it is good for them to remain.'

p. 167

Mpondo: huts

'In their houses they are much dirtier than the Zolas. The house is built of small twigs laid parallel as in the other. Outside with long grass kept in its place by wands in a circular direction. Inside the house, with the exception of a small compartment near the door, the whole is one chamber, and it contains the cooking utensils as well as every other. The compartment mentioned as at the door is intended to keep the wind off, and is sometimes only partial [and] at other times nearly complete. It sometimes consists of the door only and sometimes of a wattled wall about the size of a door. Thus three ways, so:



Inside the wattling the house is plastered with cow dung.'

1815-37 Shaw p. 58

Xhosa: description

Nothing more.

1827 Hallbeck & Fritsch p. 307

Thembu: huts fastened to trees

'... the winds are violent. ... This is partly the reason why the round huts of the Tambookkies are placed under the shelter of mimosa bushes and are even fastened to them.'

1825-9 Kay pp. 78, 117, 118, 143, 362

Xhosa: description

p. 117

Xhosa: hearth, description

'The Kaffer *inhlu*, house or hut, is of the most simple description, and far inferior in every respect to that of the Boschuana. The slight and fragile materials of which it is composed, render the building but a temporary one at best. A circular frame is first set up, consisting of long straight branches, the upper extremities of which are bent and bound together with *umxebe*, or wooden fibres. The thatch which is on the houses of the South Sea Islanders, extending from the ground to the top, is then bound on with the same sort of cordage, or otherwise with *intsontelo*, a small rope made of rushes, after which the inside is lined with *utyabeka*, a strong plaster of clay and cow-dung. When complete, the form is exactly that of a bee-hive; and the doorway too, is shaped in the same manner as the entrée of those little insect dwellings. There being neither window nor chimney, this aperture necessarily serves for the ingress of light, as well as the egress of smoke. The diameter of the room varies from six to twelve or fifteen feet; its floor is slightly elevated, and an *umseli*, gutter or drain, is generally made around the foundation to carry off the water in rainy weather. Excepting a few thorn branches which are sometimes thrown carelessly around the hut, to prevent the cattle tearing off its grassy roof, it seldom has the benefit of a fence of any description whatever. Between the houses of the nobles and those of the most indigent, there is no material difference, excepting that the former class are perhaps a little neater at first, but not at all more substantial, nor yet more convenient.

p. 143

Xhosa: crop-watcher's hut

'Within this enclosure a slight and temporary hut is now built, which has frequently reminded me of the figurative expressions of the Prophet (Isaiah i.8.) "A cottage in a vineyard, and as a lodge in a garden of cucumbers". It constitutes the miserable dwelling of one of the women, whose business it is to preserve the crop from birds by day, and from straying cattle at night. Here these watchers are obliged to remain as long as the season lasts, and until the harvest be got in.'

p. 362

Mpondo: huts

'The houses of the Amaponedae are in general considerably larger than those of the Amaxosae, and constitute calf-stalls as well as lodging-rooms.'

(1828) Van Kampen p. 175

general: huts

Nothing more.

1829 Boniface p. 29

Xhosa: abandonment at death

'Il est d'usage, nous a-t-on dit, chez ces peuples, lorsqu'une personne de haut rang meurt de maladie dans sa cabane, d'enterrer le corps au lieu même, et de mettre ensuite le feu à l'habitation, afin de réduire en cendre et dans le même moment, tout ce qui peut avoir appartenu au trépassé. De façon que cette cérémonie étant regardée comme un acte religieux, c'est commettre un grand sacrilège que d'approcher trop près du lieu de l'incendie, ou d'en interrompre l'accomplissement.'

1833 Morgan pp. 33, 34, 35, 43

Xhosa: description

p. 33 '... [the boughs] ... are bound to other boughs laid round and diagonally over the former, with the inner bark of the Tye Boom and Mimosa ... The inside is plastered a few feet from the ground with cow-dung and sand, and the floor is made level and smooth with a similar composition. A circular place is left in the centre surrounded by a ridge an inch or two in height: this is the hearth, and on it is made the fire. These huts are of various sizes, from 10 to 20 feet in diameter. When large, the roof is supported by several posts placed without any regularity round the fire hearth at a sufficient distance to prevent them taking fire: though the circumference of these huts varies so much, yet there is scarcely any difference in their height, which is generally from six to seven feet, rarely ever exceeding the last measurement, and though the larger ones are very flat on the top, yet they are covered so very close and firm that they are no more able to be penetrated by rain than the smaller ones.'

p. 34

Xhosa: crop-watcher's hut

Nothing more.

p. 35

Xhosa: huts made by women

'But the most laborious of their occupations are the building of their huts, and the cultivation and harvesting of the corn, which is entirely their province, though at time they are assisted by some of the family of the male sex.'

p. 43

Xhosa: at death

Nothing more.

1834 Bonatz pp. 307, 308, 351

Thembu, Mbo: description,
cleanliness, building

p.308 'The houses of the Tambookies are built of thin and flexible pieces of wood: the staves which compose the framework, and are arranged in a circle, are bent towards a common centre, so as to form a rude vault, and are bound together with rushes. The woodwork is then covered over with reeds or long grass, which, in like manner, is fastened to the frame beneath, by a kind of rush-net of very neat manufacture. To render their houses warmer in winter, they plaster the sides with clay; the roof, however, remains without this additional covering, in order that the smoke may find its way through the interstices. The dwellings of the Mambookies and Sootoos are distinguished from the rest by their neatness and cleanliness.'

- p. 351 Thembu: women build huts
 'On arriving at a new dwelling-place, the women must build the round huts, a work which they understand well.'
- 1834 Godlonton p. 228 Xhosa: crop-watcher's hut
 Nothing more.
- 1835 Alexander I pp. 392-3 Xhosa: description, floor, door, hearth
 'The door is of wicker-work; the hardened floor of broken ant-hills, wetted and pounded; the fire is in a hollow in the centre of the hut; and three round stones support an iron pot.'
- 1833-7 England Xhosa: hut
 Sketch.
- (1836) Martin pp. 157, 158-9 Thembu, Mbo: description
 Nothing more (from Bonatz).
- 1836 Gardiner p. 239 Mpondo: huts
 'The Amaponda houses, though by no means so neat, are generally larger than those of the Zoolus, and being daubed in the inside are much warmer; but their chief advantage is in the height of the doorway, through which it is only necessary to stoop low, but never actually to crawl.'
- 1820-56 Shaw pp. 343, 387, 411, 412, 413, 418 Xhosa: description, construction
 p. 343 Xhosa: guest-hut
 'We were introduced to the stranger's hut, always the worst on the place. . . . but no woman in particular has any charge of the stranger's hut: hence it is usually in a dilapidated and dirty condition.'
- p. 387 Xhosa: door
 ' . . . wattled doors being merely tied with "riems", or slips of bullock hide, and indeed frequently with nothing but green withs, twisted together. . . . '
- p. 412 Xhosa: thatch, interior
 'The whole of this wattle building is then covered with successive layers of thatch, generally composed of long grass, and so fastened and disposed as to carry off the rain. A trench is dug on the outside of the upper part of the hut, to prevent the water running on its floors from without in rainy seasons. . . . This "straight gate" of entrance may be closed at night by a wicker or matted door. . . . The place of honour is to be seated on the higher side of the hut, between the two principal pillars and beyond the fire-place, directly facing the door.'
- 1837 Döhne p. 62 Xhosa: description
 Nothing more.
- 1839 Backhouse p. 236 Xhosa: size and form
 Nothing more.

- 1838-54 Schultheiss pp. 7-8 Xhosa: description
Nothing more.
- 1848 Freeman p. 97 Xhosa: new style
'Several Kaffirs in the neighbourhood of the Mission Stations are ploughing lands, and raising corn for sale; some also are building either improved huts (the round huts) or square cottages. . . '
- 1848-52 Baines (Oppen.) Vol. XXVI No. 71 Xhosa: hearth
Sketch.
- No Date Duff unpublished Fingo: fence
Sketch.
- 1849 Baines pp. 162, 169
p. 162 Xhosa: decoration
'In the mud with which the interior of the hut was plastered, pumpkin seeds had been stuck in various patterns, one somewhat resembling a snake, and then picked out, leaving their glossy scale attached to the surface of the wall.'
p. 169 Thembu: huts, screen
'Many of the huts have a space before them surrounded by a mat composed of bamboo reeds about seven feet long and an inch thick, laid side by side between two ropes of reed round which small reeds are passed between the bamboos, thus binding them firmly together; another row of fastenings about eighteen inches from the first, and perhaps another below that, completes the mat, which is then set upon edge in a circular trench and earth pressed in all round it, rendering it a firm and substantial fence.'
- c. 1850 C.B. (?Charles Bell) Kafir: huts
Sketch of homestead.
- 1851-5 Brown pp. 99-100 Xhosa: screen
'In the better sort of huts a partition runs from the one side, more than half way across, at the side where the opening which serves as the door is left. This cuts off usually about 3 feet from one side of the circle which the huts form. . . . The sort of corner where the partition described joined the outer walls—if we may call rods covered with dry grass, and plastered inside with cow-dung, a wall—was occupied by Unoxina and the children . . . '
- (1853) Kretschmar p. 242 Xhosa: description
Nothing more.
- 1854 Kolbing p. 137 Xhosa: crop-watchers' shelter
Nothing more.
- (1856) Fleming pp. 222-3 Xhosa: hearth, thatch
p. 223 'They next procure a number of thin thatching rods, and tie them round the frame-work, at intervals of about a foot apart; and on this skeleton they place bundles of grass, and sew it down with "riems" of leather. On the outside they fasten similar rods, so as to keep the grass firm . . . '

- (1861) Lucas fp.2 Xhosa: Gaika's hut
Figure
- (1865) Bowler Pl. 7 Fort Beaufort: enclosure
- 1863-6 Fritsch pp. 76-7, 86, 87, 88
p. 77 Xhosa: door, screen
'... Zum Verschluss der Thür dient ein von Reisern geflochtener Schirm, dessen Grösse genau der Oeffnung entspricht. Bei den eigentlichen Kaffern wird häufig etwas entfernt von dem Eingang ein ähnlicher Schirm aufgerichtet welcher den Zweck hat, den Wind von dem Feuer abzuhalten, zugleich aber allerdings auch dem Licht seinen einzigen Zugang versperrt. In andern Fällen findet man vor dem Eingang einen kleinen Vorbau von geringer Tiefe, wie ein solcher auf der obenstehenden Figur an der linken Seite der Hütten zum Vorschein kommt ...'
- pp. 86, 87 Xhosa: division of labour, door
Nothing more.
- p. 88 Xhosa: crop-watcher's hut
Nothing more.
- 1866-7 Wangemann pp. 152, 201-2
p. 152 Fingo: decoration
'... theils noch Spuren von Wandmalerei zeigend.'
- pp. 201-2 Fingo: hearth, rack
'... in der Mitte ein runder, etwas tieferer, mit einem Rande versehener, zwei und einen halben Fuss im Durchmesser haltender Kreis, der für das Feuer bestimmt war; ... An zwei Stricken hingen zwei hölzerne Haken herab, in denen Assagaien, Kirris etc. lagen.'
- 1846-89 Kropf pp. 98, 99, 147
p. 98 Xhosa: construction, decoration
'... Nachdem der Mann etwa 200 12 Fuss lange, am untern Ende 1 bis $\frac{1}{2}$ Zoll im Durchmesser starke Latten zugespitzt und in Kreisform in den Erdboden gestossen hat, beginnt die Arbeit der Frau. Sie ... glättet die Wandflächen und überstreicht sie mit gelber, roter oder weisser Erde oder macht auch von allen drei Farben Gebrauch und malt rohe Figuren darauf ... Der Eingang wird mit einer Thür, aus Baumwurzeln oder Lianen geflochten, bedeckt, deren Haspen und Schloss gleichfalls aus Baumbast oder ledernen Riemen bestehen.'
- p. 99 Xhosa: screen
'Vor der Thür befindet sich, besonders bei den Fingus, ein oft das halbe Haus umspannender Vorhof, in dem das noch unausgedroschene Korn aufgeschichtet, und endlich ausgedroschen wird. Er dient im Sommer auch des Nachts zuweilen als Schlafstätte, Gesellschafts- und Tanzlokal.'
- p. 147 Xhosa: division of labour
Nothing more.

- 1882 Sampson p. 109 Mpondo: crop watcher's hut
Nothing more.
- 1883-8 Bachmann p. 164 Mpondo: huts
Nothing more.
- (1887) Matthiae pp. 12-13 Xhosa: description
p. 13 'Junge Kälber, Lämmer und Ziegen, sowie auch Hunde, Katzen
und Hühner werden des Nachts in der Hütte untergebracht ...'
- (1893) Buchner p. 141 Hlubi: enclosure
'Some huts, especially amongst the Hlubi people, have an unroofed ante-
room, to protect the entrance from the wind. This serves in summer as a
cooking-place.'
- (1900) Lowndes p. 114 Xhosa: thatching
'... thatching is the women's work. I have seen them put a new thatch on a
hut, and very skilfully they do it, using long coarse grass. They begin at the
top, tying the grass firmly to the framework of the roof with strong rope made
of platted grass. The top of each handful is slipped securely and neatly under
the edge of the row above as they work down the slope of the roof, the last
row projecting beyond the edge of the hut walls. ... There is a large flat
stone in the middle of the hut, on which a fire ... is made ...'
- 1901 Scully pp. 43-4 Hlubi: huts
'Among the more southern tribes the hut is shaped like a low beehive, with
grass right down to the ground. The northern tribes, however, usually build
a perpendicular wall, about six or seven feet high, with an oval wattled roof
which is covered with grass. The wall is made of wattles covered with
plastered mud. Of late years, since wattles have become scarce, sods are often
used. The roof is usually supported by five or six poles, irregularly placed ...
On the side of the hut opposite the door a rough staging often stands, and
on this are laid spare food, mats, calabashes and baskets.'
- (1902) Eve p. 130 general: destruction of hut at death
'If the head of a kraal dies his particular huts are immediately destroyed and
burnt. His spirit must not be offended by others ... A sacrifice is offered at
his burial, which in every case takes place at the entrance of the kraal opening.
That opening is then blocked up, and from that time onwards another opening
into the cattle kraal must be made and used.'
- 1904 Kidd, Plates 22 and 93 & p. 121
Pl. 22 Mpondo: interior
Nothing more.
Pl. 93 Mpondo: framework
Nothing more.
p. 121 Mpondo: horns on hut
'The Zulus and the Pondos frequently place the horns of oxen over their huts.
There are many reasons given for this practice. Natives have often assured

me they simply do this for ornament; others say that it wards off the lightning.'

1911 Schachtzabel p. 37

Xhosa: hut

Nothing more.

1924 Hartmann

p. 8

Xhosa: huts

'Auf den Hügeln standen weit zerstreut die bienenkorbartigen Kafferhütten . . . den Höhen runder Kafferhütten . . .'

p. 14

Thembu: initiates' hut

Nothing more.

p. 15

Thembu: removal of corpse from hut

'Bald wird das Loch durch die Mauer des Hauses gemacht werden, durch das der Verstorbene seine letzte Reise antreten muss. Mit einem Strick an die Beinen word er durch dieses Loch gezogen . . .'

Wird der Verstorbene zur Türe hinausgetragen, so kann er wieder kommen.'

pp. 15-16

Thembu: grave and removal from hut

'Die letzte Ruhestätte findet der Kaffer am Eingang zu seinem Viehkraal. Viele Heiden brennen nach dem Tode eines Familiengliedes die Häuser nieder, und siedeln sich fern an einem andern Platz an . . .'

(1925) Cingo p. 74 ff.

Mpondo: huts

Nothing more.

(1926) Müller pp. 20-1

Hlubi: huts

p. 20 'Sie bauen es entweder aus roh gebrochenen Feldsteinen, einer Art Sandstein, die sehr häufig in Bethesda vorkommt, oder aus an der Luft getrockneten Erdziegeln, oder endlich aus sogenannten Soden; das sind viereckig ausgestochene Rasenstücke. . . .'

pp. 20-1 ' . . . auf denen das Stroh oder Gras mit Hilfe von Grastauen Bündel nach Bündel festgebunden wird. Unten an der Mauer wird angefangen und Lage um Lage nach der Spitze fortgeschritten. Aussen auf dem Dach hockt ein Kaffer, im Inneren ein anderer, sein Gehilfe, auf einer Leiter stehend. Der aussensitzende sticht die lange Holznadel, die sie sich selbst anfertigen, mit dem Grastau im Ohr, nach unten, der innen stehende sticht sie nach Anweisung des ersteren wieder zurück. . . .'

p. 21

Hlubi: hearth, door

Nothing more.

(1926) Vogel p. 359

Xhosa: description

Nothing more.

(1927) Poto Ndamase p. 114 ff.

Mpondo: huts

Nothing more.

- (1928) Godfrey p. 6 General: lightning-struck hut
'Three days later I found the remains of a lightning-struck hut knocked down and arranged in the form of a cone.'
- 1928 Brownlee p. 181 Fingo: screen
'(It may here be mentioned that, in the case of a death in a hut the body is placed on the right side of the hut next to the wall and is curtained off with a suspended mat or blanket, so that persons entering the hut may not be rendered unclean by their proximity to the corpse).'
- (1929) Kawa p. 79 ff. Fingo: floor, door
'... lwaye ucango lwenziwe ngezinti eziphingelwe ngentambo zofele nokuba yiminxeba, 'ze ke lutyatyekwe ngobulongwe benkomo, kungenjalo kubekwe ingcobo, eyalukwe, oko kukuthi, eyenziwe ngokuhlanganisa ingcongolo. . . . Umgangatho ubusihla ukusinga emnyango. Ngemva kwendlu kwakuye kubekho ikhusi, apo kwakugcinwa khona ozimbisa, izitya zokudlela, amathunga emithi, mhlaumbi emizi; kuze ke kubeko indawana apho bekubotshelwa khona amankonyana namathakane.'
- [. . . the door was made of laths woven in with thongs or monkey ropes and it was plastered with cow-dung, otherwise reedgrass (*ingcobo*) was fixed in, which was made by wattling reeds together . . . The floor (*umgangatho*) sloped towards the door. Behind the hut there was a screen of wicker work (*ikhusi*) where pots, vessels, milkpails of either wood or rushes were stored; there was a small space also where calves and lambs or kids were tied up.'](1931) Cook pp. 12, 26, 53, 67, 90, 91, 158, 159, 161, 162 Bomvana: huts
p. 26, 53, 162 Bomvana: horns on hut
p. 26
'Further, a favourite Bomvana means of adorning a hut is to place the horns of a beast sacrificed above the doorway. The hut is thus likened to a beast.'
- pp. 53, 162
Nothing more.
- p. 67 Bomvana: screen
'She now goes into the Intonjane hut which is any convenient hut. She sits behind a mat which is stretched across the woman's side of the hut.'
- p. 90 Bomvana: at death
'The hut is not burnt as was formerly the case but simply deserted for a week after which it is repaired, smeared throughout and inhabited again.'
- p. 91 Bomvana: burning of huts
'If the huts have been burnt, as was the old custom which is followed by a few to this day . . . '
- pp. 158-9 Bomvana: building of hut, description
'The oldest type of hut to be found amongst the Bomvana is known as the *inqu-pantse*. This type is also found amongst the Gcaleka and Ngqika of Willowvale and Kentani.'

The ground plan is circular and the outline is drawn with a stick and a piece of string in the logical way. This idea of how to draw a circle seems to have been known to the Bomvana as far back as they know.

The men plant long, slender poles along the circumference of the circle bending them over to meet not all at the centre. Thus two poles on the circumference which form a straight line with the centre are joined and the other poles are joined in pairs so as to form arches parallel to the first. This is done in several directions forming a strong framework. The women now thatch the entire outside of the hut with grass, after which they smear the inside walls of the hut to a height of about four feet with clay.

The typical hut of Bomvanaland today is built as follows: It has a circular ground plan. All along the circumference stout, straight poles are driven in upright. They are about 8 feet long. Thin sticks are woven in and out to form the walls. The framework of the roof is made by interlacing sticks much in the same way as is employed in the construction of the *Nqu-pantse* huts. The framework is the work of the men. The women thatch the roof and smear the walls. The peaked roof type of hut is gradually being introduced. Further inland, owing to the growing scarcity of wood, sod walls are finding favour. In both the *nqu-pantse* and the ordinary type of hut the roof is supported by a number of poles planted inside the hut.'

p. 159

Bomvana: division of huts

'The Bomvana divide their huts thus: The left-hand side going into the hut is the men's side. This side is in turn divided into two sections (A & B). The inner portion A is that part of the hut which is peculiarly the part of the owner of the kraal. The portion nearer the door (B) is the portion reserved for visiting males or the sons of the house.

The right-hand side, on entering the hut, is the women's side of the hut. The inner portion (D) is peculiarly the portion of the wife who occupies the hut. The outer part is usually occupied by visiting females or the daughters of the hut.'

p. 161

Bomvana: door

'It must be remembered that the door ordinarily employed is simply a wickerwork frame smeared with dung and having no hinges. To close this door a pole is placed horizontally across the middle of the doorway on the outside and the door itself is secured to this pole by means of a piece of leather thong passing through the door and round the pole.'

(1932) Soga pp. 148-9, 210, 217, 231, 408, 409-10

p. 149

Xhosa: horns on hut

'The skulls and horns of animals slaughtered for sacrificial purposes are preserved. Some are placed in a row over the entrance to the hut inhabited by the head of the family; others are placed on the gate-posts (*amaxanti*) on each side of the entrance to the cattle-kraal.'

p. 210

Nothing more.

Xhosa: hut

p. 217

Nothing more.

Xhosa: screen

p. 231

'A hut is now set apart for the use of the bride, in which is hung a curtain (*um-kusane*). This is stretched across the hut from side to side and provides her with a certain measure of privacy.'

Xhosa: screen

p. 408

Nothing more.

Xhosa: hut

p. 409

'Grass huts (*Ngqu-pantsi*) have almost entirely been superseded, among the Xosas, by a later development which forms the intermediate stage between them and the European square buildings. These later huts are also circular, but the walls, from the ground upwards, are made of earth sods of about a foot in length and 4 inches in breadth and perhaps six in depth. These are laid row upon row, each sod being laid as in brickwork, that is, is so placed upon the lower row that these are bound by it where they join. The walls are built up to a height of about eight feet. On top of the wall saplings are driven into the final row, and the ends bent, as in the grass hut, inwards and bound likewise to form a dome. This part is thatched with grass sewn on with ropes as already mentioned. There are two varieties of these huts, differing only in the style of the thatching. The one just mentioned, and another which is thatched with sorted out grass, the stalkless leaves being sifted out, and that furnished with stalks remaining. This is thatched in much the same way as the roofs of European houses are thatched with wheat stalks.

Xhosa: new style

The former of these two is called *isi-Tembiso*—A promise: the latter is called *i-Rontawuli*—probably the name has been derived from some Dutch word. A considerable number of the more advanced Natives are now building houses on European lines, brick walls and corrugated iron roofs, and square in form.'

1932b Hunter pp. 17, 97-9, 105, 119, 171

Mpondo: huts

pp. 97-8

: styles

'The old type of Pondo hut was the *indlu yempuku* (mouse's house), a beehive made of framework of saplings, covered with thatch. Now such huts are only built in Pondoland as temporary shelters by people on the move, such as road labourers. They were replaced by huts with a wickerwork frame, mud walls, and a rounded thatched roof. These in turn are being ousted by huts with walls made of sod or sun-dried "Kimberley bricks", with pitched roofs, thatched in European fashion with 'sewn thatch'. The hut with plastered walls is said to have been first introduced to Pondoland by missionaries about 1850. . . . Where the old technique of thatching is used women still thatch, but only men do the sewn technique, learned from Europeans.

. . . Formerly each *umzi* built its own huts. With the elaboration of techniques there is a growing tendency towards specialization. . . .

p. 98

Mpondo: repairs, death

'Every autumn the whole of the outside of a hut should be replastered and a new layer of grass put on top of the old, when the roof is thatched in the old *ukufulela* technique. About twenty bundles of grass are needed for these repairs. . . . A sewn thatch roof lasts many years without repairs.

. . . Formerly a hut was always burned when any person, even a child, living in it died. Consequently huts cannot have been expected to last for more than the married life of a woman, and, as the child mortality was heavy, usually for a much shorter time. Now huts are only burnt on the death of the owners or not at all. . . .

p. 99

Mpondo: ventilation

'The old "mouse's house" had no windows, but smoke got out, and air got in, through the thatch and through the door, which was made of wickerwork. As the huts improve, the passage of air through walls, roof, and door (often made by "school people" after European pattern) decreases. Windows are occasionally made, but they are often kept shut, and many sod huts with sewn thatch roofs are entirely without them. Improvements in housing, therefore, have been accompanied by the loss of old methods of ventilation and disinfection after death, and the old methods have not been adequately replaced.'

p. 105

Mpondo: floor

'When the floor becomes rough and dusty, a new surface is made of mud and cow-dung, pounded with a stone. The surface is about 2 inches thick, and if well made will last six months.'

p. 171

Mpondo: horns on hut

'The *umrotsho* [right foreleg] and jawbones of the beast are hung up in the hut, and its horns put in the thatch over the door: that is stated by most to be the old custom.'

(1933) Pim pp. 15-18

Mpondo: huts

p. 18

: style change

'The Pondos were still occupying the 'Bee-hive' (*Ngqu-pantsi*) type of hut at the time of Faku who died at the age of about 90 in 1867, but towards the latter end of his reign, when the country was recovering from the effects of Tshaka's raids, began to build the present type of wattle and daub hut with perpendicular walls (*Nqugwala*). Madubeza states the reason was that *Ngqupantsi* huts so easily caught fire on veld burning. Nomandindi asserts that the people "just learnt to despise" the old bee-hive, but when Madubeza's reason was suggested to him he said "Yes, that is so". To the Wesleyan Missionary, Jenkins, who founded the Palmerton Mission in the Lusikisiki District in 1845, is commonly attributed the credit of first teaching the Pondos to build huts with perpendicular walls (*Nqugwala*). Nomandindi states there were no longer any "bee-hive" (*Ngqu pantsi*) huts in Mqikela's time (he

succeeded Faku of course), but Madubeza says there were still a few but they were dying out in the early years of his reign. The change could hardly have come all at once and I think the years 1845-1870 would probably see it completed.

The use of sods in hut building in place of wattle and daub was an innovation subsequent to the date of annexation (1894) but large numbers, probably the majority, are still wattle and daub. The sod is called *Rontawule*. The use of sods I believe is due to the increasing difficulty of obtaining wattles since the Forest Department took control of the larger forests and also the desire to adopt more progressive methods.

A still later innovation, dating back only the last ten or twelve years but now becoming increasingly popular, is the use of box bricks, ordinary dagga dried bricks moulded in wooden boxes. One now frequently sees these bricks drying beside the streams. They are known as "Kimbili" bricks. The source of the name is obvious."

(1939) Duggan-Cronin Pl. 14 and legend, Pl. 15, pp. 25, 27-8 Xhosa: huts
Nothing more.

(1945) Makalima chap. 3, paras. 22, 23, 25, 26, 37

Fingo, Thembu, Mpondomise: description

Para. 23

: shelf

'Ithala leloku xhoma impahla, kanti inkuku ingakela egoloxeni izalele kanti nempahla iyaxonywa. Amayeza ngawokukusela indlu kanti ke naxa kute kwafika ukufa nokuba ngumtana ugule ngequbulo ahlala eko amayeza ukwenza uncedo lokuqala (First Aid).'

['The shelf is for keeping goods whereas the cupboard-like hole in the wall may be a fowls' nest where they lay their eggs as well as a place for keeping goods. Medicines are for protecting the hut and besides that they are always there to guard against disease and sudden illness of children and to apply First Aid.']

Para. 26

Fingo, Thembu, Mpondomise: decoration

'*Izihombiso*: Ucingo alunanto yazihombiso. Izindlu zake azihonjisiwanga, amasango, ucango, ipali zocingo, imigangato yezindlu zonke, ezonto azihonjisiwanga. Iminqwazi yezindlu: kubekwe udaka, kufakwe amatye aqekiweyo. Lonto ke ikangeleka kakuhle.'

['*Decorations*: There are no decorations about the fence. His huts are not decorated, the gates, door, fence poles, hut floors, all these are not decorated. The hut caps are plastered with mud and pieces of stone are placed in the mud. That looks nice.']

(1949) Walton pp. 70-1

Vundla: hut

'The small *ngqu-pantsi* consists of a ring of stakes whose tops are bent inwards to a point and which are bound together by concentric hoops in exactly the same manner as the *mohlongoa-fatse*. Over this framework is laid a covering of grass which is secured by means of a loose network of grass

rope comparable to that employed by the southern Sotho for their *lephephe*. Certain lengths of rope stretch like the spokes of a wheel from the apex to the ground, where they are either secured to a large hoop of saplings, fastened to the upright stakes, or they are anchored by heavy stones which form a low foundation wall around the base of the hut. . . . An identical hut was formerly widespread amongst the Xhosa.'

(1949) Duggan-Cronin Pls. LXV, LXVI, LXVII & legends

Legend to LXV Mpondomise, Mpondo: huts
Mpondomise: description, thatching

'Here (Qumbu) land is scarce, and the country relatively unbroken, so homesteads are built closer together than in Pondoland. These pitched-roofed huts are a modern type. The nearest has so-called "sewn-thatching" learnt from Europeans, and done by men, while the thatch of the second hut in the picture is tied by a network of grass ropes in the traditional manner. This kind of thatching is done by women. The oldest style of hut was domed, and covered entirely with grass, without any mud wall, but such huts are only built nowadays as temporary shelters.'

Legend to LXVII Mpondo: plastering

'This woman is preparing mud to plaster her new hut. Women are responsible for mudding the wooden frame-work put up by their husbands.'

1949-55b Hammond-Tooke p. 24 Bhaca: homestead at death

'In the past, homesteads were not burnt on the death of the kraal-head, as among the Mpondo, but the *intsika* or centre-pole of the great hut was renewed.'

1949-62 Hammond-Tooke pp. 26, 27, 28, 40-1, 141

p. 26 Bhaca: thatching—men specialists

'Formerly thatching was the work of the women, but today, with the increasing popularity of the rondavel-type hut with its neat conical roof in place of the more primitive dome-roofed building, men specialists, trained in the art of the sewn technique, travel from location to location and are employed for this purpose.'

pp. 26-7 Bhaca: huts

'The earliest type of Bhaca hut was probably similar to the Mpondo *indlu yempuku*, a beehive-shaped structure of saplings, thatched with grass. A later development was the *inugwala*, of wattle-and-daub construction, which is very rarely seen today. Poles of wattle and mimosa are driven into the ground in a circle and thinner branches are intertwined (*ukuphingela*) to form a wickerwork structure. The post holes dug to receive the uprights are first filled with cowdung "to prevent the poles rotting". Soil and cowdung are thoroughly mixed with a hoe and packed tightly between the interstices, the walls afterwards being plastered inside and out with the same material. The roof is dome-shaped and the thatch is tied on with grass ropes. The thatching is done by the women and the result is frequently not as sym-

metrical and neat as in the modern type of hut. Today at least 80 per cent of huts are of this latter type. Called *irontawuli*, and showing marked Sotho influence, these are made of sundried "Kimberley" bricks with a neat conical thatched roof, often surmounted by a metal cap bought at the store. The bricks, of mixed earth and cowdung, cut into rectangular blocks and dried in the sun are made by the women.¹ A circular trench about eight inches

¹ Occasionally a wooden frame is used for shaping these bricks.

deep is dug for a foundation and this is sometimes lined with stones. A mortar of mud and cowdung is used and the walls are plastered, as in the old-time *inqugwalo*. Thatching grass is cut by the women and is often difficult to obtain as it only grows in certain areas. For a medium-sized hut between 50 and 100 large bundles of grass are necessary if the roof is to be thatched at all adequately, and work parties are often organized for thatching. Hut floors are made by pounding the earth with a wooden block or stone and smearing it with cowdung and mud to a smooth, hard surface.'

'Every autumn, after the rains, the outside of each hut should be plastered by the women of the homestead, although a hut may be left for two or three years without being so repaired. Huts which are kept in good order may last from fifteen to twenty years.'

p. 28 'Formerly huts were burned on the death of the owner of the kraal and a new homestead built some distance away, but this is no longer the case and kraals are relatively stable—although they are occasionally moved after a quarrel with neighbours, because of accusations of witchcraft or because the situation is unhealthy.'

pp. 40-1

Bhaca: huts

'This homestead consists of three huts, a kitchen, main hut and store hut. The kitchen is rather dark and smoky and the thatch and roof-poles are grimy and black from the fires of years. Bunches of drying kaffir corn and knick-knacks such as knives, a pair of scissors and medicines, stuck in the thatch, are also covered with a thick layer of soot. In the centre of the mud-and-dung floor, which is rather dusty and strewn with objects of daily use, is the circular *iziko* or hearth on which most of the evening cooking is done. The open fire fills the hut with dense clouds of smoke and makes breathing difficult, but during fine weather and on moonlight nights it is made outside the *inkundla* (courtyard). Fire is a sociable thing and, especially during the cold East Griqualand winters, the evening meal is a time when all the family come together to discuss the news of the day. At such times the kitchen assumes the status of the most important hut in the *umti*. Against the back wall is built a low shelf of earth on which pots are kept. On it are three three-legged iron trade pots, blackened by use, three large clay pots of beer and an ordinary trade bucket, fairly new. A shallow enamel basin lies with them, while in front of the ledge lies the large flattened grindstone with its bowl-shaped hollow worn in the centre. Near it is the pecked grindstone.

The left-hand wall is occupied by an *uthango*, a semicircle of sundried bricks and stones, built against the wall, in which dried maize cobs are kept for more immediate use. Not all huts have this *uthango*. On the men's (right-hand) side an old battered army kitbag hangs from a peg. It belongs to Nkose, the eldest son of the kraalhead, and is packed with dried roots, bottles and other magical paraphernalia. There are also a few tin cans (*iibekile*, Afr. beker), widely used by the Bhaca for carrying sugar, meal and other foodstuffs, a large iron bath and some woven grass mats and trays. A rough block of wood does service as a seat and a large wood-drill, used for making holes in the logs used for sledges, a spear and one or two sticks protrude from the thatch on the men's side. Pigs, hens and even young calves wander in and out while the inevitable dog lies in the sun, covered with flies, making the approach of a stranger a hazardous affair.'

p. 41

Bhaca: hut

'The main hut of this *umti* is a bigger structure than the kitchen, but in general plan they are similar. All Bhaca huts today are made of sundried brick with a conical thatched roof and large doorway, an improvement on the traditional Nguni beehive type of hut with the low entrance. Most huts also have window openings on one or both sides, closed by means of a wooden square hinged at the centre and swivelling round on itself to block the aperture.'

p. 141

Bhaca: division of labour

'There is, however, no hard and fast rule, particularly under conditions of contact, and both sexes occasionally co-operate in contexts which formerly were reserved for one or the other.

In general, house- and field-work is the domain of the women, and hunting, care of the cattle and, formerly, warfare, the prerogative of men. Under economic pressure, however, particularly with a large number of the men away at work at the labour centres, this dichotomy of activity is sometimes modified. With the introduction of the plough, men have taken to planting and may even occasionally be seen assisting women in weeding. Animal husbandry, hunting, woodcarving, thatching, cutting out bush, ironworking, sledge-making, ploughing, digging and cleaning grainpits and leatherwork are all men's activities, while housekeeping, hoeing, weeding, grasswork, pottery-making, grass-cutting, plastering, stamping and grinding fall into the women's sphere. The sexes collaborate in reaping, clearing the fields and threshing. It will be noted that, in the few cases where men and women combine, there is always some urgency or the work is particularly arduous, necessitating co-operation. This is especially so in reaping. . . .'

(1969) Reed pp. 12-16

Xhosa: construction

Nothing more.

HUTS: TERMS

indlu hut, dwelling. This is from the common Bantu root for 'hut', also shared with other Nguni groups and with the groups of the interior, even though the latter have a different type of construction **22** (7).

ingqili 1 round village; large cattle-kraal; district D, last two meanings not confirmed. 2 large round homestead, group of huts, site for homestead Mp X Bo general **23** (5).

ungquphantsi 1 hut the thatch of which reaches to the ground D. 2 old style beehive hut, general except Mp **24**

indlu yempuku (lit. 'mouse's house') old style beehive hut, general **25**

inguwala, *inguwale*, *ingugwane* 1 white stripe painted round a house, D not confirmed. 2 round hut with perpendicular sides, D. 3 round hut with domed roof, various informants. 4 roof on supports, hut without walls, T. 5 old-style hut, Mp Xes **26**

ithungelo hut with sewn thatch and wicker frame Xes **27**

isithembiso something giving hope: circular hut with mud walls but with old-style thatch, thereby holding promise that one day it will be given a peaked rondavel roof, general **28**

ulatawula (Mp), *ilontawuli* (Bo), *ulontawuli* (Xes), *urontabile* (general), *irontawuli* (X), *urontawuli* (general) rondavel type hut with new style thatch, a word derived from Afr. rondavel, whence the r is rolled in the last three forms, though rolled r is foreign to Xhosa **29**

iphempe 1 small temporary hut in garden to afford protection to those who work there D, mostly crop-watcher's shelter, general. 2 also shelter for herdboys in bad weather Bo. 3 circumcision hut Bo Xes Hlu **30** (1019).

uxande 1 oblong building, square house as distinguished from a round hut D general (from *-xanda* 'branch out, spread' because what struck observers about European-type houses was that they had many rooms) **31**

ixhobongo 1 temporary hut, better than *iphempe*, D X Bo. 2 old dilapidated hut Mp. 3 any small hut Xes **32**

ijako 1 rafter; beam which lies on the *intsika* in a house, to bear the thatch, etc. D general except Bh. 2 it lies across *umqadi* in old style X Mp. 3 it lies on *imiqolo* and these on *intsika* Mp **33**

umqolo 1 lintel of door; round cornice of hut supporting thatch; smaller beam; (on *imiqadi*) supporting thatch D. 2 only last meaning generally accepted, now roof wattles. 3 thicker, outermost coil on roof frame, supporting thatch X **34**

intungo 1 upper part of hut roof from inside; thatched roof as a whole, D. 2 thatch Fgo. 3 withies laid crosswise on rafters Mp Xes Bh **35**

intsika pole supporting roof; upright post, pillar, D general **36**

isibonda 1 pole or stake in fence or hut D. 2 upright pole, general **37**

isimiso (something which keeps something else standing) a less common word for *intsika* 'post serving as pillar' **38**

- uluthi, uthi* (pl. *izinti*) 1 rod, stick, wattle, lath, switch, D. 2 spear shaft (McL.) Xes Bh **39** (441, 457).
- ujojosi* rafter smaller than *umqadi*, D unconfirmed **40**
- umqadi* 1 principal, uppermost rafter, lying across the pillars D. 2 found in old huts, and forming main roof tree in new, general except Mp **41**
- uphahla* frame of old-style hut; (mod.) roof frame of any kind **42**
- idobo* 1 general term for long coarse grass D. 2 sp. of grass for thatching X **43**
- incopho* 1 high point or pinnacle D. 2 earth peak or top of hut roof T **44**
- ingximba* 1 band made of the trailing stems of the wild vine, D. 2 any climbing plant, but esp. *umnxeba* (wild vine); rope for keeping down thatch Bo. 3 otherwise unknown **45** (224).
- inkatha* 1 coil of anything twisted together, esp. grass headpad for carrying D general. 2 peak cone of hut, made of stone and shell X, or made of grass rope T. (From widely distrib. Bantu root) **46** (960).
- isicholo* 1 nD. 2 tuft of hair left on front or top of head of children and girls (cf. same word in Zulu, meaning coiffure or long top-knot of women); fig.: peak of hut roof, made of earth, stone, shells X **47**
- ithembu* slender-stemmed plant, used for rope T, for tying thatch (F-Kawa). Note: D says *Sparaxis*, but this does not grow in the Eastern Province, so perh. *Diarama* sp. **48** (199).
- umbeleso* 1 cross band for tying the thatching ropes, McL general. 2 (prob. erron. under *umbelese*, which does not appear to exist) the lath or band of baboon rope or rushes for tying and keeping down thatch on round huts, D X. 3 most people call all such ropes by this name but some X call only the radial ropes this, and the horizontal ones *iintambo*. Der. from verb *-belesa*, non-existent in X but common in related languages, and causat. of *-beleka*, thus meaning 'put on the back of (like baby)' **49**
- umbelesi* all ropes, Mp and see foregoing **50**
- umnqwazi* 1 covering for the head of women, being a high cap made of skin trimmed with beads, bonnet, cap, hat, D general. 2 narrow beadwork headband round back of head for girls, Mp. 3 beaded headring (Mp Beukes). 4 married woman's beaded headring, also called *isingwazi*, Mp-CT. 5 baboon-skin hat, Bh. 6 apex or pinnacle of modern hut X **51** (653, 733, 805).
- umnxeba* 1 generic name for the wild vine, *Vitis*, whose climbing stems form the monkey ropes used for binding the thatch on hut-roofs and for basket-making, D general. 2 any fibrous binding material, Bh **52** (210).
- thunga* sew, stitch, D general and from very common Bantu root **53**
- utulo* 1 lowermost layer of thatch on a house, D; thatch X. 2 thatching needle, X Bo Mp Xes Bh **54** (398).
- umngecele* tall grass used for thatch D (but misprinted *umncele*) Mp. 2 thatching rope T **55**
- isivalo* (-*vala* 'close') 1 nD. 2 bar for fastening door Bh. 3 broad collar and strip of beadwork worn from neck T **56** (852).

- isifingo* pole for fastening doors Mp (distinguish from *isifingo* the dawn D) **57**
- isigobo* 1 stick about an inch thick for fastening door of hut D X Bo only; this is only part of the wider meaning: 2 short thick stick or log, block, as to sit on, for head-rest, door-bar, cross-bar of skin-dressing frame **58** (252).
- ixaba* 1 bar to an entrance, bolt to door, mat or skin hung up against wind; shed D. 2 kraal fence of branches stuck straight into ground Bo. 3 platform for drying pumpkins or clothes, in the open or inside, Xes. 4 supporting pole or buttress of straight fence X **59**
- ixabo* (-*xaba* lie across, obstruct) 1 nD. 2 bar, bolt, screen, shelter (McL). 3 anything that bars the way Mp **60**
- ucango*, pl. *iincango* door, as distinct from *umnyango* doorway D general **61**
- uhlango* 1 nD. 2 door of any kind Mp Xes **62**
- udaka* 1 mud, clay, mortar. 2 plaster of clay and dung, general **63**
- umgangatho* mud floor of hut; now any floor D general (from -*gangatha* 'tread or stamp down into solid mass') **64**
- umgubasi* 1 doorpost, D general. 2 mostly any one of the four timbers of door-frame, whether horizontal or vertical X Bo Mp Xes Bh **65**
- umnyango* doorway D. general **66**
- umqobo* 1 plank forming threshold of hut D X Xes. 2 also plain block as head-rest X Xes. 3 also lintel Bo. 4 log, pole Mp **67**
- umsele* 1 ditch, trench, waterfurrow, drain D. 2 gutter round base of hut (Kay) general. 3 also raised skirting shelf inside walled huts Mp Xes **68** (469).
- utyabeka* (from -*tyabeka* plaster) 1 nD. 2 plaster (Kay), general **69**
- igumbi* (from -*gumba* carve, scoop out wood) 1 corner or room, recess, ante-chamber immediately at the entrance of a house D. 2 part of hut on each side of the entrance inside; part nearest wall all round inside of hut, general. 3 recess in wall, recessed sides of grain-pit, recess in grave to take the body, general **70** (1028).
- ilintla* 1 part of hut directly opposite the door and beyond the fire-place. Always occupied by the master of the hut D general. (Literal meaning: 'highest part', root -*hla*, cf. Zu. *enhla*) **71**
- isilili* 1 part of hut set aside for use of individuals, for sitting or sleeping in; a bedroom D. 2 side of hut interior, demarcated sleeping area, general **72**
- iziko* fireplace or hearth in the centre of the hut, D general, but not necessarily inside hut; also forge **73** (131).
- ikhusi* (from -*khusa* 'screen from' D) 1 screen of wickerwork, fixed or movable, placed inside the entrance to a Kafir-hut to keep out the draught; partition D. 2 movable screen T. 3 screen for *intonjane* rites Mp Xes **74**
- ikhuselo* (-*khusa* screen from) 1 screen, curtain, D. 2 not confirmed **75**
- isikhuselo* 1 screen, curtain, D. 2 not confirmed **76**
- umkhusane* (from -*khusa* 'screen from (rain or wind); shelter') 1 screen, partition D general, except Bh. Very often a blanket strung from a cord serves as screen **77**

- ilengalenga* 1 curtain, hanging thing D Mp. 2 not X Bo. 3 rope for children to swing on or from Xes **78**
- inkusane* 1 nD. 2 screen for *intonjane* rites X. 3 screen, partition Bo Mp Xes, often merely a blanket hung up. Probably merely a variant of *umkhusane*, also just a screen. See 77 *umkhusane*, or 74 *ikhusi* same thing **79**
- inkongo* (No. 1) 1 (a) mat put up lengthwise in a doorway to form a draught or to screen from the smoke of a fire; (b) the *umtshotsho* or Saturday night dance of boys D. 2 screen or half-open door, general. 3 hut for dancing, Mp Bo but unknown to many others **80** (11).
- intendelezo* 1 fence or wall forming enclosure; outer court D Mp Bh. 2 screen for cooking Bo **81**
- isisitheliso* screen, D. X only **82**
- umkhuselo* (-*khusa* screen from) 1 nD. 2 screen, Bh. 3 screen for *intonjane* rites only, T. 4 not confirmed further **83**
- igolonxa* 1 recess, cupboard-like hole D. 2 shelf-like cavity built against wall, also used as fowl's nest (T Mak) **84**
- igwane* 1 nD. 2 stick with hook for pulling things down, Mp. 3 hook suspended from rafter, for hanging things from, Mp **85**
- iqonga* 1 elevated place for storing fruit, corn, etc.; store, shelf D general, for various purposes, as rack for sticks, firewood, platform on poles, built in fields, for crop-watchers; rough bedstead of sticks made and used by healed *abakhwetha* (Bo-Cook) **86** (109, 323, 505, 1025).
- ithala* 1 shelf or loft for storing provisions, D general. Such shelf may be a groove in wall plaster, or wickerwork attached to it, or wicker door on poles, also in lands **87** (533, 1095).
- ixhayi* 1 short jutting branch (on hut pillar) left for use as peg to hang things on D X Mp Xes. 2 rack made of wood for suspending a gun D. 3 upright poles of skin-dressing frame Bo Bh. 4 stirrer for medicines, twirled between palms of hands, to stir medicines or for boys to stir up beestings Bo X Mp **88** (254, 1013).
- umjingo* 1 rope slung between poles for hanging clothes on; swing D X Bo T Bh. 2 swing, of children Xes Bh (From -*jinga* 'hang, depend; swing backwards and forwards; dangle' D) **89** (1086).
- ujingijingi* same as *umjingo* swing etc. but this latter less common Bh **90**
- umnqando* 1 nD. 2 rope in hut to hang things over Bh **91**
- umnqiwu* 1 rod, bar, thong, on which curtains are hung D X Bo. 2 rack for clothes Bo **92**
- umphanyiso* 1 nD. 2 rope to hang clothes on Mp. 3 rope or poles to hang clothes over Xes Bh. 4 rope suspended between poles in hut as swing for children Mp Xes **93**

HUTS: DISCUSSION

The earliest description available of a hut in the area now inhabited by the Cape Nguni is by Perestrello in 1554. He describes as being usual among all the people of the coast, 'huts built with poles and thatched with dry grass, in form and size like a baker's oven'. This incomplete description is nearer to the Cape Nguni style than the next one, by a survivor of the wreck *St. Albert*, in 1593. He saw huts 'made of reed mats' which could be taken down and moved to another place—a description which fits the Hottentot type¹ of hut and does not occur again in the literature for this area. The next description, a century and a half later, and all subsequent early descriptions, are of the thatched beehive hut (*ungquphantsi*; *ingugwane* (Mpo); *ingugwale* or *ithungelo* (Xes); or *indlu yempuku* (mouse's house)) of which isolated examples might still be found as late as 1948 in out-of-the-way places, or as temporary dwellings or shelters (Pl. 5; Pl. 6:1). A rough version of *ungquphantsi* is still used for the *khwetha* huts (Pl. 6:2, 3, 4), but these and those erected merely as temporary shelters would not be as well finished as those intended for any length of residence, though it has been suggested that *ungquphantsi* was itself most suitable for a people frequently on the move.

The beehive hut gave way to the straight-walled type, which, like the square hut, was first noted in the neighbourhood of mission stations in the twenties of the last century. It was not until the end of the century, however, that the new huts predominated. According to Scully the change was more rapid among the northern than among the southern tribes, and the old huts persisted longest probably among the Bomvana and the coastal Xhosa.

The main differences in the new huts are that the wall and roof are separate, instead of being one curved dome, and that the hut and doorway are higher by several feet. At first the walls were wattle and daub, then, as wood became scarce, sods of turf, and later sundried box- or 'Kimberley' bricks or stone were used. The earliest roofs were domed and thatched in the same way as the beehive hut, then conical roofs began to be built, thatched either in the old way or in the European way. In the language the round non-beehive huts are classed in two sorts, according to the type of thatching; those thatched in the old style are called *isithembiso* ('promise', i.e. a makeshift, the intention being to change the thatch later), and those with new style thatch, *irontawuli*. Amongst the Xhosa near the coast, the Fingo near East London, the Bomvana, and the Mpondo, *isithembiso* (Pl. 7:2) is the prevalent type although *irontawuli* is gaining ground; among the Xhosa away from the coast, the Thembu, and the immigrant tribes in general, *irontawuli* is by far the more common of the two (Pl. 8:1 & 2). Where both are found together in the same homestead, *irontawuli*, which costs more to build, is the living-hut and *isithembiso* the kitchen- or store-hut. A local variation seen in 1955 in the neighbourhood of East London and Peddie was a

¹ Theal, *History and Ethnography of Africa* I, p. 386: 'From this description it is evident that Luspance's clan was of mixed Bantu and Hottentot blood, the former being greater in quantity than the latter.'

hexagonal or sexagonal *irontawuli* type roof, sometimes made of corrugated iron.

Rectangular huts (*uxande*) of one or more rooms, although first mentioned about the same time as the new round huts (*c.* 1824), have been slow in gaining popularity (Pl. 8:3). (All those seen in 1948 were at chiefs' and headmen's places, which is contrary to Soga's statement in 1931 that the old beehive huts were likely to be found at chiefs' places, where the people are the most conservative). Oval huts were being used in 1963 by the Hlubi of Herschel, but these are unusual. They were recorded among the Xhosa in 1788 by Von Winkelman, but no other author confirmed this.

A special variety of hut is the shelter (*iphempe*) built in the fields for the people watching the ripening crops just before harvest. Early authors mention its use by Xhosa and Mpondo, and it was used until recently by Thembu and Mpondo. According to Barrow, living twigs were tied together for the framework, but those seen in east Pondoland consisted of a simple wattled beehive framework, three-quarters of an oval, the fourth quarter being open, roughly covered with thatching grass (*ikwame*), tied on with bark or creeper stems (Pl. 9:2). The watchers were concerned primarily with keeping the birds from the ripening sorghum. Less of this is grown than formerly, so that there is less need for the *iphempe*.

CONSTRUCTION

The construction of the huts is best understood by reference to the diagrams (text-figs. 2-9). All round huts have this in common that when the site (*isiza*) has been levelled, a circle is drawn for the circumference with the aid of a piece of rope tied to a peg in the centre of the floor space.

Ungquphantsi

The poles (*isibonda*) of the framework were planted in a single row in the circle, about 30 cm apart, and leaving a space of about 60 cm for the door. The poles were upwards of 3 m long and about 4 cm thick at the base. The average diameter of the circle was about 2,4 to 3,6 metres, but some were as much as 9 m. At a height of 120 to 150 cm from the ground the poles were bent over and bound to their opposite numbers with monkey rope (*umnxebe*), bast or thongs, so as to form a flattish dome, 150 to 240 cm high at the centre of the hut. Morgan states that the diameter varied more than the height, so that the larger huts were very flat on top. The manner of joining the poles to make the dome differed, and there seem to have been three methods in this area. It seems impossible to establish at this stage their distribution among the tribes, if there was in fact a tribal distribution. There are increasingly few people alive who have ever seen this type of dwelling-hut. Most informants described the rough version used for the initiation schools. One method was to bring the poles to the centre of the hut circle and bind them to their opposite numbers there (text-fig. 2). In only one of the early authorities does the description evidently apply to this, that of Bonatz for the Thembu, but several others for the Xhosa might be

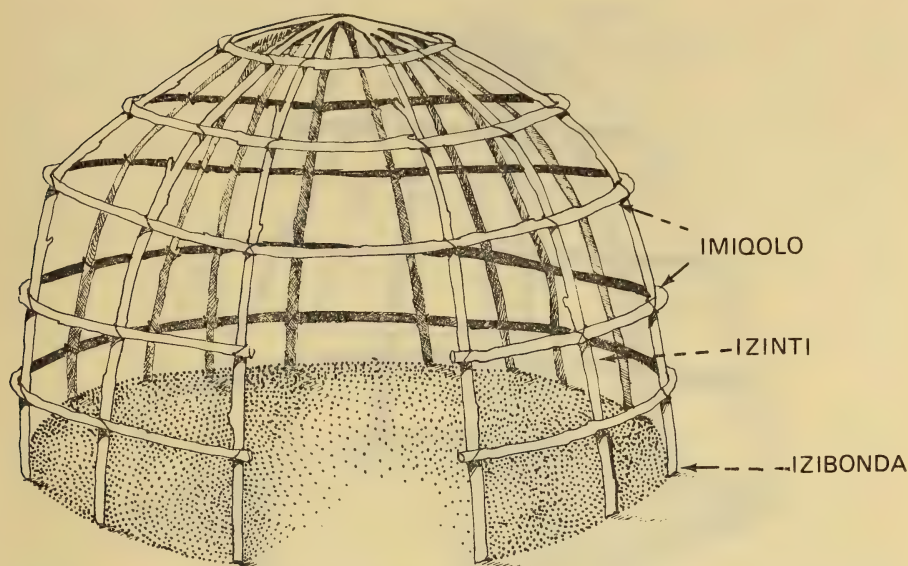


Fig. 2

interpreted that way. Walton, however, believes that this was the Xhosa method, and relates it to that of the Vundla of southern Basutoland who lived among the Xhosa for some time (text-fig. 3). This method was confirmed to him by modern Xhosa informants, and to us by one on the first visit, and several on the second, but they were not old men. A second method was to join only one pair of poles across the centre of the hut and to join the others in a series of arches descending in size from the centre to the back and front (front being the doorway) (text-fig. 4). Two early descriptions for the Xhosa evidently apply to this method and several others might be so interpreted. It is the only variety we have seen, and several modern informants confirmed it. It is the same method as that of the Hottentot hut frame, which however differed from it by being more open (i.e. made of fewer poles) and having no further filling in. It is a more suitable method for larger huts, as it avoids congestion at the centre of the roof. In these two methods other flexible poles were bound to the arched frame horizontally and concentrically to make a criss-cross framework. (Authorities differ as to whether this was done before or after bending over for the dome.) The third method is to join the poles in arches as in the second method, but in two directions, so as to obtain the criss-cross of the frame from the original circle of poles which are, however, planted more closely. This is the method used by Bomvana, Mpondo and possibly all eastern tribes, since it is basically the method of Natal.

The dome of the second and third building style was supported by two sets of rafters (*umqadi* and *imiqolo*), the number of each depending on the size of the

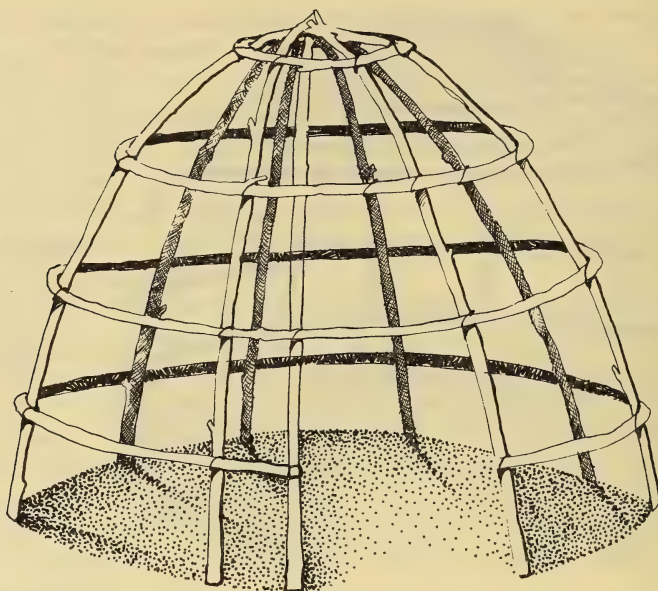


Fig. 3

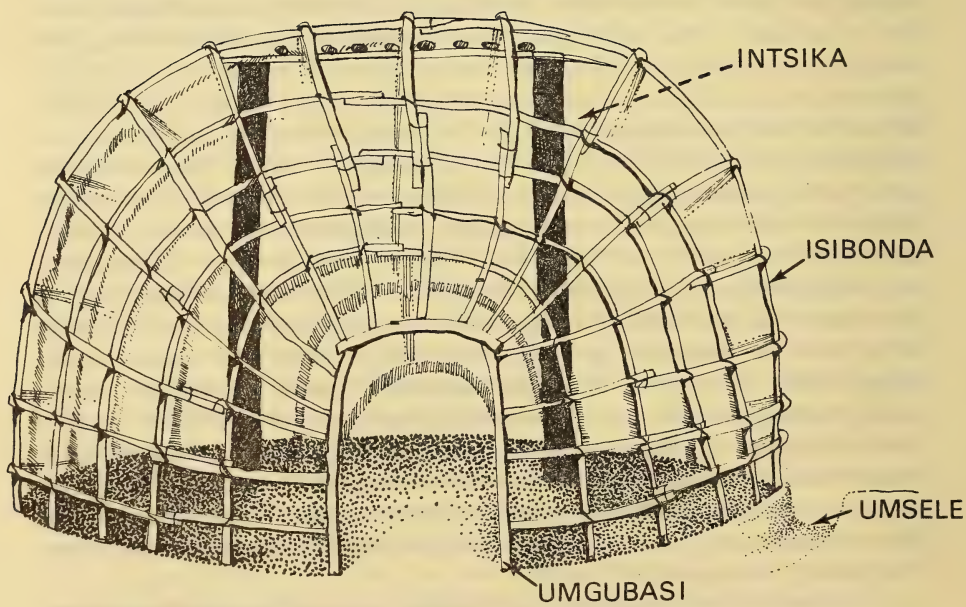


Fig. 4

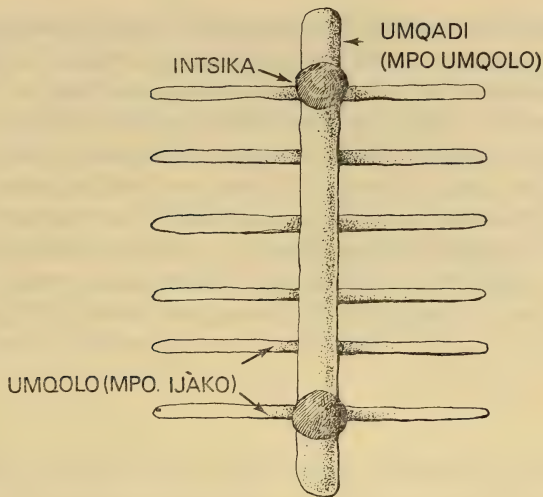


Fig. 5

hut, one set fixed at right angles across the other, and resting on two or more wooden pillars (*intsiika*) irregularly placed in the centre of the floor (text-fig. 5).

The framework (*uphahla*) was strengthened by interlacing or binding to it withies, reeds, or bundles of grass, until the fabric was fairly close. The inside was then frequently, and by the Mpondo always, plastered (*-tyabeka*) as far as the bend for the roof, with the usual mixture of mud (*udaka*) and dung, smoothed over finally with liquid clay. Sometimes the outside was plastered too, to a certain height (the dome of the roof was not plastered or the smoke would not have been able to get out) before the whole was thatched down to the ground with grass (*idobo*, etc., etc.) tied on in bundles with monkey-rope or bast, working from the top to the bottom. The thatch was held down on the outside with a criss-cross or network of plaited grass rope (*umbeleso*) or bark rope or monkey-rope over the whole hut (text-fig. 6). The vertical cords went from the centre top, down to the bottom where they were secured to the

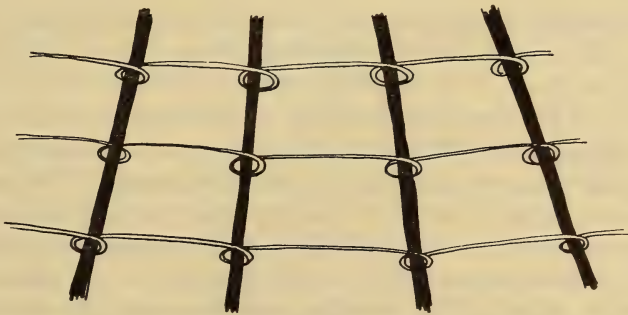


Fig. 6

vertical poles of the framework. The horizontal cords went round concentrically, wrapping once round each vertical cord as they met it (Pl. 5:2). Those on a level with the door were secured to the posts. According to Fleming, and to Smith speaking of the Mpondo, the thatch was held on the outside with horizontal rods—this certainly tallies with some of the early drawings and in East Pondoland today many sewn-thatch roofs are secured with short sticks. A trench (*umsele*) was dug round the outside of the hut to carry off rain-water. According to Kay and Phillips, branches were sometimes thrown round the circumference of the hut by Xhosa and Thembu, to prevent the cattle from eating the straw. According to Hallbeck and Fritsch the Thembu used to fasten their huts to mimosa bushes to prevent them from blowing away in the strong winds.

Door

The doorway (*umnyango*) was only 60 to 120 cm high, so that one stooped to enter, and 45 to 60 cm wide and was strengthened with extra posts at the side and top (*umgubasi* and *imiqolo*) bound closely with rope for strength. Among the Bomvana the door-posts stuck out at the top like horns. The doorway was closed by a wicker door (*ucango*) (Pl. 9: 3 & 4) woven of thin poles and creeper stems or, according to Kawa, in Fingo huts, of reeds, or, according to Shaw by a mat. Fingo and Mpondo doors were plastered with dung. Wicker doors of chequer weave, and doubtless unchanged in style may still occasionally be seen today. Warps and wefts are of tough creeper stems or thin withies. The Vundla, however, use twigs for warps held together by three rows of twining with rope. There is no adequate description of the fastening of the door (Shaw says it was 'merely tied with riems, or . . . green withs'), but judging by the vocabulary it was probably held in position in the same way as wicker doors are today, that is, by means of a thick pole put through a loop, usually a thong or a plaited grass cord which is tied about the middle of the door. The door is placed in position on the inside or outside of the doorway, and the pole fixed on the other side (Pl. 9:4).

Screens

It was customary to shelter the doorway either from within or without by some form of screen. Beutler, who visited the Xhosa in 1752, speaks of 'a high wall of clay' in front of the doorway, whether inside or outside is not clear. Swellengrebel, a few years later mentions a wicker screen inside the door, but most of the descriptions of Xhosa huts speak of a mat fixed diagonally from one side of the doorway, screening the fire from the draught. This may be what Brown refers to when he states that 'in the better sort of hut a partition runs from the one side more than half way across at the side where . . . the door is'—cutting off 3 ft from one side of the circle. He adds that the wife and children sleep behind it. Fritsch (1865) describes a wicker screen like the door erected inside the hut across the doorway, but a little distance from it, and adds that

occasionally a small enclosure was screened outside the doorway (Pl. 10:2). This latter was evidently a foreign practice brought with them by the Fingo (text-fig. 7). It did not, however, become universal. Baines saw at Shiloh a screen like the Ngwane screen of Natal. According to Kropf, the Fingo fenced a courtyard in front of the door and often half-way round the house, while Kawa states that the Fingo screen (*ikhusi*) was behind the hut, and was used for storing utensils, and there was 'a little space also' where calves and lambs were fastened. According to Steedman the Mpondo doorway was screened 'by a rustic portal'; Smith calls it more explicitly a 'wattled wall', which was placed just across the doorway on the inside.

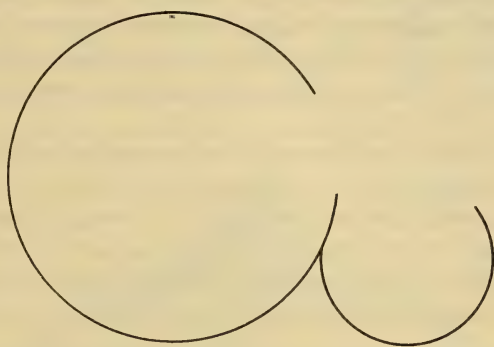


Fig. 7. Plan of Fingo hut and enclosure (after Duff)

Floor

The floor (*umgangatho*) was laid 5 cm or more thick with pounded and damped clay from anthills, which is very fine and sets very hard, and was then smeared at regular intervals with fresh cow-dung to keep it clean and hard (Pl. 9:1). According to Kawa the Fingo sloped it down towards the door.

Hearth

In the middle of the floor, between the roof pillars, generally in a line with the door, but not necessarily dead centre, was the hearth (*iziko*), which was a slight depression about 60 cm in diameter, surrounded by a wall of a few centimetres high (Pl. 10:1). Lowndes speaks merely of 'a large flat stone'—Alexander says that three stones supported the pots.

Apart from the differences in the framework, previously discussed, the same form of beehive hut seems to have been made by all the Cape Nguni, but according to such authors as comment, those of the Mpondo, Mbo and immigrant tribes, while rougher than the Zulu, were larger and more neatly made than those of the Xhosa and Thembu, and because they were always plastered, warmer. A slight variation in Mpondo and Mbo huts was that at about 90 cm from the entrance the floor was raised and in the well so left near the entrance, the calves were kept at night. (According to Matthiae small stock was taken

into the huts at night by all the tribes.) Alberti speaks of a double hut, that is, two huts with a passage between them where the children slept, as in use among the tribes 'at a greater distance from the borders of the Colony'. But there is no indication which tribes these might be.

Isithembiso

1. The first change from the beehive hut was to a round hut with 'wattle and daub' walls. Poles about 120 to 210 cm high were planted in a circle and side poles interlaced, chequer weave, to make a strong frame. The roof poles were either incorporated in the wall, or fixed into the top of it, and bent over either to the centre, or as arches, as before to form a flattish dome. Other rods were tied at right angles to these, and the same support of rafters and pillars from the floor was given as in the beehive huts. The walls were then plastered thickly inside and out. This type of wall is still very commonly used in the east of the area (1970) (Pl. 12:2 & 1).

2. It was not long before the wattle frame was replaced by a wall built up of sods of turf (*isisinde*) (Pl. 11:3) or of sun-dried clay box bricks ('Kimberley bricks') or, in the north, especially in Herschel, of roughly dressed or undressed stone, the wall being as before plastered inside and out. In the Herschel district mud is used as mortar to hold the stones. The roof poles were fastened into the top of the wall to make a domed caveless roof as before (text-fig. 8).

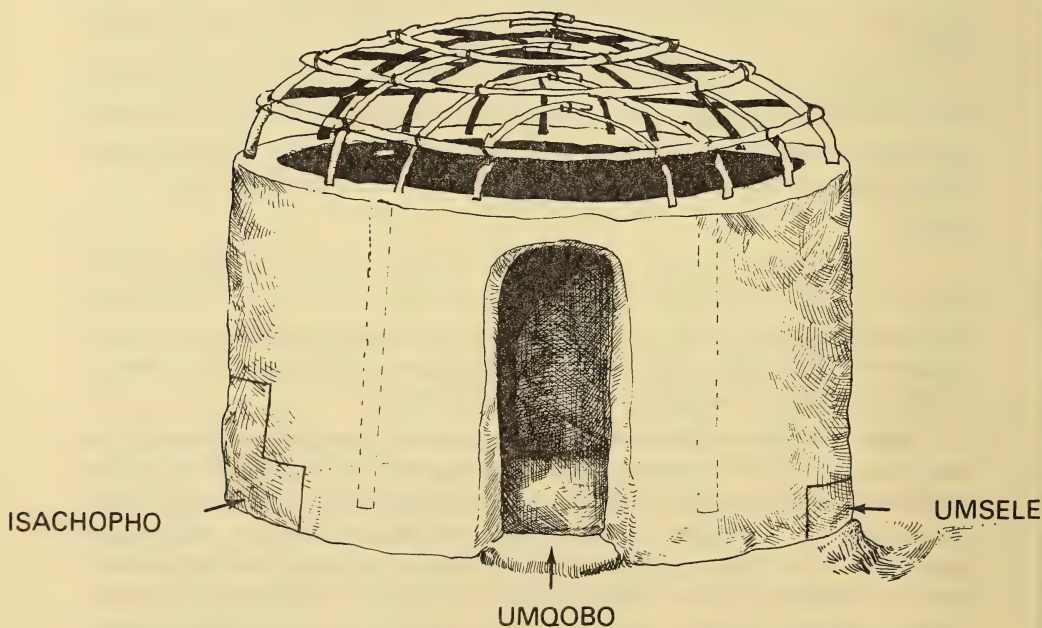


Fig. 8

3. The change to a pitched roof of conical shape on a strong eaved frame is independent of the type of wall used, and the conical roof may have been and still is used with any of the above-mentioned walls (Pl. 7:1 & 4). The main rafters are fastened across the top of the wall, and meet at a point in the centre (Pl. 12:1) where they are fastened to the the central pillar which is the kingpost. This is still called *intsika* and in some cases does rest on the floor, but more often it is cut off 60 or 90 cm from the top. In either case there are generally three or five struts from it to the rafters to give added support to the roof. A method of erecting the roof frame, seen latterly in the Herschel district, was to nail the two main rafters together on the ground, then haul them on to the wall with ropes, and when they were in a vertical position to continue the construction of the frame. The long straight poles that are required for this type of roof are now almost exclusively supplied by pine and wattle saplings grown in Government plantations and sold for that purpose. The rafters of this type of roof are nailed in position (text-fig. 9).

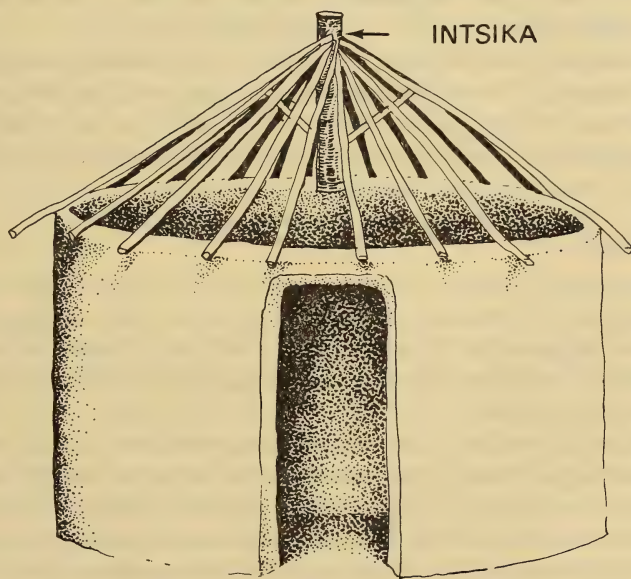


Fig. 9

The roof of any of the above varieties was and is thatched in exactly the same way as the beehive huts, from the top downwards. Stones are attached to the free ends of the ropes of the network to hold them down until the horizontal ropes have been fixed (Pl. 13:2), and the network has settled. The free ends may then be tied to the roof frame, or to pegs from the top of the wall, or, in the neater examples, fastened round a thick roll (*umqolo*) of rope which runs round the roof at a little distance from the edge of the thatch, and is itself attached through the thatch to the frame or pegs (Pl. 7:2). A local variation

almost always seen in east Pondoland on this type of roof is for the thatch to be held on the outside by pliable twigs stuck into the thatch in rows, each twig overlapping the last (Pl. 7:1 & 4).

Irontawuli

This, as previously noted, is primarily a change in style of thatching. In *isithembiso* the whole grass is used and tied on in bundles. In *irontawuli* the stems are separated from the leaves and sewn on in the European manner with the use of a needle and twined or plaited cord. Work proceeds from the bottom upwards. Soga states that this type of thatching may be used on either type of roof frame, but all that were seen were on the conical frame. While some informants stated that it might be used with any type of wall, others, more reasonably, stated that only the stronger wall would be able to bear the weight (Pl. 8:1 & 2). At a Mpondomise homestead near Tsolo a specialist thatcher was seen using a thatching-comb (*idekspan*) for smoothing the thatch. In order to do the work he had a pole, suspended by ropes from the centre post of the hut, on which to perch himself and move round while he worked.

The conical roof, whichever way it is thatched, should be completed by a roof-crown (*umnqwazi*) at the peak, covering the projecting end of the kingpost. It usually consists of clay plaster, decorated in some places by having white stones or large white shells stuck in it (Pl. 13:1). Some people buy specially made galvanised iron roof-crowns at the stores.

Modern modifications

Corrugated iron has been used for roofs for some years especially in the Ciskei. Sometimes it is painted red or another colour. The shortage of thatch grass has been suggested as a cause of this, but it seems rather to be simply a modern trend. In fact a layer of thatch is generally put on first as insulation and then covered with the iron.

In some of the modern huts there are small windows, but in many more there are small square holes in the sides near the top of the wall—two or three per hut. These are meant as windows for ventilation and they may be closed by a wooden shutter on a swivel. They are, however, frequently kept closed and thus hardly fulfil their purpose. Ventilation is moreover not as free in the solid-walled, and particularly in the sewn-thatched huts, as it was in the beehives.

In the round huts there is a wooden frame (*umgubasi*) to the doorway which is higher than the old type, but does not reach the top of the wall. Very often a piece of wood is placed for the threshold (*umqobo*). Wicker doors may be seen in the coastal districts though seldom elsewhere. It has been suggested that they are retained at the coast where it is warmer, to let air into the hut, or because material is available. They are the same as the old style, but a little bigger to fit the bigger doorway. The modern style of door is an ordinary wooden door, sometimes in one piece, sometimes the stable door type, hinged to the door-post and fastened with a bolt and padlock.

Enclosed yards though fairly recently abandoned are no longer seen, and generally the only screens used now are mats or blankets, hung up to cut off a portion of the hut for a special purpose, for example for the girl initiate to sit behind for the period of her seclusion in the *intonjane* hut; or for the bride to sit behind for a little privacy during the wedding ceremonies; or, according to Brownlee, in modern Fingo practice, to screen off a corpse so that anyone entering the hut will not be defiled. A recent modification of the old screen was seen in Pondoland where a curved wicker screen like a door had been placed to windward of an outdoor fire-place.

Floor and hearth (Pl. 10:1) are the same in the new huts as in the beehive type. Finger patterns are seen in the smeared floors in Herschel. In fine weather cooking is done outside (Pl. 10:3), and for inside cooking there is nowadays usually a kitchen-hut, but all huts have their hearths for light and warmth.

The question of upkeep varies with the type of hut and the zeal of its mistress. Floors should be smeared once a week. Walls should be replastered and the old type of thatch repaired or renewed once a year in the autumn. According to Tooke huts should last 15 to 20 years. According to Bizana informants the huts only last five or six years and are not repaired because the owners are quite keen to move further away and get new ground. This seems doubtful. According to Matthiae the plaster in the beehive huts was renewed every month. This may have been due to the strain of the less substantial wall, or merely to Matthiae's imagination. The guest hut or strangers' hut was said always to be in poor condition because it was no one's particular business to look after it.

Decoration

It is difficult to say how old is the habit of decorating the plaster of hut walls. It is not mentioned by the earlier writers who gave such detailed descriptions of the huts. Baines, however, saw patterns made by putting pumpkin seeds in the wet clay and removing them when it was dry. Wangemann mentions seeing remains of painting on the inner walls of a Fingo hut of beehive style; Nauhaus speaks both of patterns made in the actual plastering, and of painting the walls; and Kropf says the Xhosa sometimes decorated the plaster with yellow, red, and white pigment. Modern huts are very frequently decorated on the outside with white or colour-wash, either as a frieze round the top of the wall or as a band down each side of the door, or both. Plain bands are the most common, but vandykes, scallops, and all sorts of patterns are seen (Pl. 8:2). No whitewash was seen in Bomvanaland in 1948, but a few huts had a fresco slightly lighter in colour than the wall, and edged with coral colour. A certain amount of whitewash was seen in east Pondoland, where its use is said to be a matter of taste. The manner of putting on the plaster with the hands in fan-like sweeps is often used to decorative effect, especially by the Hlubi of Qumbu, Herschel and Matatiele. Nowadays some people use a fork to make the patterns. Decoration of the inside of the walls does occur but much less frequently.

The decoration and proportions of the modern rondavel and the pitch of the roof have combined to make a Transkeian type that is as characteristic in style as the former grass hut—perhaps more so in that in the former style there was a difference between those of the west and of the east.

In many places huts are seen ornamented with the skulls and horns of cattle. According to MacDonald these might be the horns of any slaughtered beast, but according to Soga and to a Mpondo informant in the Bizana district these are all skulls of beasts that have been slaughtered as a sacrifice for some member of the family of that hut, while skulls of beasts slaughtered for the head of the homestead are placed on or near the gate of the kraal. Cook records the same practice among the Bomvana, but the emphasis is on decoration, although the skulls are those of sacrificed animals. Mpondo do the same occasionally, according to Kidd for ornament or against lightning, according to Hunter 'because it is the custom'.

PLAN

The parts of the hut are differentiated as follows (text-fig. 10): the hearth (*iziko*); the portion behind it and opposite the door (which is reserved for, from

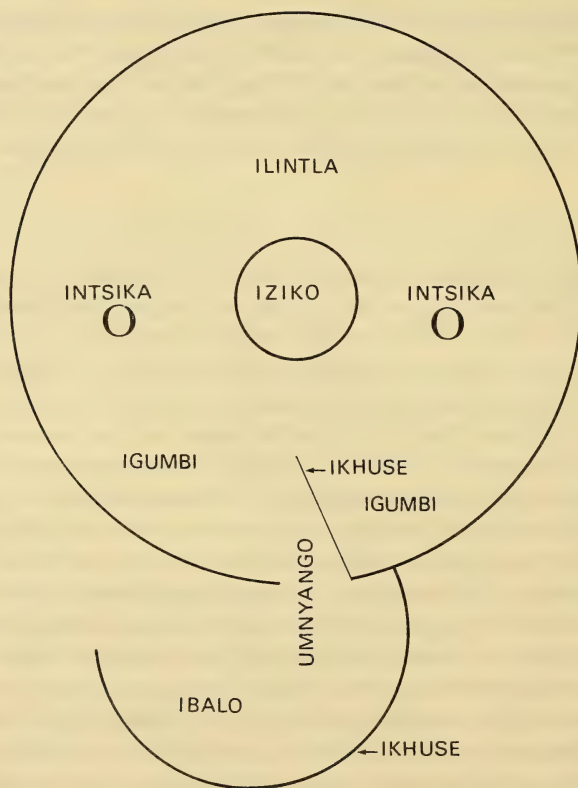


Fig. 10

left to right, the master of the hut, the beer pots and the mistress of the hut (*ilintla*); the sides where people sit or sleep (*isilili*); and the portion to right and left of the entrance where guests sit (*igumbi*). In modern huts the left hand (*igumbi*) often has a clay seat (*isichopho*) built into the wall. Women keep to the right side of the hut, and the men and calves, if they are brought in, to the left.

For added convenience inside the hut, ropes (*umjingo*, *umnqiwu*, *umphanyiso*) were and still are suspended from the roof or between two poles to hang clothes on or to support a wooden rack or pair of hooks for storing weapons etc., and are also used, according to most informants, to swing babies on. A shelf (*ithala*) of plaster, sticks and rope, might also be built into the plastered part of beehive huts, and a variety of shelves, one of which might be a fowl's nest, is seen in the walls of modern huts. In the clay walled huts there is often round the inside a raised skirting, on which pots stand.

Builders

There seems to be some difference of opinion amongst early authorities as to who was responsible for building the huts (estimated at about three days' work). Some state quite definitely that it was entirely women's work. (Von Winkelman, Alberti and Smith, all careful observers, belong to these as does Van der Kemp.) The majority of observers of the last century, however, say that the men cut the poles for the frame, planted them in position and made the wicker door, and that the women did the rest. Kidd, at the beginning of this century, found that Mpondo men built the whole frame for the wattle and daub huts and left the women to thatch and plaster. Bomvana informants stated that men prepared the clay for the women to plaster. Hunter confirms that women do old sewn (*isithembiso* type) thatching and plastering, in addition to cutting the grass, and helping to make Kimberley bricks, but men cut sods and build with sods or bricks, and do the new sewn thatch. They make the roof frame too. According to Hammond-Tooke, Bhaca women do the old type thatching, while men, often specialists who travel from place to place, do the new style thatching. Nowadays in west Pondoland specialists are often called in for any or all of the stages of the work—women being rewarded with a beer-party and men in cash. In the Herschel district a number of people gather to collect stone for a new hut. Food and beer are provided by its owner, as he does for the thatching party.

Except in larger size and better workmanship, there has never been any difference between the huts of the chiefs and those of their subjects. The hut of any head of a homestead is generally larger than the others.

ABANDONMENT OF HUTS

The practice of abandoning huts and homesteads if a death occurred in them or they were struck by lightning was universal at the time of the earliest travellers, but it has been modified partly as the result of missionary teaching and partly to suit the decreasing availability of land. Up to the beginning of

the nineteenth century it was reported that the whole homestead was abandoned in either contingency, unless the death was of a very young child. The first modification was that if the death was of anyone except the owner of the homestead, merely the hut in which it took place was burnt. According to Thompson, the hut of the deceased, even if he had not died in it, was closed up and never used again. Similarly after about the middle of the century only a hut that had been struck by lightning was abandoned, after being doctored, or destroyed or fenced off. Towards the end of the century, the homestead ceased to be abandoned on the death of the owner, and only his own hut was destroyed. The Thembu had a variation in practice whereby a widower stayed in the hut of a dead wife for about a month, while a new one was built. The old one was then abandoned. Materials from a hut that had been abandoned or destroyed were not used again. These practices continued until lately, but by 1948, according to our informants, a death in it was no longer a reason for abandoning a hut. It might be left for a space and then replastered and used again. A hut struck by lightning, however, if not destroyed outright, should be doctored before being used again.

KRAALS: SOURCES

- 1593 Lavanha p. 235 Umtata R: description
 '... das casas, as quaes cercaõ de huma sebe, e dentro della recolhem o seogado.'
- (p. 294 'They surround the huts with a hedge, within which they keep the cattle.')
- 1782 Carter p. 29 general: definition
 'A Kraal is a plot of ground within a ring fence, into which the natives of this country, every evening, drive their cattle, in order to preserve them from the attacks of the wild beasts.'
- 1788 Von Winkelman p. 74 Xhosa: description
 'Diese [ihre Vieh-Kraale] liegen meistens dicht an ihren Wohnungen, und sind so wohl mit grünen als mit durren Büschen rund und hoch umgeben.'
- 1800 Van der Kemp p. 437 Xhosa: kraals
 'In the centre of the kraal there is a large circular area, fenced by trees, cut down and laid in the manner of abbatis. Into this beast kraal, all the cattle belonging to the kraal are driven at evening and milked. . . . Besides the beast kraal, they have a smaller one in which they lock up the calves, which they night and day keep separated from the cows, except at the time of milking.'
- 1803 Howen Three paintings Xhosa: kraals
- 1802-6 Alberti pp. 106, 129, 204
 p. 106 Xhosa: kraal
 Nothing more.

p. 129

Xhosa: kraal as law court

'... en eindelijk tot vóór het Opperhoofd der Horde gevoerd, die zich met zijn Gevolg tot dit einde in den Rechtsban geplaatst heeft. De Rechtsban, of Veedrift, is de plaats, alwaar het Opperhoofd doorgaans zijne zittingen en beraadslagingen houdt. Dezelve is ten dezen opzichte, in zekeren zin, eene gewijde plaats, welke door de vrouwelijke Kunne niet anders, dan in dit geval alleen, of wel op eene voorafgaande stellige uitnoodiging, mag betreden worden.'

p. 204

Xhosa: as chief's grave

'Een stervend Opperhoofd blijft in zijne hut liggen, tot dat hij wezenlijk dood is. Alsdan wordt het lijk in eenen mantel gewonden, en door zijne Beambten in het midden van den Rechtsban of Veedrift begraven. Terstond drijft men in deze plaats een aantal Ossen, die zoo lang in gedurige beweging worden gehouden, totdat de eigenlijke grafplaats van de overige oppervlakte niet meer te onderscheiden is. Ook deze Ossen, als onrein geschat, ontgaan daardoor hun gewone lot van slachtinge.'

1827 Hallbeck & Fritsch pp. 305, 308

Thembu: functions of kraal

p. 308

Thembu: court in kraal

'They directed us to the beast kraal. Here all the men were seated in a semi-circle, fifteen or sixteen in number, upon the dunghill as above described. Bowana occupied the middlemost seat . . . Though we were unacquainted with the ceremonies of a formal visit . . . yet we were soon made aware, that this was meant to be a state audience.'

1825-29 Kay pp. 119, 129, 195

Xhosa: importance, construction, abandonment.

p. 129

Xhosa: construction

'The erection of cattle-folds likewise constitutes a part of the men's employ. These, however, being of the most simple description, require no great pains or labour. They seldom consist of anything more than a quantity of thorns, placed so as to form a circular hedge, the vacancies and openings in which are carefully filled up with smaller branches. These enclosures are sometimes made with posts and boughs closely woven together as a kind of lattice-work; and when the colder season sets in, every breach and interstice is filled up, lest the wintry blast should destroy any of their flock. As they are absolutely obliged to collect and bring home the cattle every night, in order to preserve them from wolves and other beasts of prey, every man is extremely anxious that his herd should lie as dry and as warm as possible; and considerable judgment is generally evinced in their choice of situations for this purpose. With this view, the sloping sides of hills, facing the rising sun, are invariably preferred as places of residence. But there is, moreover, another reason for their making the *ubuhlanti* as comfortable as possible: like the bantang of the Mandingo tribes in Western Africa, it is invariably made the place of general resort and concourse.'

- p. 195 Xhosa: abandonment on owner's death
 'His herd is moved to another fold, and the old one is wholly deserted. The posts and branches of which it is constructed are left to decay upon the spot, no one daring to use a single stick for any purpose whatever.'
- 1833 Morgan p. 34 Xhosa: made by men
 Nothing more.
- 1834 Bonatz p. 308 Thembu: description
 'Between the huts are the kraals, or enclosures for cattle, the fences of which are constructed of stems and branches of acacia thrown loosely together, and to the height of a few feet. This tree, the well-known *acacia capensis* . . . is found growing abundantly on the neighbouring mountains. A kraal, like that described, has the appearance of a hedge, the trees of which are all dead. As the wood soon becomes the prey of worms, and the fence is thus gradually destroyed, the cattle often break loose in the night, and trespass upon the gardens, whereby much mischief ensues. Even in their best state, the kraals afford a miserable shelter, and the cattle suffer much from the violent rains and high winds. On this account the Tambookies are accustomed, when the winter sets in, to retire with their cattle into the narrow mountain glens, where they meet with better protection from the inclemency of the weather.'
- 1835 Alexander I p. 393 Xhosa: construction
 Nothing more.
- (1836) Martin pp. 155, 158 Thembu: calf-kraal, description
 Nothing more.
- 1820-56 Shaw p. 410 Xhosa: description, placing
 Nothing more.
- 1838-54 Schultheiss p. 8 Xhosa, Fingo: materials
 'Dicht vor den Häusern steht der runde Viehkraal, bei den verschiedenen Kafferstämmen verschieden aufgeführt. Die Kosas machen ihn aus den Zweigen der Mimosen und anderer Bäume, die sie zu einer dichten Hecke zusammenflechten; die Fingus bauen dazu aus Rasenstücken eine ringförmige Mauer . . .'
- 1845-48 Munro I p. 65 Xhosa: description
 Nothing more.
- 1850 C.B. (? Charles Bell) Sketches Kafir: kraal
 (1856) Fleming p. 222 general: mention
 Nothing more.
- (1858) Maclean p. 150 Xhosa: removal
 'On the death of the head man of a kraal, there is seldom a removal, as it is not considered necessary. A new cattle kraal only is made, so that its back occupies the gate of the old one, and all the huts continue to be occupied,

with the exception of the one in which the deceased lived. The shifting of kraals becomes necessary, independently of deaths, from the accumulation of dung; but it is not often that an entire removal takes place, except the old kraal is considered unhealthy, and the cornfields become unproductive, from having many years been cropped without manure.'

- 1863-6 Fritsch pp. 78, 86 general: materials, importance
p. 78 'In Gegenden, wo Baumwuchs fehlt, pflegt man die Einfriedigung von Steinen oder Rasenstücken aufzubauen. Als ein wie integrierender Bestandtheil die Viehhürde für die ganze Niederlassung betrachtet wird, geht schon daraus hervor, dass man den dafür erfundenen Namen „-Kraal-“ allgemein ohne Weiteres für einen Wohnplatz der Eingeborenen braucht.'
- 1845-89 Kropf pp. 98, 147 Xhosa: mention, men's work
Nothing more.
- (1887) Matthiae p. 13 Xhosa: materials
Nothing more.
- (1901) Scully pp. 43, 44, 45 Hlubi: description, uses
p. 43 'In the centre of the ledge stands the cattle enclosure, formed of upright poles stuck into the ground, if there be any forests in the neighbourhood; otherwise, built of stone to a height of nearly five feet.'
- p. 45 Hlubi: importance of gate
Nothing more.
- (1902) Eve p. 130 general: death of owner
'If the head of a kraal dies . . . his burial . . . in every case takes place at the entrance of the kraal opening. That opening is then blocked up, and from that time onwards another opening into the cattle kraal must be made and used.'
- (1915) Kropf-Godfrey p. 27 Xhosa: calf-kraal sanctuary
isibaya—calf-fold '(the calves' fold of a chief is held sacred as a place of refuge for culprits).'
- (1926) Müller pp. 36, 38 Hlubi: importance of kraal
p. 36
Nothing more
- p. 38 Hlubi: shape
'Baut er sein eigenes Haus immer rund, so ist es merkwürdig, dass die Kraale für das Vieh immer viereckig errichtet werden, mit einem kleinen abgeschlossenen Raum für die Kälber.
- Das Melken ist die Arbeit des Mannes, keiner Frau wird das anvertraut. Schon ganz kleine Jungen verstehen sich gut darauf.'
- 1926 Vogel p. 360 Xhosa: gatherings in kraal
Nothing more.

- (1927) Poto Ndamase pp. 117-18 Mpondo: description
Nothing more.
- (1929) Kawa pp. 79-80 Fingo: mention
Nothing more.
- (1931) Cook pp. 90, 91 Bomvana: at death
p. 90 Bomvana: burial of headman
'In the case of the head of the kraal his grave is always dug just outside the cattle-kraal gate on the left-hand side looking from the inside of the kraal.'
- p. 91 Bomvana: at owner's death
'If the huts have been burnt, as was the old custom and which is followed by a few to this day, the cattle-kraal is moved so that the grave now comes at the back of the new kraal. The gate posts and a few poles on either side of the old gateway are always left while some people leave the entire kraal and make the new kraal of entirely new material if it is any distance away. The remains of the old kraal are left to rot and may not be used for any purpose. Trees which grow up on an old kraal site may not be touched for firewood or any other purpose. When the huts are not burnt the kraal is not moved and all that is done is to make a new gateway.'
- 1932b Hunter p. 65 Mpondo: uses
'Stock is enclosed at night in circular stockades, or kraals, built within the semicircle of huts. Usually there are two kraals, one for cattle and one for calves, goats and sheep. Where wild animals are troublesome a small enclosure is also made for hens. Usually cattle are driven out in the morning as soon as the dew is off the grass and brought back at noon to be milked, but there is no *isiko* (custom) prescribing the time for milking, and some milk before taking the cattle to pasture in the morning and again at night.'
'New-born calves are often brought into the great hut and tied against the wall on the men's side that they may have warmth and shelter.'
- (1939) Duggan-Cronin Pl. 34 & legend Thembu: stone kraal
Nothing more.
- 1945 Makalima chap. 5 para. 20, 21, 22, 23
chap. 9 para. 14
Fingo, Mpondomise, Thembu: situation, behaviour towards, description
chap. 5 para. 20 : description, doctoring
Ubuhlanti benkomo: Ubuhlanti bakhiwa phambi kwezindlu, buthi qelele kancinci. Bakhiwa ngamatye kungenjalo ngamahlahla. Kwembiwa imingxunya kufakwe amahlahla kubiywe. Isango livalwa ngemi valo, imithi enqunyuleziswa apha esangweni. Ubuhlanti buyanyangwa kubizwe igqira, elithi liqumisele inkomo zande, kungangeni zinto zimbi. Lomthi umbelwayo kuthiwa lihlengeri.
[*The cattle-kraal*: The cattle-kraal is built in front of the huts, a little distance away. It is built either with stones or branches. Holes are dug and the

branches are planted in them to make the fence. The gate is closed with wooden bars (*umvalo*) placed across the gate. A doctor is called to come and doctor the cattle-kraal, he raises columns of smoke amongst the cattle so that they may increase. He also doctors the kraal to keep evil things out. The medicine which is buried there is called (*ihlengeri*).]

1949 Hammond-Tooke pp. 77-8 Bhaca: ceremonial kraal
 'A short time before the start of the ritual men are sent by the chief into the forests and river valleys to cut bush for a special cattle kraal to be erected near the Great Place. It is circular in shape, constructed entirely of brushwood and is called *isibaya sengcube* (the cattle kraal of *ingcube*). It is round this kraal that the pageant of the first fruit ceremony is centred.'

1949-55 b Hammond-Tooke p. 54 Bhaca: kraal
 'Homesteads average 3-4 huts, built in a straight line facing a square cattle kraal of brushwood or aloes. The traditional circular cattle kraal with a semi-circle of huts is no longer seen.'

1949-62 Hammond-Tooke p. 21 Bhaca: kraals
 'Practically every homestead has its cattle byres (*itibaya*), usually square in shape and made of closely planted aloes or brushwood, and often a smaller kraal for sheep and goats abuts on it. Calves, while still small, are often tethered in a ruined hut or even brought into the great hut at night for warmth.'

KRAALS: TERMS

ubuhlanti 1 cattle-fold D general except Bh, less usual Mp and Xes. This is an unusual kind of word, in respect of both noun-class and stem. The latter seems unrelated to anything in Xhosa or other languages, and its etymology is obscure 94

isibaya 1 fold for sheep or calves; fold for Kafircorn before it is thrashed out D. 2 this first meaning is general except that Bh Mp Mpm and Xes use the word for any cattle kraal, as in Zulu 95 (330).

uthango 1 fence or hedge, D general, hence 2 cattle kraal, or for small stock, except pigs, general 96 (20).

isango 1 opening or entrance to cattle-kraal; gateway, D first meaning general. 2 loop, noose, as of slipknot; any bend on a line, general 97 (490).

ixhanti 1 forked bough or branch of a tree, D. 2 post with forks at the entrance of the cattle-fold, into which the *imivalo* (bars) are fastened, D X Bo T Mp (though also *ibhoxo*, Mp). 3 tree whose branches are cut short, so that it can be used as a ladder, D 98 (110).

ibhoxo 1 nD. 2 gatepost of cattle-kraal Mp Xes Bh 99

umvalo (-*vala* 'Close') cross-bar for closing the cattle-kraal D general 100

KRAALS: DISCUSSION

The cattle-kraal (*ubuhlanti*, *isibaya*), an enclosure in which cattle are kept at night for safety and some shelter, was, and among the western tribes still is, the centre of every homestead, spiritually as well as physically. It is situated in front of the huts, within the circle or semi-circle if they are still so arranged, and its requirements often determine the choice of the homestead site. The earliest description (1593) of the whole homestead being fenced, and the cattle kept inside the fence, but not otherwise kraaled, is not typical of the Cape Nguni, and the people mentioned, if, as it seems from the description, they were not Hottentots, must have been strongly influenced by them.

The traditional form was circular, but nowadays an increasing number of square kraals is seen. The Hlubi and Bhaca always build them square and at least half the inland dwelling people do so too. The original type of enclosure was a heavy wattled fence (*uthango*) about 150 cm high, of poles and boughs, green or dry, or of tightly packed thorn and brushwood, sometimes lashed together with thongs or ropes. Both these types are to be seen today in the woody districts near the coast where they are the most common form (Pl. 13:3; Pl. 14:1 & 2). The fence may be a single row of poles planted closely, or a single wattled fence, or a double row of poles with the space between filled with brushwood, or it may be entirely of brushwood. By the middle of the last century, stone or sod walls were being used by the Fingo, and stone walls or agave hedges are the most common among all the inland tribes now (Pl. 15:1 & 5), whether it is wooded country or not. A local variety seen in Thembuland had stone walls with aloes planted on top. The Bhaca still use brushwood a good deal. In all cases, however, the gateway (*isango*) (Pl. 14:3) consists of two pairs of heavy forked wooden gateposts (*ixhanti*, *ibhoxo*) closed by crossbars (*imivalo*) (Pl. 15:4). In Pondoland a wicker door (*uhlango*) might be used as well (Pl. 15:3).

Kraals (*isibaya*) for calves and small stock may be built against the cattle-kraal fence, or separately elsewhere in the homestead. In Thembuland many stone kraals had a wooden enclosure at the side for small stock. In the early days calves and small stock were, among the eastern tribes, taken into the huts at night, and this is still done occasionally for the new-born.

Kraals should be well sited facing the morning sun. They are built by the men, whose domain they are. When completed they are doctored and at a headman's homestead a beast would be slaughtered for the councillors. Wood from an old kraal would not be used for firewood, but a branch might be taken from a kraal in use to start the fire for a beast slaughtered from it. The cattle-kraal is the place where milking, slaughtering and skinning are done and ceremonies take place. Cattle are driven in for the evening milking, and led out again after the following morning milking.

In strict households women do not enter the kraal except on specific ceremonial occasions, when the head of the homestead takes up his position there. In the last century, according to several authors, not only was the kraal the meeting place for men, but also it was the custom for Xhosa chiefs to

receive distinguished visitors and to hold court in the cattle-kraal, while the plaintiffs waited their turn at or in the calf-kraal. According to Kropf or possibly Godfrey the Xhosa chief's calf-kraal was a sanctuary for culprits. Modern informants do not know these customs and nowadays courts and other gatherings are held just outside and to the left (back towards) of the gate (Pl. 4:1 & 2). Very often the fence is higher and thicker at that part.

Today in east Pondoland and East Griqualand where, as previously mentioned, cattle are often kept away from the owner's homestead, many homesteads have no kraal at all. In this case the *inkundla* is the place for ceremonial, and if a sacrifice has to be made, the beast is fetched to the homestead and slaughtered on the *inkundla*. Mpondomise informants said that a mock-kraal would be marked out with stones. Mock kraals for the same purpose are made in betterment areas. Similarly the Bhaca make a ritual kraal for the *ingcubhe* ceremony.

Chiefs used to be buried in the cattle-kraal, which thereafter was used only for a small mourning herd of cattle. When the head of a homestead died, he was buried just outside the entrance of the kraal, and if the homestead was not abandoned, a new kraal was built backing on the old one. In the former case the materials of the old kraal were allowed to rot, and were not used again for any purpose. In later years the owner of a homestead was buried at the gate and only a new gateway made, and this is still so in many places. Mpondomise informants stated that where there was no kraal, the head would be buried at the side of an imaginary kraal, and later on if the son built a kraal he would place it so that his father's grave was in the right place. Today kraals are moved within the homestead only for the utilitarian reasons that have always necessitated a move, for example if there is too great an accumulation of dung, or the grain-pit has ceased to be fit for use.

GRANARIES: SOURCES

1686-8 (Stavenisse) p. 66 Xhosa: preservation in pits
'Hun koorn bergen sij in onderaardse kuylen alwaar't seer veel jaaren goed en voor den calander bevrijd blijvd.'

1686-8 (Stavenisse) quoted by Bird p. 46 Xhosa: preservation in pits
Same as above.

1686-8 (Stavenisse) quoted by Sutherland p. 315 Xhosa: preservation
in pits
Same as above.

1800 Van der Kemp p. 437 Xhosa: use and opening of pits
'In the middle of this beast kraal each family has its corn magazine, which is a pit digged pretty deep in the ground; in this pit the corn lays on the bare ground but is covered with the straw of the corn, and this again by cow dung, the rest is filled up with earth taken from the kraal; in these pits the

corn remains dry, as the cow dung keeps out the rain, and sucks in the moisture. Every one knows his own pit, though there is no mark upon it; when the pit is opened for the first time after the harvest, the proprietor gives a basket full of it to every family in the kraal, and a somewhat larger portion to the Captain.'

1802-6 Alberti p. 114

Xhosa: description of pit

'Eindelijk, graaft men in den stal eenen ronden kuil, die van onderen veel wijder dan van boven is; men maakt de wanden rondom hard door het vuur, dat men eenen geruimen tijd daarin aan den gang houdt, werpt de gierst daarin ter bewaringe, en bedekt dezen voorraad-kelder eerst met droog gras, en daarna met eenen grooten platten steen, die eindelijk met mest van rondom wordt dicht gemaakt. Boekweit en tabak worden na den oogst in de hut zelve opgehangen en alzoo tot op het oogenblik van derzelver gebruik bewaard.'

1803-6 Lichtenstein p. 448

Xhosa: description of pit

Nothing more.

1813 Campbell p. 370

Xhosa: description and discussion of pit

Nothing more.

1821-4 Thompson II p. 360-1

Xhosa: construction and opening
of pit, seed grain

'The Caffers preserve their corn in magazines contrived in the following manner.—A pit is dug in the cattle kraal, little more than a foot in diameter at the entrance, but gradually widening to the bottom; and the sides are plastered with a mixture of sand and cow-dung. Being filled to the mouth with grain, the orifice is closed with a flat stone, and so secured that no water can penetrate. These magazines hold from ten to twenty-eight bushels; and this being a quantity inconvenient for a family to dispose of when the store is opened, they are in the habit of lending to one another in rotation. The grain kept in these pits, being entirely excluded from the air, soon loses the power of germinating; and therefore what is intended for seed is reserved in the ear, and hung up in their huts till required.'

1824-5 Smith p. 117

Xhosa: pits

Nothing more.

1820-31 Steedman I p. 263, II p. 261

I p. 263

general: description of pits

Nothing more.

II p. 261

Tshomane: grain pit

Nothing more.

1824-8 Smith p. 167

Mpondo: granary

'Each house has a granary which is raised on poles like the Zola shield houses, and this is sometimes enclosed at other times without enclosure.'

1827 Hallbeck & Fritsch p. 305

Thembu: grain-pits

'Under the kraal, the Caffre corn is deposited in pits.'

1825-9 Kay pp. 145-6

p. 145

Xhosa: description and safety of pits

'It is worthy of remark, that, although these subteranean store-houses are frequently exposed, and the kraal in which they are made sometimes deserted for weeks and months together, an instance rarely or never occurs of one being broken open . . .'

p. 146

Xhosa: granary

'Another contrivance is resorted to for the preservation of a part of their produce. The *imbeo* (seed) and *incuba*, or tobacco, are not unfrequently stowed away in a kind of upper store, called the *ixanti*. This place has somewhat the appearance of a hut perched upon bare poles, six or eight feet high. The latter are firmly fixed in the ground; and upon their upper extremities rests a sort of platform, made of sticks placed transversely, and covered with mats. On this is raised a slight frame, which is thatched in the same way as their houses. The whole structure is altogether detached from the other buildings, and is characterised by its singularity rather than by either its safety or utility. The stranger, on first viewing it, would in all probability conclude that it was either a pigeon-cot or a poultry-roost.'

1829 Bain p. 100

Tshomane: grain-pit

'When at the Kraal in the afternoon I had an opportunity of seeing them bury their corn. Perceiving some of them digging in the centre of the Kraal, I had the curiosity to look at them & found them lifting a large flat stone which on being removed presented to my view a Caffre granary in all its glory. It was a hollow cavity formed, as I said before, in the centre of the cattle craal & was capable of containing from 8 to 10 muids, but of the old corn there only remained about a peck which was swimming in urine and dung water which had found its way from the craal above. The stench on lifting the stone acted nearly as an emetic would have done on me, but the Caffres seemed to enjoy it extremely and several baskets of fresh corn were immediately thrown into the pit without its being cleaned out, altho' it was very mouldy all round. When the corn is all deposited into this elegant store they are not so lavish with their bread as at this season while the crops stand ripe in the fields.'

(1833) Morgan p. 34

Xhosa: drying on racks, storing in pits, safety

'When it is ripe enough to be gathered, they cut off the heads, and either hang them up in their huts or place them on a frame raised some height from the ground to secure it from the depredations of vermin and cattle. After it has been kept some time in this manner, they beat the grain out, and put it into small holes prepared for that purpose in the centre of their cattle-kraal; each hole is capable of containing about two sacksful. On the top they throw a quantity of the stalks to absorb any moisture that may happen to penetrate through the earth and the manure that is placed over the stone covering the

entrance. These granaries are opened only at particular times. Corn so secured will keep sweet and good for a great length of time, though if the season has been wet and it is stowed away a little damp, it sweats and becomes sour, which is not thought of much consequence to their taste.'

1834-5 Godlonton p. 228 Xhosa: description of pit
Nothing more.

1835 Alexander I p. 394 Xhosa: use of pits
'They preserve their corn in conical magazines under their cattle-kraals; except their seed-corn, which is hung up in the air that the germination may not be destroyed.'

1820-56 Shaw fp. 400 fig., p. 419 Thembu: granary
fig., fp. 400 Xhosa: description of pit
p. 419
Nothing more.

1839 Backhouse pp. 235, 236 Xhosa: description of storage
p. 235 Xhosa: pit
Nothing more.

p. 236 Xhosa: granary
'Near the hut, a sort of safe is sometimes erected, for the preservation of pumpkins, and in which Indian-corn is also occasionally stored. It is made of sticks interwoven in beehive form, and plastered with cow-dung, and is placed on stakes about four feet high, to protect the contents from damp, and from insects, and other vermin.'

1836-44 Döhne pp. 9, 73 Xhosa: preservation in pits
Nothing more.

1848-52 Baines (Oppen.) Vol. III No. 1, Xhosa: granary, platform,
Vol. XIX No. 22, Vol. XXI, No. 35 grain-pit
Sketches.

1849 Baines pp. 154, 162 Xhosa: granary
p. 154 'The Chief was from home at the time, but a young scion of nobility whose acquaintance I had made at the kraal of Sandilli thrusting forth his head from the aperture of a little beehive hut elevated upon poles seven or eight feet in height and originally, I believe, intended for a granary, leaped down from his rather confined dormitory . . . '

p. 162 'Near one side of the hut stood a small provision locker resembling a beehive, supported by poles three or four feet in height, and here, as well as in the Amatola, similar but larger structures were erected in the open air.'

(1851) Walker Pl. 37 general: granary
Figure.

- 1851 Baines II p. 274 Xhosa: grain-pit
 ' . . . the Fingoes, sounding the earth of the cattle kraal with their iron ramrods, not infrequently struck upon the stones covering the well-clayed holes in which the Indian or Kafir corn was stored. Most of the grain was spoiled by damp and smelled intolerably, nevertheless the little that was good was separated [and] was greedily devoured.'
- 1851 Bell II p. 45 Thembu: grain-pits
 Nothing more.
- 1851-55 Graham & Robinson Pl. 16 Xhosa: granary
 Figure. (Pl. 17:1)
- (1858) Maclean (quoting Ayloff) pp. 152-3 Xhosa: description of pit
 p. 153 'The pits are formed in the following manner: a circular hole about two feet in diameter is dug to the depth of about one foot; from the bottom of this, another hole of about half its size is dug, and about one foot deep, or until a firm soil is reached, when it abruptly widens and the real corn pit or "Isisele" is formed. The size of this depends upon the probable quantity of corn required to be stored, but it is occasionally as large as six feet deep, and the same in diameter.
- On the shelf formed by the second opening, being smaller than the first, a flat stone is placed, which is completely covered with wet clay, and this is again covered with the kraal soil on which the cattle sleep, and then left without any mark to indicate the spot; but it is suprising to see the uner-ring accuracy with which a man will determine its presence, and any doubt which may exist on the subject is quickly removed by stamping with the foot on the suspected spot, when the hollow sound emitted decides the case.
- During the war, the plan resorted to for determining the case, was, to force a ramrod down, on any suspected spot, until a stone was struck. This was soon dug down to, turned up, and the pit speedily emptied of its contents.
- The corn is used either boiled whole, or reduced to flour, and then made into porridge, or into cakes which are baked in the ashes.'
- 1863-6 Fritsch p. 89 general: position of pits
 Nothing more.
- 1845-89 Kropf pp. 100, 107-8 Xhosa: preservation in pits
 Nothing more.
- 1876 Weitz p. 327 Hlubi: grain-racks, baskets
 'In the huts of the Kaffirs we noticed very peculiar receptacles made of clay hanging from the walls, after the fashion of swallows' nests, in which the Kaffirs keep corn and maize. Huge baskets are generally used for this purpose, capable of containing six or more sacks of corn. The top is closed with round stones.'
- 1877-8 Norbury p. 7 Xhosa: description of pits, storage of seed
 ' . . . The seed mealies are stored in these pits still adherent to the cobs.'

- (1887) Matthiae p. 13 Xhosa: pit also powder magazine
 'Gewöhnlich steht das in einem Kreise gebaute Dorf auf einer Anhöhe, deren Grund ausgehöhlt ist und als Speicher für Gartenprodukte und als Pulverkammer gebraucht wird.'
- (1925) Cingo p. 74 Mpondo: store-hut
 'The store hut (*inyango*) was a separate one where maize, kaffir corn and beer belonging to the head of the kraal were kept.'
- (1926) Müller p. 42 Hlubi: description, capacity, of grain-bin
 'Ist die Herstellung der bisher genannten Flechtarbeiten aus Gras ausschliesslich Frauen- und Mädchensache, so gibt es nun noch einen Haushaltsgegenstand, den nur die Männer flechten. Es sind hohe, dichte Körbe, manchmal so hoch wie das kleine Vorrathshaus, die sie in allem Wetter draussen stehen haben, denn es kommt kein Tropfen Regen hindurch. In ihnen bewahren sie ihren Mais und ihr Kafferkorn auf. Sie sind auf allen Seiten geschlossen, auch oben mit angeflochtenem Deckel versehen, und so dicht, dass auch Insekten und Würmer nicht an den Inhalt herankönnen. Ich glaube, sie sind sogar luftdicht. Hat der Mais, der solchem Korbe entnommen wird, doch noch Würmer, so sind sie jedenfalls nicht von aussen hereingekommen, sondern haben sich im feucht eingefüllten Korn von selbst gebildet. Manche Kaffern haben vier bis sechs solcher Maiskeller auf ihrem Platze stehen, manche noch mehr. In jeden gehen, wenn ich nicht irre, drei bis vier Sack Mais, das sind 600 bis 800 englische Pfund. Als ich einmal, im Anfang unserer Tätigkeit in Bethesda, den alten pockennarbigen Häuptling Bubesi besuchte, fand ich ihn mit dieser Flechtarbeit eifrig beschäftigt vor seiner Hütte sitzen. Als ich in meiner Unerfahrenheit mein Erstaunen kund gab, ihn so tätig zu sehen, antwortete er: Wer soll es sonst tun? Die Frauen können das nicht. Sie können wohl Körbe und Matten flechten, nie aber solche Maiskörbe (*izilulu*).'
- (1927) Poto Ndamase p. 117 Mpondo: store-hut
 Nothing more.
- (1929) Kawa pp. 82-3 Fingo: grain from pit, construction
 'Wena mntu ongazange wakuva ukuyola kwesangcozi—ukutya kwesisele akuvanga nto. Luyole unompela ugcado lombona obe usesi seleni. Emlonyeni wesisele bekuyekuthi kubekwe ilitye, lincanyathiselwe ngobulongo, ukuze amanzi angangeni, kuze ke kufunjwe umgquba ngaphezulu oyakunyatshelwa zinkomo, ziwugangathe uthi nqi, 'ze kungangeni nethontsi lamanzi, ngenxayokuba ukutya bekugcinwa eziseleni, umntu ubengafumane abakhe ubuhlanti bakhe, ubeqondisisa indawo engenamithombo.'
 ['You who have never savoured the wonderful taste of musty maize from a pit, you have tasted nothing. Roasted, maize is at its best if it comes from storage in a pit. Over the mouth of the pit a stone was placed, which was plastered with cowdung, to prevent water from finding its way in and dung

was thrown on it and trampled on by the cattle and stamped firmly down so that not a drop of water could enter. Since it was food that was to be stored in the pits, a man did not just blindly build his cattlefold anywhere, he was careful to find a place without underground water.']

(1932) Soga p. 394

Xhosa: preservation in huts or pits

'If the seed thus subjected to heat burst open it was considered to be suitable for sowing. The necessity of this simple test was due to the fact that all grain was stored either in store huts (*o-vimba*), which were neither air nor water tight, and thus liable to become mouldy or subject to weevil. Or it was stored in pits where fermentation took place and rendered much of the corn useless for seed.'

1932b Hunter p. 85

Mpondo: store-huts

'Maize, millet, and pumpkin when first reaped are stored in *inyango*, store-huts built on the same pattern as dwelling-huts.'

p. 86

Mpondo: construction of pits

'Digging and cleaning grain-pits is the work of men. Bell-shaped pits, about 5 feet in depth and 2 feet in width, are dug in gravelly soil. If possible, they are made in the cattle kraal, or the *inkundla* of the *umzi* to which they belong, but the kind of soil is more important than the situation, and I have often found a group of pits belonging to several different *imizi* clustered together in some gravelly patch of soil at some distance from any *umzi*. The floor and walls of the pit are smeared with cow-dung, the threshed grain put in, the mouth closed by a large flat stone and sealed with cow-dung, and the whole covered with dry cow-dung and earth. When the pit is in the cattle kraal the mouth is hidden by the trampling of cattle over it.

Pits are used season after season, but before being used they are opened up and re-smeared. In August and September at the coast, and in October up country, pits are cleaned and aired, and grain stored. How well grain keeps in pits depends upon the nature of the soil. In some damp districts it goes mouldy quickly, in others it keeps well for many months. Always it gets a somewhat musty taste, but this is appreciated by most Pondo, who consider that porridge or beer made from pit mealies is more tasty than that made of fresh grain. A number of basketfuls are taken out by the men as grain is needed, and the pit re-sealed. Now iron grain tanks of European manufacture are used by a few "school people".'

(1939) Duggan-Cronin p. 28

Xhosa: baskets, pits, huts

'Grain for early use was stored in large baskets, and the rest was poured into a bottle-shaped pit, dug in the cattle-kraal and having its mouth covered with a flat stone; this storage preserved the grain from weevil, but gave it a strong flavour . . . additional huts might be built, where the bigger children slept, and for storage of food; the storage hut was held to be very private, and was called *wimba* (the stingy one.)

(1945) Makalima chap. 4; paras. 32, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68

Para. 32 Fingo, Mpondomise, Thembu: store-hut, granary
 'Apho igcinwa khona: Imbewu igcinwa ekoyini (store) uka yeyetapile yanekwa nje phantsi, eyombona ihlala iziziswenye eludladleni, kumanqwanqwa alapho, nokuba kusekoyini apho.'

[Where it is kept: Seed is kept in a store hut (*ikoyi*). If it is potato seed, it is spread out on the floor. Maize seed is kept in bundles in a granary (*udladla*), it is hung on short lengths of wood there or in the store hut.']

Para. 64 Fingo, Mpondomise, Thembu: pit, store-hut
 'Ukugcina umbona: Othandayo umntu umbona umgcina eziseleni namazimba ngokunjalo. Abanye abantu bamgcina ekoyini kodwa ibe yindlu engena umoya kakhulu, iphole, aze umbona angangenwa yingogwane.'

['Storing maize: If a man so chooses, he stores his maize and kaffir corn in pits. Some people keep their maize in a store hut, but it must be a hut which allows plenty of air in and which is cool so that no weevils can get in.']

Para. 65 Fingo, Mpondomise, Thembu: storing mealies
 'Into adityaniswa nayo: Umbona akukonto simdibanisa nayo thina xa simfaka esiseleni. Naxa asekokoyini akadityaniswa nanto.'

['What is mixed with it: If we store maize in a pit we do not mix it with anything. Nor is anything mixed with it if it is stored in a store hut.']

Para. 66 Fingo, Mpondomise, Thembu: closing of pit
 'Uhlobo ekuvalwa ngalo: Isisele samazimba sivalwa umlomo waso ngelitye elihle eliwulingeneyo umlomo lo. Kubekwa iminyani yamazimba ethi yenzelwe ukukusela kunye nobulongwe benkomo. Kube kuthi kwakugqitywa ukugangatha kufuneka elesibini ilitye elithi ke lona lenzele ukuba isisele masiphakame umlomo lo ube buthi ngcu apha ebuhlanti nalo elilitye liyangangathwa ngobulongwe benkomo.'

['How a pit is closed: The mouth of a sorghum pit is closed by means of a nice stone that fits it. To protect it, the bushy ears of threshed sorghum are placed around it and it is plastered with cow dung. Then it is stamped down and a second stone is placed to raise the mouth of the pit above the surface of the ground in the cattle kraal. This stone is also stamped down and plastered with cow dung.']

Para. 67 Fingo, Mpondomise, Thembu: inspection of pit
 'Isisele simana sihlale, sihlale sirotywe kuze kubonwe ukuba akungeni manzi na. Iyatylwa into ephakathi esiseleni kubonwe ukuba akungeni manzina. Kuthi ke kwakuba kuqondiwe uba kusalungile kubuye kuingcwe kwangoluya hlobo lokuqala.

['A grain-pit is examined at intervals to check whether water is getting inside. The contents are turned over and over to make sure. If it is found to be still in order, it is sealed again as before.']

Para. 68 Fingo, Mpondomise, Thembu: preservation in pit
 'Ixesha elihlalwa ngumbona nezimba esiseleni: Isisele sihlala ixesha elide ukuba

umbona ugalelwe ebusika ukutshwe ukuthwasa kwehlobo. Kuba awusenakho ukungenwa yingogwane ngoku. Omnye ukutshwa sele sisangcozi xa efunyenwe lithontsi akabonakala kwangoko. Kodwa xa ebesindile emanzini ukutshwa engenanto, omile, afakwe ekoyini. Isisele siyaphindaphinda ukusetyenziswa, iminyaka eliqela. Kuba sithi siqhunyiselwe ngokubaswa umlilo sikhale somile, silindele owomnye unyaka umbona.'

[*'The period grain remains in a pit. Maize remains in a pit for a long time because it is stored in winter and taken out early in summer, and once it is taken out no more weevils can attack it. Some of it has turned musty if a drop of water happened to find its way into the pit and was not discovered immediately. But if no water found its way in, the maize is taken out dry and put in a store hut. A pit can be used for a number of years because a fire is lit inside to keep it dry for the maize of the next season.'*]

1949-1955^b Hammond-Tooke p. 19

Bhaca, Hlubi: granaries

'Harvested grain is stored in a bell-shaped pit (*isisele*) in the cattle kraal and the Bhaca maintain that they find the musty taste very appetising. The neighbouring Hlubi, however, dislike the custom and store their grain in large grain baskets. "We bury our dead, not our food."'

1949-62 Hammond-Tooke pp. 19-20, 151
pp. 19-20

Bhaca: grain-pits

'The greater part of the grain is removed from the cob and stored for the winter in bell-shaped grain-pits (*isisele*, pl. *itisele*) dug in the cattle-kraal. These are usually about four feet deep and six feet in diameter and are sealed with a large flat stone and cowdung. Soil is spread over the stone so that the pit is completely invisible. Every household has at least one *isisele* and the majority have three or four. Grain in these pits often germinates and is then considered a great delicacy, especially when ground and cooked with melons and pumpkin. The sites of old cattle-kraals are marked by deep holes where these pits have fallen in in the process of time. The neighbouring Hlubi do not use grain-pits. "We bury our dead not our food." They use large wicker baskets for this purpose. Pits are dug by the men of the homestead and are cleaned out and resmeared with dung when they become empty. Only a very few school people use the iron tanks, bought from traders, for grain storage.'

p. 151

'Grain is usually stored in grain-pits, one or two to each house. Informants stated that the grain from two houses would never be pooled. "They can't be mixed: one wife may be extravagant and use more than her share." As grain-pits are usually situated in the cattle-kraal, taboo to women, a wife must get permission from her husband to get grain, although this taboo is fast falling into disuse with the spread of education and Christianity.'

GRANARIES: TERMS

- isisele* 1 pit dug in cattle-kraal as a store for preserving mealies, D general.
2 not necessarily in kraal Mp Hlu Xes Bh **101**
- isiciko* lid of any kind, general; also e.g. stone cover of grain pit **102** (148, 616).
- isilulu* 1 light but very large basket for storing corn, made of coarse grass, with a narrow mouth, D. 2 learnt from South Sotho, Hlu Xes Bh. 3 conical garden basket, T. 4 storage for maize, made like crib on sleigh, covered and plastered, Mp. 5 not as generally known as might have been expected from the nature of the article, and prob. the Zulu *isilulu* grain-storage basket introduced by the Fingo **103** (339).
- isiximba* 1 nD. 2 grass bin for maize, made like crib on sleigh, covered and plastered, Bh. 3 basket made of maize husks, for carrying seed (Mp Poto) **104** (341).
- ikoyi* 1 frame or crib for storing maize, from Du. kooi D. 2 storage hut or enclosure, general **105** (15).
- ilitye* 1 stone, (lower) grindstone, D general. 2 flat stone, as used for grainpit cover, general **106** (265, 577, 961).
- ingobo* round wicker enclosure of wicker work with convex roof, for storing maize cobs, cf. *iqonga*, D not confirmed (-goba bend) **107**
- inyango* (cl. 9) 1 small hut on poles for storing corn D. 2 nowadays ordinary store- or kitchen-hut, general **108** (13).
- iqonga* elevated place for storing fruit, corn, etc.; store, shelf D general, for various purposes, as rack for sticks, firewood; platform on poles, built in fields, for crop-watchers; rough bedstead of sticks made and used by healed *abakhwetha* (Bo-Cook) **109** (86, 323, 505, 1025).
- ixhanti* 1 forked bough or branch of a tree, D. 2 post with forks at the entrance of the cattle-fold, into which the *imivalo* (bars) are fastened, D X Bo T Mp (though also *ibhoxo*, Mp). 3 tree whose branches are cut short, so that it can be used as a ladder, D **110** (98).
- udini* 1 rim of cup or basin D. 2 stepped hollow round mouth of grain-pit, for stone cover to rest on X **111**
- udladla* 1 (Em) round wickerwork enclosure erected in the open air for storing maize on the cob D X Bo Xes T not Mp **112**
- idladla* maize crib Bh (what all others call *udladla*) **113**
- ingobe* 1 nD. 2 temporary hut of bent saplings and grass only, as shelter whilst first hut on new site is being built Mp (-goba bend) **114**
- umlomo* 1 mouth, beak, opening of any receptacle D general. 2 mouth of grain pit X Fingo etc. **115**
- wimba* store house D, X Xes **116** (12).
- inqwanqwa* (cl. 5 pl. *amanqw*) 1 nD. 2 lath, rod, as nailed down parallel, to form floor of sled; or for hanging seed maize cobs from T **117**

GRANARIES: DISCUSSION

One of the most important aspects of the settlement is the method of storing grain and other crops that are not for immediate use. When first harvested, sorghum, maize, pumpkins, etc., are either stacked on a raised platform (*iqonga*) out of doors (Text fig. 11), or hung from the roof, placed on a rack, or stacked in a store-hut. After the threshing of the grain crops, they are put into their appropriate store. Maize cobs for seed are hung from a frame or from slats of wood (*amanqwangwa*, Thembu) to dry; pumpkins are left on the platform or cut in slices, dried, and stored in bags in the store-hut. Grain that has been taken from store for immediate use is kept in garden baskets (*ingobozi*).

The following storage methods have been, and for the most part still are, used by the Cape Nguni, though the modern tendency is for jute bags, corrugated-iron tanks, and the store-hut to take over the functions of all. It is doubtful whether any of them is completely insect proof.

IQONGA

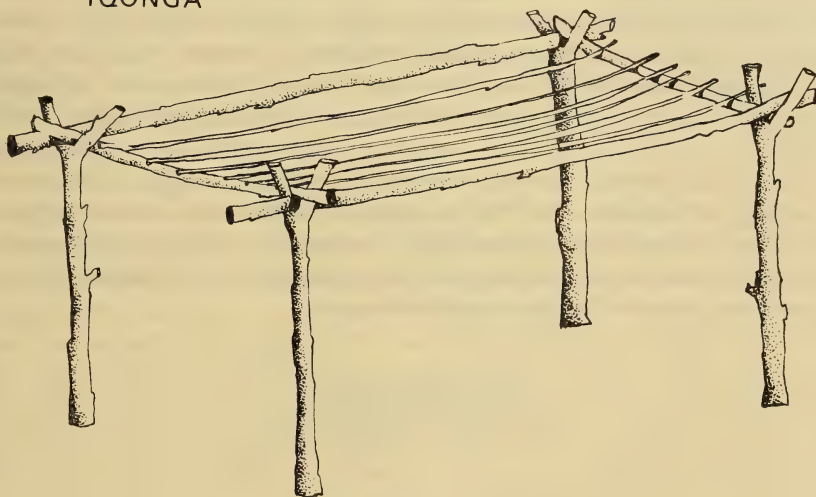


Fig. 11

I. GRAIN-PITS (*isisele*)

Except among the Hlubi, who use a grain-bin, the universal method of storing maize and sorghum, is as first described by a survivor of the *Stavenisse* in 1686, that is to pour the grain, after threshing, into a pit which is dug usually in the floor of the cattle-kraal. The mouth is then sealed and covered over.

Early writers, if they mention the position at all, always place the pits in the cattle-kraal and one at least states that it is invariably so. The latter is still the case in some parts, and the reasons given for the choice are safety, the fact that the driest spot is always chosen for the kraal and the fact that the dung in

the kraal helps to keep water from seeping down. But in many places, and everywhere amongst east Mpondo, Xesibe and Bhaca, modern informants stated that any suitable dry ground might be chosen, whether in the kraal, the *inkundla* or elsewhere. According to Hunter gravel or gravelly soil is preferred by the western Mpondo, and the soil is more important than the position. It seems likely that all the tribes originally placed the pits in the kraal, but that this rule has become modified now that the choice of site for the kraal is restricted and may not always be dry enough.

Pits are dug and maintained by the men, and the description given by Ayliff in Maclean's Compendium in 1858, tallies exactly with that of a pit seen in the Willowvale district in 1948 (Pl. 16:1-5). A circular depression is dug to a few centimetres below ground level and from the middle of it a hole is dug just big enough for a man to get through, which, after forming a narrow neck, opens out to a conical chamber, about 1,2 m deep, and in diameter 'big enough for a man to lie down with his arms above his head' (text-fig. 12). Other estimates of capacity vary from 2 to 10 bags (6 to 30 bushels), and in fact it probably varied according to the number of pits and the size of the crops. The walls are plastered with clay and dung, or more commonly smeared with dung alone, and dried out by fire. When the pit has been filled the grain is covered with dry grass, or the stalks or threshed cobs of the corn, and then a flat stone (*isikiko*) is laid over the mouth, bedded on fresh dung to seal it. It is then covered with dung and earth, and well stamped down to the level of the ground. According to Makalima the Thembu place a second stone above the first to form a slight mound above ground level. He states too that the pit is inspected from time to time to see that the grain is not damp. In the Herschel district a skin sack was put into the pit to contain the grain.

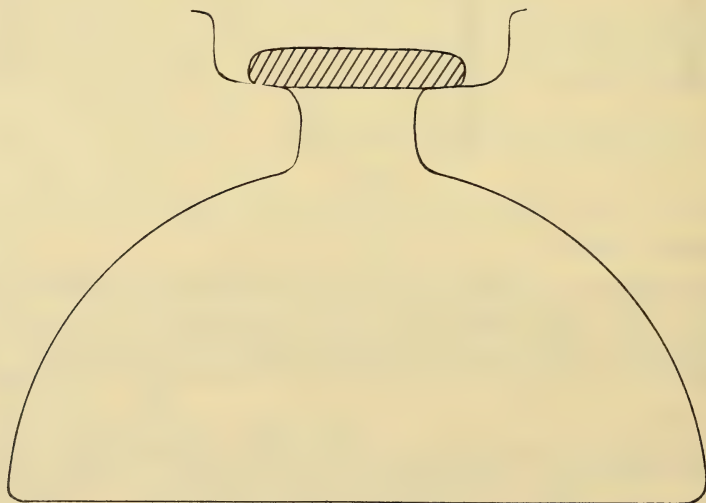


Fig. 12

If stored dry, grain is said to keep well in these pits and free from weevils, and the musty flavour which is caused by the action of a fungus and which is greater or less according to how dry the pit is, is said to be enjoyed. Opinions seem to be divided both in the literature and amongst modern informants as to whether seed grain would or should be kept in the pits or elsewhere. It would probably depend on how sure the owner was of the dryness of the pit, since any damp or mildew would effect the power of germination. The majority favoured keeping the seed grain out of the pits, despite the greater danger outside from weevils. Opinions also differ as to the dryness or otherwise of the pits into which cattle urine and other damp may seep, as to their safety from theft and as to how much the musty or even rank flavour of grain from a damp pit is enjoyed. The grain does in fact sometimes germinate and this is said to be relished.

The grain is not usually required to keep longer than a season, and the pits are used again and again, but they are cleaned, aired, resmeared, and, according to Makalima, dried out by fire before the new season's crop is put in. Alberti's statement that the walls were 'hardened by fire' probably refers to this.

One exception to the early records that the inside of the pit should be dry before the grain was put in, is Bain's description of a Tshomane pit near Umtata in 1829 where water and mould were not removed from the pit before the new crop was put in. This sounds unlikely and must surely have been exceptional.

Matthiae suggests that the pits were also used as powder magazines during the Frontier Wars, but there is no confirmation of this.

According to early writers each family, that is presumably the family of each married man in the homestead, had its own pit in the kraal. Two state that the pits were opened in rotation, each family lending grain to others in turn, but from the remarks of the majority it would seem that the pits were opened individually, and that a present of grain was made all round at the first opening. Nowadays that the homestead consists of the family of one married man, it is stated that the number of pits depends on the amount of land cultivated and that there is not necessarily one to each wife. Pits are opened according to need. The wife has to have permission to enter the kraal to get the corn, but latterly this rule is falling into disuse.

Nowadays many people use iron grain-tanks, bought at the store and often installed in a hut.

II. GRAIN-BINS

The alternative to an underground grain-store is a bin. The only type of bin known in this area is the large narrow-mouthed basket (*isilulu*) used by the Hlubi, and sometimes seen among people in close contact with them such as the Bhaca, who call it *isiximba*. They say that they have copied it from the southern Sotho. It is made by the men, and is loosely coiled on a grass foundation, oversewn simply with a cord of plaited sedge or grass. It holds three to five bags of grain (Pl. 16:8).

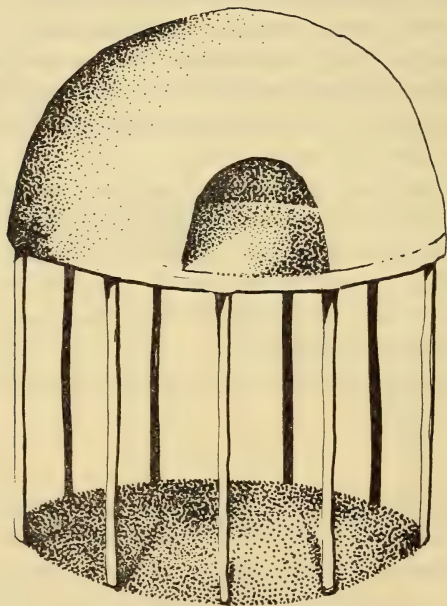
The soft fabric allows the basket to be tightly packed with grain, and it is said then to be impervious to water, rats and weevils. A mat or lid is placed over the mouth and the bin stands on stones in a store hut or in the open, with or without a roof.

In Hlubi huts Weitz noticed grain stored on clay shelves 'hanging' from the walls. These might be the *ithala* (see huts) which were not usually put to this purpose in other tribes.

III. ENCLOSURES AND HUTS

1. *Udladla* (Pl. 17:2 & 4) (or *ingobo* Mp) a high wicker enclosure, standing in the open, said to have had a conical roof, but not often seen with one now. This is primarily for storing maize on the cob, but may be used for other crops. The cobs reserved for seed may be hung on racks in the *udladla*. This store was still commonly seen in 1971 in Xhosa coastal areas, and rarely among the Thembu and western Mpondo but not elsewhere. It seems likely that it was adopted from a similar article used by European farmers.

2. *inyango* [*unyango*, Mp Xes Bh *ixhanti* (Kay).] (Pl. 17:1). This was originally a small hut, similar to the beehive living-huts, but built on a platform with a mat floor, raised on poles about 2 m above the ground (text-fig. 13). According to Backhouse it was plastered with dung as well as thatched. It is



INYANGO

Fig. 13

shown in several early prints and has a branched tree stem as a ladder to get up to it. (This probably accounts for Kay's use of the word '*ixhanti*', which according to the dictionary is the word used for such a ladder.) This was the store for seed, tobacco and pumpkins. This type of store is now obsolete and not remembered, but the name *inyango* is used for the modern store-hut.

3. *Uvimba, inyango*. A store-hut, sometimes of the same size and style as the living-hut, sometimes much smaller (Pl. 17:3). It is the modern equivalent of the granary described above, and is gradually superseding the *udladla* and even in some places the grain-pit. It is used for seed, tobacco, and non-cereal crops. In 1955 in the Bizana, Flagstaff and Alice areas it was noticed that the store-hut was often much smaller than the usual hut, and one at least, seen in Pondoland, had the opening almost half-way up the side.

Though the enclosures and store-huts have their Xhosa names, both are widely known as *ikoyi*. Judging by its form it is probable that the word was first applied to *udladla* and spread to the others by analogy of purpose.

SUMMARY

The traditional pattern of Cape Nguni settlement was that of separate family homesteads, often quite isolated from others, and occupied by a man, his wife or wives and children, perhaps married sons, and elderly widowed relatives. The recent tendency to congregate homesteads in clusters, if not in actual villages, is the result of economic and population pressures, and does not stem from tradition.

The beehive huts consisted of thatch over a light frame of saplings, and were plastered inside to a certain height. They were arranged in a semicircle, or a full circle in a large homestead, facing the cattle-kraal, which was placed in the centre. In recent years the beehive hut has given way, by various stages, to the modern rondavel and square house.

The kraal was a circle of brushwood, the gate of which faced the door of the senior wife's hut, and the open space between them was the meeting and reception place of the men, and at a chief's homestead the place where court cases were heard. In areas where brushwood was scarce and stone plentiful, the kraal was built of stone, and was sometimes square rather than round, but the gate-posts and bars were of wood.

There were three types of storage for the crops. Threshed grain was stored in pits dug in the floor of the cattle-kraal, sealed with a stone and hidden by the dung of the kraal. Unthreshed heads of grain were stored in large wattlework bins or enclosures, or in a small granary on poles, where other crops might be stored too. The Hlubi alone used basket bins. There has been an increasing tendency for a hut to be built as a store, and for threshed grain to be stored in galvanised-iron tanks.

It is difficult at this stage to distinguish individual traits of the different tribes of the group in the character of the settlement, which varied only in

details from the basic Nguni pattern. The actual layout seems to have been uniform throughout the group. In the huts themselves, those of the Mpondo, and doubtless other tribes in the east, had a close framework of two sets of arched saplings, in the style of the Natal Nguni. They were said also to be bigger than those of the Xhosa and Thembu in the west, where the framework consisted of one set of saplings, either arched in pairs, or all meeting at the centre, and one set of horizontal withies—a much lighter and more open framework and easier to erect. This difference in east and west still persists in the greater use among the eastern tribes of a sapling framework for the straight walls of the rondavel, than of box (Kimberley) bricks which are generally used in the west. Differences in the material used for kraals are largely dictated by locality—brushwood predominates near the coast and stone inland, but one would like to know whether the Cape Nguni had knowledge of stone building before they entered the Cape and if not, from whom they learnt it.

In the storage of grain there was uniformity throughout in the use of pits, except by the Hlubi who used large grain baskets, but the *udladla* or wattlework enclosure seems to have been characteristic of the Xhosa, Bomvana and Thembu who, directly or through one another, were in contact with European farmers, while the *inyango* or granary on poles was characteristic of the eastern tribes, again like the Natal Nguni.

Outside, that is non-Cape Nguni, influences are to be seen in the Hlubi grain-bin, which is of the South Sotho style, though called by the same name as a similar article used by the Natal Nguni. South Sotho influence may also be seen in the decoration of hut walls with line or finger patterns, in the areas adjacent to the South Sotho. European influence is, of course, very marked in the change from the beehive to the rondavel hut and to sewn thatch. Latterly the change from isolated to clustered homesteads has been encouraged by European authorities, in an attempt to ensure that the land is used to the best purpose. Finally it has been suggested that the lighter hut framework, if not the beehive hut itself, is attributable to Hottentot influence. In the absence of archaeological evidence this is difficult to establish. If the influence was there, it must, at least so far as the whole style of hut is concerned, have taken place before the entry into the present area.

The Cape Nguni are by tradition primarily a pastoral people, whose choice of settlement was largely dictated by the quality of the grazing. The importance of cattle is further indicated by the central position of the kraal and the regulations surrounding it, and also by the fact that those who could afford to do so had alternative dwellings where cattle could be taken for better grazing in certain seasons. Nevertheless, the established places for storing crops indicate a long tradition of agriculture, even if it was secondary to cattle-keeping.

The whole aspect of the settlement, the light and easily built huts, the lack of any attempt to hide them or fortify them or congregate them together for security, gives the impression of a people who were mobile (except for the buried grain stores), accustomed to move when and where they saw fit, whether

for utilitarian, supernatural or political reasons, and having faith in their own ability to cope with any danger or crisis that might arise.

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PLATES

PLATE 1

1. Homesteads (*umzi*), c. 1851 (Darell. *China, India, Cape of Good Hope and vicinity*, 1852, part of frontispiece with legend, 'Run with the 7th Dragoon Fox Hounds in Kaffirland').
2. Bomvana homestead on a slope, Guse, Elliotdale 1948.
3. Group of Xhosa homesteads, Willowvale 1948.



PLATE 2

1. Thembu homestead, Umtata 1948.
2. Fingo homestead, Mqanduli 1948.
3. Bhaca homestead, Lugangeni, Mt. Frere 1948.



PLATE 3

1. Xesibe homestead, Elubaleko, Mt. Ayliff 1948.
2. Khonjwayo homestead, Ntsimbini, Ngqeleni 1958.
3. Settlement on ridge, Mpondo, near Ntibane, Ngqeleni 1958.



PLATE 4

1. Xhosa *inkundla* (gathering place), with people sitting around, Bojeni, Willowvale 1948.
2. Bomvana *inkundla*, with court in session, Guse, Elliotdale 1948.
3. Mpondo *inkundla*, people gathering for a dance, Tshonya, Lusikisiki 1948.



PLATE 5

1. 'Gaikas (Sandilla's tribe)', c. 1860 (Lucas, *Pen and Pencil Reminiscences . . .*, 1861 pl. facing p. 2).
2. *ungquphantsi*, old-type hut, abandoned, belonged to Xhosa, Willowvale 1948.
3. Side view of foregoing.



PLATE 6

1. *indlu yempuku*, old-type hut, Bomvana, Elliotdale 1948.
2. *ibhoma*, hut of *abakhwetha*, and *umkhwetha*, Thembu, Engcobo 1948.
3. Hut of *abakhwetha*, Thembu, Mqanduli 1959.
4. Interior of *isuthu*, hut of *abakhwetha*, Thembu, Gqabantshi, Mqanduli 1959.

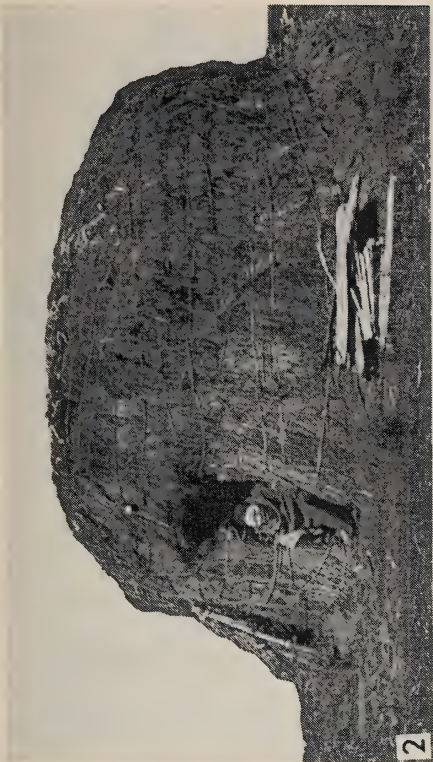


PLATE 7

1. Mpondo huts with horns of slaughtered cattle on roof, Bizana 1955.
(Photo: E. M. Shaw, SAM.)
2. *wimba* (store-hut), Xhosa, Bojeni, Willowvale 1948.
3. Mpondo huts, Mbobeleni, Libode 1958.
4. Hut with thatch held down by withies, Mpondo, Mbotyi, Lusikisiki 1948.

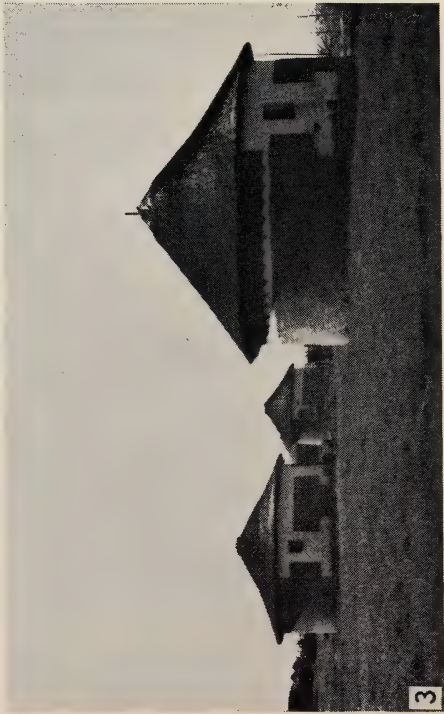
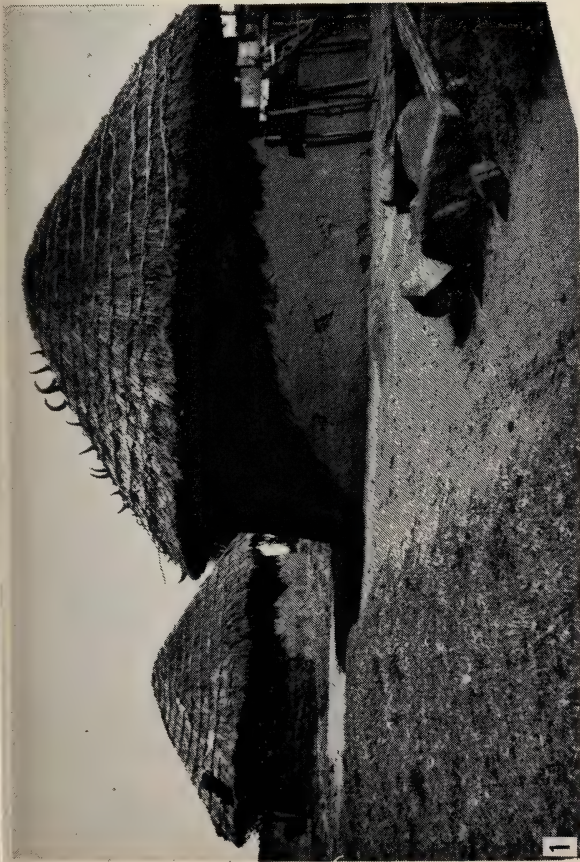
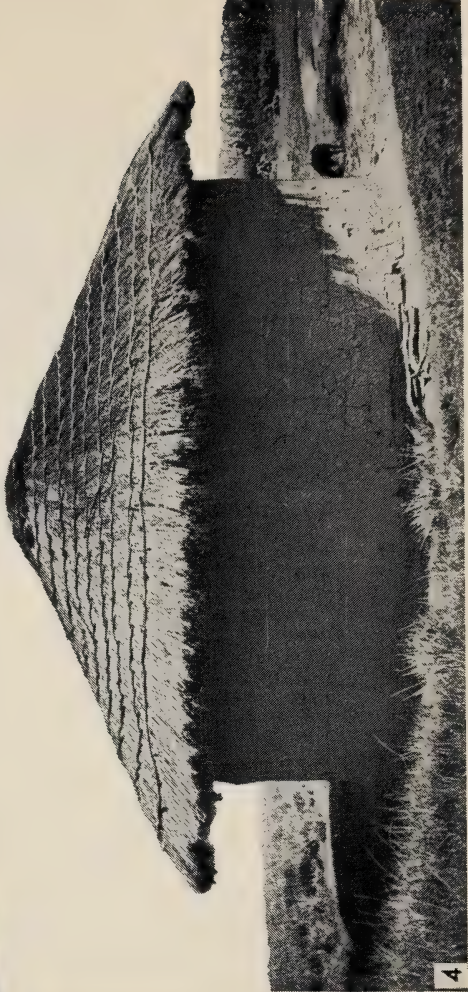
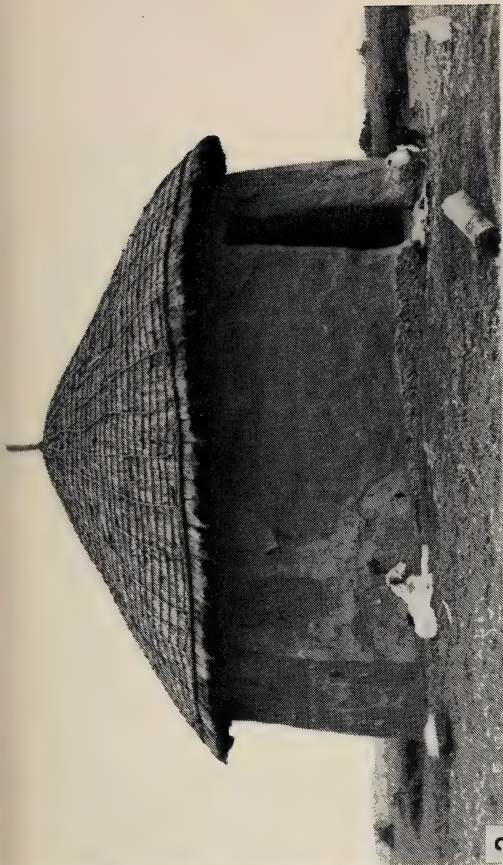


PLATE 8

1. *irontawule*, peaked-roof hut, of Xhosa, Willowvale 1948.
2. Mpondomise *irontawuli*, Ncambedlana, Umtata 1955.
3. Qawukeni, the Great Place of Paramount Chief Botha Sigcau of Eastern Pondoland, Lusikisiki 1948. Note square house, veranda.



PLATE 9

1. Bomvana girl smearing floor; *umgubasi* (door-posts), *umnyango* (doorway), Guse, Elliotdale 1948.
2. *iphempe* (cropwatcher's shelter), Mpondo, Lusikisiki 1948.
3. *ucango* (door), Mpondo, Monteli (i.e. Mount Ayliff) 1942 (Albany Museum C305).
4. *uhlango* (wicker door), plastered, held in position by bar (*ubambo lwenja*), Mpondo, Ngqeleni 1958.

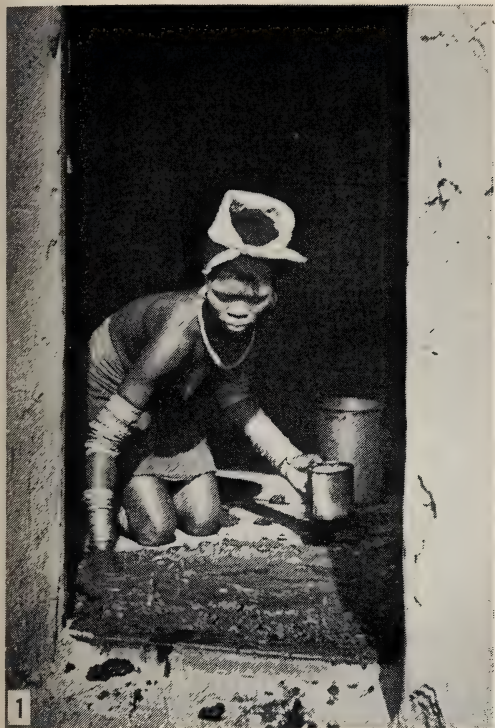


PLATE 10

1. *iziko* (hearth) and grindstone inside hut, Xhosa, Willowvale 1948.
2. Hut with screen, probably Fingo, Fuller's Hock near Fort Beaufort (Bowler, Kaffir Wars, 1865, pl. 7).
3. Girl cooking at outside hearth, Xhosa, Willowvale 1948.
4. Doorway barred with poles (*imbambo zenja*) Mpondo, Ngqeleni 1958.



PLATE II

1. *uhlango* (wicker door) used as cooking screen, Mpondo, Ngqeleni 1958.
2. River clay being worked up with hoe, to repair a hut wall, Mpondo, Ngqeleni 1958.
3. Collapsed wall of hut being rebuilt, Mpondo, Ngqeleni 1958.

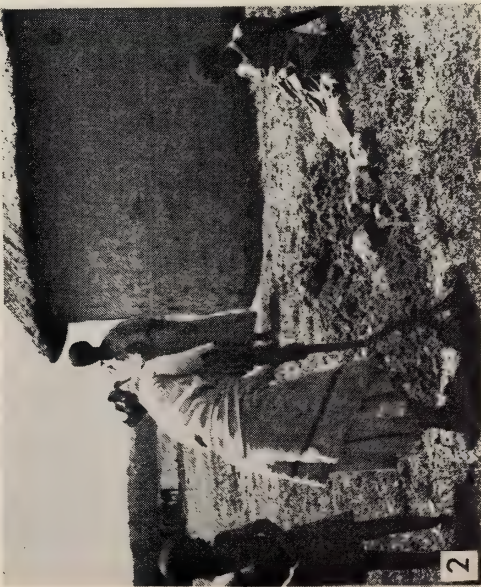


PLATE 12

1. Plastered hut wall and roof frame, Mpondo, Mbotyi, Lusikisiki 1948.
2. Frame of hut wall, Mpondo, Mbotyi, Lusikisiki 1948.
3. Interior of hut, old style, Mpondo, c. 1900 (Kidd, *Essential Kafir*, 1904, pl. 22).
4. Stone foundation for hut, roof frame, Thembu, Mqanduli 1959.

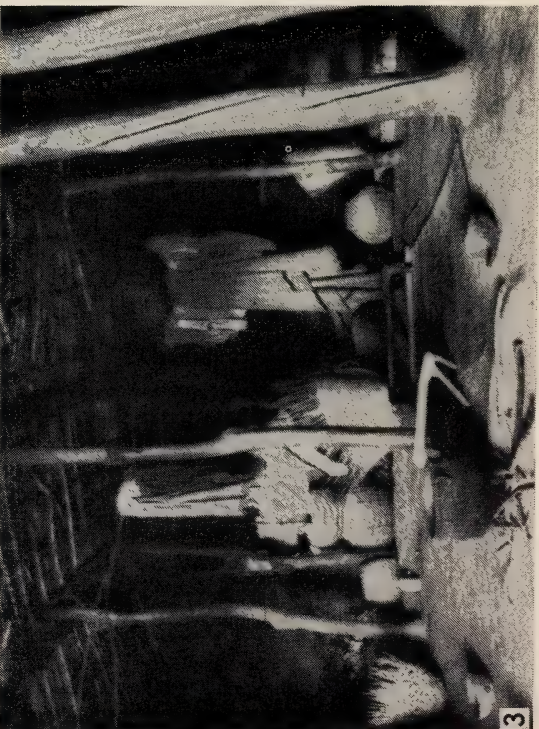
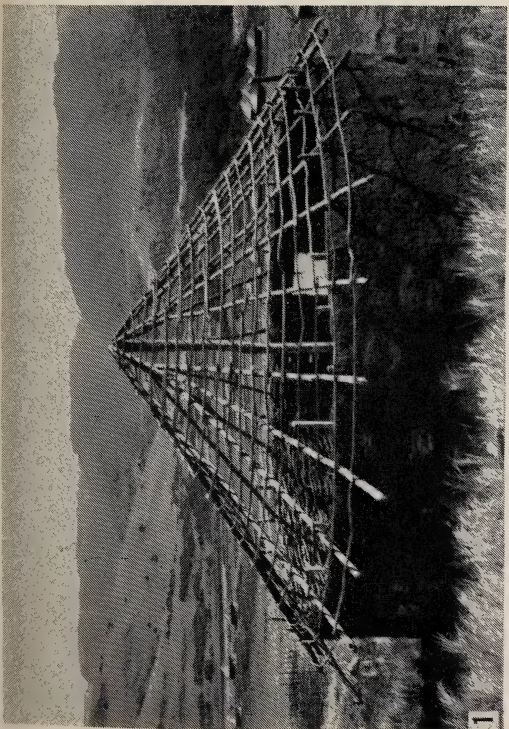
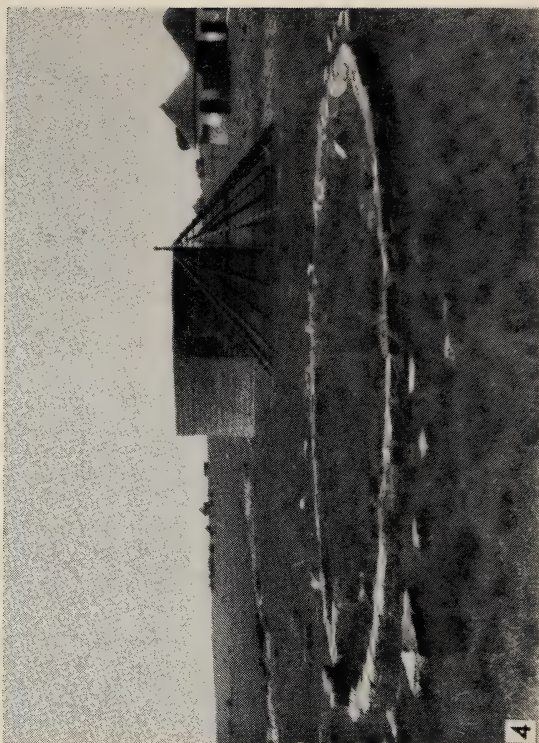
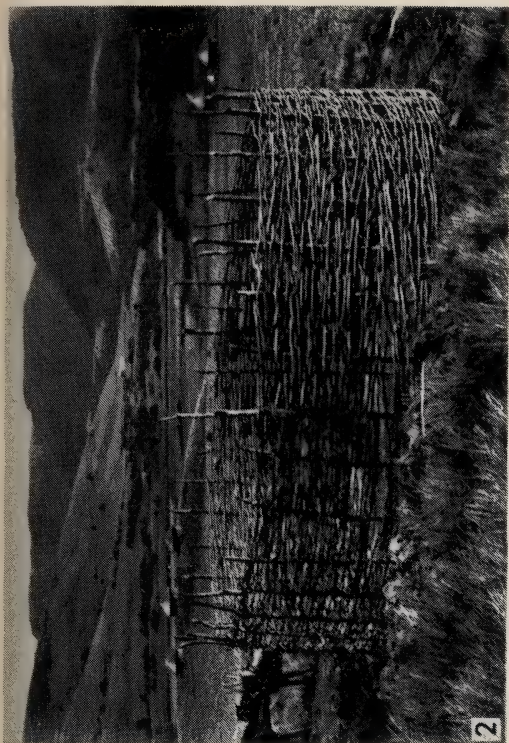
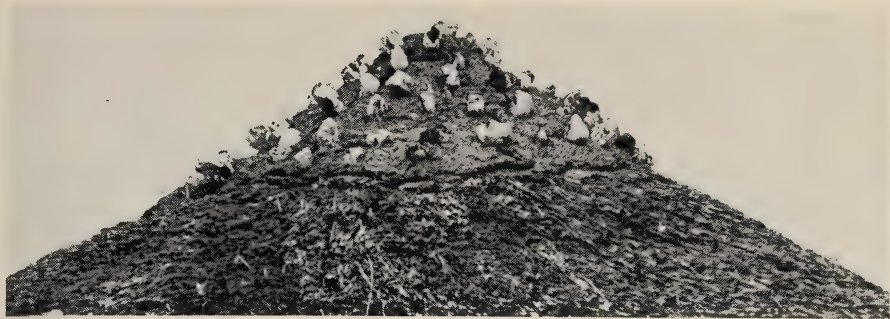


PLATE 13

1. *umnqwazi* (roof crown) of clay and stones, Xhosa, Willowvale 1948.
2. Unfinished net for holding down thatch, weighted with large clods, Thembu, Thungwana, Mqanduli 1960.
3. Cattle-kraal and huts, a cut captioned 'Scene in Kaffirland, May 1' and signed 'Smyth', who is described in the text as '. . . a clever and accredited artist, resident in the Colony', *Illustrated London News* 18 Jul. 1846, **9** (220): 40.



1



2



3

SMYTH.

PLATE 14

1. *ubuhlanti* (cattle-kraal), Xhosa, Willowvale 1948.
2. *isibaya* (cattle-kraal) of thin poles, Mpondo, Mbotyi, Lusikisiki 1948.
3. *isango* (gateway) and *ixhanti* (forked post as entrance) opposite door of great wife's hut, Bomvana, Guse, Elliotdale 1948.



PLATE 15

1. Stone-walled cattle-kraal, Thembu, near Clarkebury, Engcobo 1958.
2. Cattle-kraal with unusually high fence, Mpondo, Mgwenyana, Libode 1958.
3. *uhlango* (wicker door or gate) of cattle-kraal, Mpondo, Mgwenyana, Libode 1958.
4. *imivalo* (bars) closing gateway of cattle-kraal, Xhosa, Willowvale 1948.
5. Old disused stone-walled cattle-kraal, Mpondomise, Malephe, Tsolo 1958.

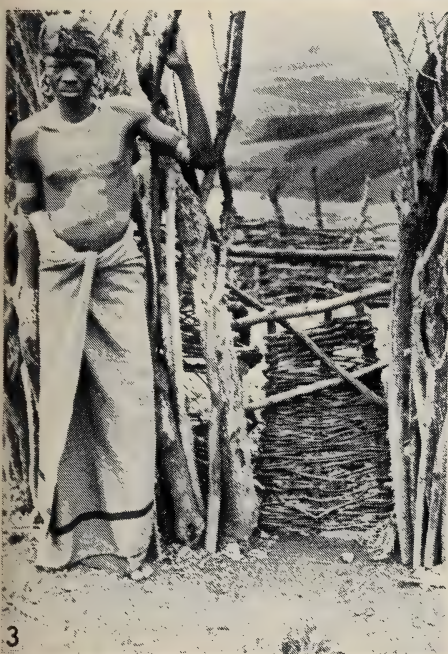


PLATE 16

- 1-5. *isisele* (grain-pit) being opened, Xhosa, Willowvale 1948.
6. *umnyazi* (grain basket), dia. 467 mm, Bhaca?, Mangeni, Umzimkulu 1946 (Fort Hare Museum 537).
7. idem, texture.
8. *isilulu* (grain basket) of Hlubi type, at Lugangeni, Bhaca Great Place, Mt. Frere 1948.

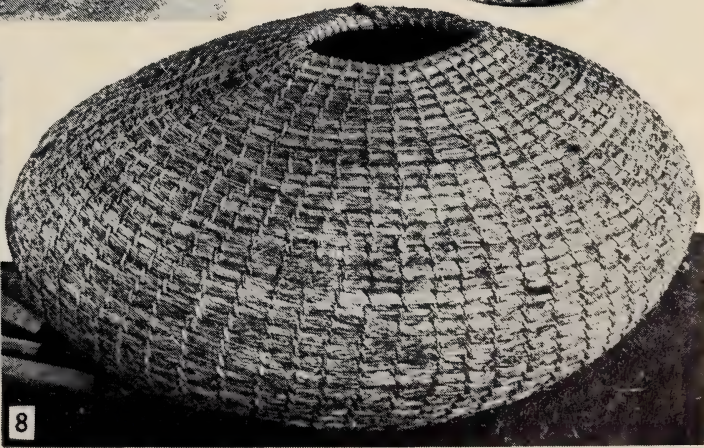
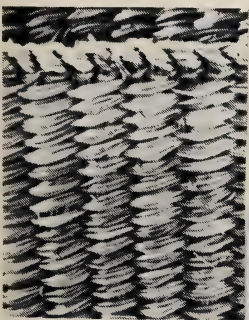
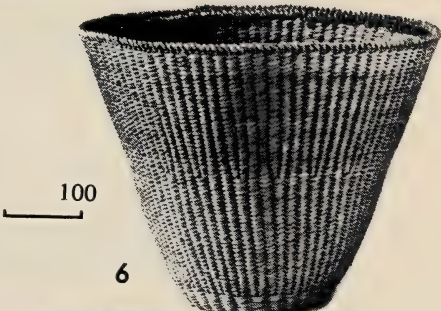


PLATE 17

1. Granary on platform, part of plate entitled 'Kafir Women', c. 1852 (Two Officers of the 43rd Light Infantry, *Scenes in Kafirland*, 1854, pl. 16).
2. *udladla* (granary), Xhosa, Willowvale 1948.
3. Store hut, Fingo, Dwessa, Willowvale 1960.
4. *udladla* (granary) and hut used as *inyango* (store-hut), Xhosa, Bojeni, Willowvale 1948.



INSTRUCTIONS TO AUTHORS

Based on

CONFERENCE OF BIOLOGICAL EDITORS, COMMITTEE ON FORM AND STYLE. 1960.

Style manual for biological journals. Washington: American Institute of Biological Sciences.

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BULLOUGH, W. S. 1960. *Practical invertebrate anatomy*. 2nd ed. London: Macmillan.

FISCHER, P.-H. 1948. Données sur la résistance et de le vitalité des mollusques. *J. Conch., Paris* **88**: 100-140.

FISCHER, P.-H., DUVAL, M. & RAFFY, A. 1933. Etudes sur les échanges respiratoires des littorines. *Archs Zool. exp. gén.* **74**: 627-634.

KOHN, A. J. 1960a. Ecological notes on *Conus* (Mollusca: Gastropoda) in the Trincomalee region of Ceylon. *Ann. Mag. nat. Hist.* (13) **2**: 309-320.

KOHN, A. J. 1960b. Spawning behaviour, egg masses and larval development in *Conus* from the Indian Ocean. *Bull. Bingham oceanogr. Coll.* **17** (4): 1-51.

THIELE, J. 1910. Mollusca: B. Polyplacophora, Gastropoda marina, Bivalvia. In SCHULTZE, L., *Zoologische und anthropologische Ergebnisse einer Forschungsreise im westlichen und zentralen Süd-Afrika*. **4**: 269-270. Jena: Fischer. *Denkschr. med.-naturw. Ges. Jena* **16**: 269-270.

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Example

Scalaria coronata Lamarck, 1816: pl. 451, figs 5 *a*, *b*; Liste: 11. Turton, 1932: 80.



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NALE VAN DIE SUID-AFRIKAANSE MUSEUM

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THE MATERIAL CULTURE OF THE CAPE NGUNI

Part 2 Technology

By

E. M. SHAW & N. J. VAN WARMELO

Cape Town Kaapstad

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N. J. VAN WARMELO

Department of Bantu Administration and Development, Pretoria

(With 16 plates and 1 text-figure)

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ABBREVIATIONS

acc. to	according to
Afr.	Afrikaans
Alb	Albany Museum
AM	Africana Museum
Bh	Bhaca
Bk	Dr W. T. H. Beukes, at one time ethnologist Transvaal Museum
BM	British Museum
Bo	Bornvane
CK	Ciskei
CT	University of Cape Town ethnological collection
D	Kropf-Godfrey Xhosa Dictionary
DC	Duggan-Cronin—see sources 1939
Du.	Dutch
EG	Griqualand East
EL	East London Museum
Em	eMbo
Fgo	Fingo
FH	Fort Hare
GA	according to Miss Graham (missionary), Albany Museum
GEL	according to gardener, East London Museum, probably Xhosa
Hlu	Hlubi
HW	Hamilton-Welsh (Mrs E. Hamilton-Welsh, collector, grew up and lived in the Transkei)
Licht	Lichtenstein—see sources 1803
McL D	McLaren's Xhosa Dictionary
Mak	Makalima—see sources 1945
Mp	Mpondo
Mpm	Mpondomise
Mz	G. Mzamane, lecturer at University College of Fort Hare
nD	not in Kropf-Godfrey Xhosa Dictionary
perh.	perhaps
pron.	pronunciation/pronounced
SAM	South African Museum
SAL	South African Library
So	Sotho
SS	South Sotho
T	Thembu
TK	Transkei

TM	Transvaal Museum (collection now housed in National Cultural History and Open-air Museum)
UCT	University of Cape Town ethnological collection
Ve	Venda
vol.	volume
X	Xhosa
Xes	Xesibe
Zu	Zulu

METALLURGY: SOURCES

1554 Perestrello p. 157 (Bashee R.): eagerness for iron
 'Ao outro dia pela manhã da banda d'alem do Rio do Infante, apparecêraõ certas Cafres que andavaõ ao longo da praya queimando alguns pedaços da Nao que o mar lançava, para lhes tirar os prêgos: e sendo por nòs chamados, alguns delles se chegàraõ à borda do Rio defronte onde estavamos; e afoutandose mais despois que nos viraõ sem armas, que lògo de industria não quize-mos levar, andàraõ atravessando o Rio a nado, e vieraõ ter connosco, aos quaes Fernaõ d'Alvares fez o mayor gazalhado que pode, dandolhes desse pobre comer que tinhamos, barretes, panos, e pedaços de ferro, com o que ficàraõ taõ contentes, como se os fizeraõ senhores do mundo. . . .'

[p. 224 'The next day at dawn on the other bank of the river Infante there appeared certain Kaffirs, who went along the shore burning some pieces of the ship which the sea had cast up, in order to get out the nails, and on our calling to them some of them came to the edge of the river opposite to where we were and became bolder on seeing us unarmed, for then purposely we did not carry weapons with us. They swam across the river and came to speak to us, and Fernaõ d'Alvarez gave them the best welcome he could, giving them such poor provisions as we had, and caps, pieces of cloth, and iron, with which they were as delighted as if they had been made lords of the earth.']

p. 159 (Bashee R.): iron for trading
 ' . . . cada hum apercebeo seo alforge das mais cousas de comer que achou, e dos mais prêgos e ferro que podia levar para o resgate: que estas eraõ naquelle tempo as joyas de mais estima.'

[pp. 226-7 ' . . . each one filled his wallet with what provisions he could and as much nails and iron as he could carry to trade with, for at that time these things were esteemed as the most precious jewels.']

1593 Lavanha p. 235 Umtata R.: value of iron and copper
 'Prezaõ dos metaes os mais necessarios, como he o ferro, e cobre, e assim por muy pequenos pedaços de qualquer destes trocaõ gado, que he o que mais estimaõ, e com elles fazem o seo commercio, e commutaçaõ, e seos thezouros. O ouro e prata não tem entre elles preço, nem parece que ha estes metaes na terra, não vendo sinaes delles os nossos por onde passàraõ.'

[p. 294 'They value the most necessary metals, as iron and copper, and for very small pieces of either they will barter cattle, which is what they esteem most, and with which they trade, exchanging them for other treasures. They

do not prize silver or gold, nor does there appear to be any of these metals in the country, for our people saw no signs of them in the parts they traversed.']

1686-8 (Stavenisse) p. 63

Xhosa: metal not destroyed

't Huijs daar hij in gewoond heeft, mitsg^{rs} daar hij in gestorven is, word ter neder gesmeeten, en daar onder bedolven alles wat den overleden toegekomen heeft, behalven iser en koperwerk 't welk sij oordeelen, dat niet ont-reijnigd kan worden.'

1687-8 Centaurus p. 444 (also Sutherland p. 306, Moodie

pp. 426-7, Bird p. 42, Godée Molsbergen p. 94) Xhosa: metal-working

'Gelijk de Natalsche Hottentots, het ijser, so konnen sij het metal tot arm-ringen versmelten, en souden ook wel kennisse van eenige mineralen hebben.'

1772-6 Sparrman II pp. 158-9

Thembu: mines

'Such colonists as have visited Zomo-river, have observed, about two days journey to the northward of it, a mountain that threw out a great quantity of smoke. The Snese-Hottentots informed me, that the Tambukis had furnaces there for the purpose of smelting a species of metal, which they forge and make into ornaments of various kinds, hiring the Snese-Hottentots to carry in the wood which they use in these smeltings. I have frequently seen the Snese-Hottentots at Bruntjes-hoogte with ear-rings of this metal, and of the form exhibited in Plate I. Vol. I. fig. 8 and 9. In external appearance they resemble pistole gold; but from the assay made on one of these rings by M. Von Engstroem, counsellor of the mines, they appear to be merely a mixture of copper and silver.'

1776 Swellengrebel p. 12

Xhosa: love of brass

'De mans zowel als de vrouwen schynen zig met al hetgeen zij krijgen kunnen en op allerley manier op te schikken, dog 't meest houden zij van geel koper en roode, kleyne coralen.'

1782 Le Vaillant II pp. 125, 187, 188-9, 191

Xhosa: iron, smithing

p. 125

Xhosa: eagerness for iron

'Mais ce qui fixoit davantage leur imagination, et qu'ils m'auroient escamotté de bon coeur, c'étoit du fer. Ils le dévorioient des yeux, la vantoient excessivement, et semblaient l'estimer pardessus tout.'

p. 187

Xhosa: smithing

'Les Caffres travaillent et forgent eux-mêmes leurs sagayes; mais ne connoissant du fer que sa malléabilité, leur art ne remonte pas jusqu'à sa première fonte; ainsi c'est du fer déjà travaillé qu'il leur faut. . . .'

pp. 188-9

Xhosa: smithing, bellows

'Ceux auprès de qui je me trouvois actuellement, étoient réunis autour d'un grand feu au pied d'une colline graniteuse; ils retiroient du brasier une barre de fer assez grosse et profondément rougie; ils la posèrent sur une enclume, et se mirent à la battre avec des pierres fort dures, et de la forme la plus favorable et la plus aisée à saisir; . . . mais ce fut leur soufflet qui me parut

bien extraordinaire, . . . Leur soufflet étoit donc un meuble bien misérable; il étoit fait d'une peau de mouton soigneusement vidée par une légère incision et bien recousue. Les parties de l'origine des quatre pattes qu'ils avoient retranchées comme inutiles et même embarrassantes étoient nouées. Ils avoient également tranché la tête, et substitué en place un bout de canon autour duquel ils avoient ramassé et fortement attaché la peau du cou.'

p. 191

Xhosa: smithing

Nothing more.

1782 Carter p. 6

Mpondo: eagerness for iron

'The masts, driven by the surf and current, found their way to the shore; and as soon as they were got within reach, they were quickly stripped of the iron hoops by the natives, that being the metal most prized, for making the heads of their assaygays or lances.'

1782 Dalrymple p. 38, app. p. 27

p. 38

Xhosa: eagerness for metal

'The Natives minded nothing but metal, one of the Coffrees took a watch (Hubberly told him) and then broke the watch with a stone, and picked the pieces out with their lance, and stuck them in their hair: this was up a pretty large salt water river.*

* River Nye, or K-ly.

appendix p. 27

Xhosa: copper

'... two men came out of a hut, brought some milk, and wanted *zimbe*† for it.'

† Copper.

1782 Hubberly pp. 67, 95

Mpondo, Xhosa: iron, copper

Nothing more.

1788 Von Winkelman pp. 70, 85-6

p. 70

Xhosa: no smelting

'Sie erhandeln das Eisen entweder von den Christen oder von andern Stämmen. Die Waffen aller Völker des Kafferlandes bestehen unter verschiedenen Formen aus Eisen, das sie in solcher Menge ohnmöglich von den Christen erhalten habben können. Es ist daher zu vermuthen, dass er durch die häufig gestrandeten Schiffe an der Ost und Westküste von Afrika unter diese Völkerschaften gekommen ist. So reich auch diese Länder an den besten Eisen-Erzten sind, so sind sie doch zu unerfahren in der Kunst vorthteile daraus zu ziehen.'

p. 85

Xhosa: tools

'Das männliche Geschlecht verfertigt die Waffen und Zierrathen. Sie haben dazu keine andere Werkzeuge, als Steine, Holz und Eisen. Sie bauen sich eine Art von Heerd, auf dem sie das mit Mühe hervorgebrachte Feuer in Glut und Flamme blasen. . . .'

Xhosa: bellows

'Metallarbeiten. Sie bedienen sich dabei eines selbst verfertigten Blasebalgs von einem zusammen genähten Kalbsfell, in das ein durchbohrtes Rindshorn

eingefügt ist. Sie geben mit sehr harten geärzartigen Steinen ihren lanzen die Form und hauen teils mit solchen, teils mit Eisen selbst auch die Wiederhaken künstlich ein. Da ihre Lanzen mehr stahlartig sind, so lässt sich vermuthen dass sie in der Kunst, Eisen zu härten nicht ganz unerfahren sind. Selbst hatte ich keine Gelegenheit der ganzen Fabrikatur ihrer Waffen bei zu wohnen.

Auf ähnliche Art verfertigen sie auch aus Messing und Kupfer Ohrenringe, indem sie dasselbe zu ihrer Absicht dünner schmieden. Ob sie aber wie verschiedne andere weiter nord Ostlich wohnende Kafferstämme die Kunst verstehen, Metalle zu schmelzen, konnte ich nicht mit zuverlässigkeit erfahren.'

1796 (Stout) p. 15
Nothing more.

general: eagerness to get iron

1797 Barrow pp. 161, 163-4, 168
p. 161

Xhosa: no smelting

'Though they have no knowledge of smelting iron from the ore, yet when it comes to their hands in a malleable state, they can shape it to their purpose with wonderful dexterity. Every man is his own artist. A piece of stone serves for his hammer, and another for the anvil, and with these alone he will finish a spear, or a chain, or a metallic bead that would not disgrace the Town of Birmingham.'

pp. 163-4

Xhosa: trade with colonists and Thembu

'Besides the illicit trade that the Dutch farmers have carried on with this people, consisting of pieces of iron, copper, glass-beads, and a few other trifling articles, given to them in exchange for their cattle, the Kaffers have no kind of commerce with any other nation except their eastern neighbours the Tambookies. In addition to the young girls which they purchase from these people, they are supplied by them with a small quantity of iron in exchange for cattle. It has been supposed that the Tambookies, and other nations farther to the eastward, possessed the art of obtaining iron from the ore; but it is much more probable that they are supplied with it by the Portuguese settlers of Rio de la Goa, not far from which their country is situated. The only metals known to the Kaffers are iron and copper; and their only medium of exchange, and the only article of commerce they possess, is their cattle.'

p. 168

Xhosa: metal as bond

'A promise was always held sacred when a piece of metal was broken between the parties; a practice not unlike the breaking of a sixpence between two parting lovers, still kept up in some country places of England.'

1803 Paravicini di Capelli pp. 123, 139-40

p. 123

Xhosa: iron

'... zyne Majesteit als opgetogen was over de groote pracht van myn paard, als zynde van onderen de hoeven met blinkend yzer beslagen; zulk een ryk-

dom ging boven zyn begrip en hier over sprak hy agterom met de zyne.'

pp. 139-40

Xhosa: iron and smelting

'Men zal gewis vragen hoe bekoomt den Kaffer yzer en hoe bewerkt hy het zelve tot hassagayen; eensdeels hebben zy zeer veel yzer zorgvuldig gesloopt van de menigvuldige op hunne kusten jaarlyks strandende schepen; twedens ruylde en stalen zy het zelve tot hier toe van de Colonisten, en eyndelik bezitten zy rotsen in welke yzer genoeg voor handig is, zoo als wy stukken *natif* yzer van twee honderd ponden zwaarte gezien hebben, en waar van stalen te Kaapstad voor handen zyn. De wyze van smeden is zoo vernuftig uytgedacht dat het alle denkbeeld te boven gaat. Men weet dat de mieren en vooral de witte mieren zeer groote *termittes* maken, waar van zommige, vier voeten boven de grond verheeven, zoo hard zyn, dat men met yzere mookers en bylen werk heeft dezelve te verbryzelen. Het aard varken of den zoogenaamde miereter weet de versch gebouwde woning der mieren van de oude te onderscheiden, en maakt met zyne scherpe nagels een gat in een der zyden, om aldus de mieren tot zyn voedsel te bekomen, hollende den miershoop van binnen geheel ledig. Het is nu zulk een uytgehaalde miershoop die de Kaffer gebruykt tot het smeden zyner hassagayen; hy boord vlak aan de overzyde van de opening een klein rond gat, en steekt door het zelve een uytgehold schapen mergbeen aan welks andere zyde een groote ledere zak stevig en luchtdigt word vastgemaakt by wyze van een blaasbalg, hebbende een houte klep om lucht in te vangen. Den oven aldus toegesteld en van binnen zeer heet gestookt zynde, leggen zy het yzer in den zelve, de grootste opening met steene en kleyaarde toestoppende, zoodanig dat er alleen plaats blyft om het vuur het onderhouden en de trek te bevorderen. Als het yzer door lang stoken tot smeltens af gloeyend is, werken zy het na buyten op een groote platte klipsteen, en beuken met groote ronde steenen aan houte stokken vastgemaakt zoo lange op het yzer, tot het eene plaat word, als wanneer zy het in lange reepen met scherpe steenen doorslaan, en voorts geheel met kleindere ronde steenen bewerken tot het de gedaante der hassegaay gekoomt. Het slypen is te eenvoudig om er hier van te spreken.'

1802-6 Alberti pp. 62, 149-52, 202

p. 62

Xhosa: awl

'Aan dit hals-sieraad bij de Mannen hangt nog doorgaans op de borst een kleine ijzeren Priem in eenen koker, dienende zoo wel ter vervaardiging van kleederen en melk-korven, als ter uitrukkinge van eenen doorn, dien men in den voet treedt, en tot andere einden meer.'

p. 149

Xhosa: smithing

'De weinige behoeften, zoo ligtelijk daarenboven te bevredigen, maken bijkans allen handwerk, met uitzondering alleen der Smeederij, geheel onnoodig. De laatste wordt dadelijk gevorderd ter vervaardiging van Werp-spiesen, een soort van Handbijlen en van die koperen en ijzeren Ringen, zoo tot sieraad als tot munt dienende, waarvan reeds vroeger gesproken is, en zij

wordt op de eenvoudigtse wijze beoefend. Niet alle Kaffers drijven dit Smids-handwerk, maar zulks is slechts eene kostwinning van enkele Personen. Tot vuur-oven dient een Mierennest, welks bijzondere gehalte reeds hiervóór beschreven is. Zulks wordt aan éénen kant geheel geopend en zoodanig uitgehold, dat deszelfs binnenste wanden naar de tegen over staande zijde eenigzins kegelvormig toelopen. Alhier wordt eene opening gemaakt, waarin men het roer of mondstuk van den Blaasbalk, niet zoo als gewoonlijk bij ons, maar in zoodanige form steekt, dat de laatste zich binnen en het vuur buiten den oven bevindt. De Blaasbalk zelf is een zagt bereid, bij wijze van eenen zak toegenaaid, Kalfsvel, en het Mondstuk een Koehoren, waarvan de punt afgesneden en waaraan de hals van het vel met eenen riem is vast gebonden, zijnde dit vel van agteren geheel open. Men gebruikt twee zulke Blaasbalken te gelijk, wier mondstukken naast elkander met riemen aan kleine palen worden vastgehecht, die in den grond geslagen zijn. Slechts een klein gedeelte dier Mondstukken, echter, wordt in de gemaakte opening van den oven gebragt, ten einde niet al te zeer aan het vuur te zijn bloot gesteld. Aan het agterste gedeelte dezer Blaasbalken zijn beugels gemaakt, waaronder de Smids-knecht de vlakke handen steekt, om ze beide zoo wel te openen, als te sluiten. Tot eenen Hamer dient een Riviersteen, of ook somtijds een stuk ijzer, welk de gedaante van eenen stompen kegel heeft, zonder steel. De Tang bestaat uit een gedeeltelijk gespleten stuk taai Hout. Eindelijk bedient men zich van eenen Beitel, om het koper of ijzer door te slaan, en het geprikte aan de werpspiesen te vervaardigen, welk daaraan nu en dan te zien is.

De vereeniging of het zoo genoemde zamenlasschen van twee stukken ijzer geschiedt, met derzelver beide einden over elkanderen te leggen, en met een zeker deeg uit de aarde van het mieren-nest zelf te omwoelen, hetgeen, alzoo in het vuur gelegd, eene aanvankelijke verbindtenis bewerkt, waarna het door het smeden zelf tot volkomenheid gebragt wordt. — Ter vervaardiging der meer genoemde Ringen, wordt een plat stuk Koper of Ijzer, met behulp van eenen beitel, in strooken van ééne Lijn breedte verdeeld; de lengte, tot iederen ring op zich zelf noodig, om een rond hout gedreven van omtrent 2 Lijnen in zijne doorsnede, en de wijdde van binnen alzoo bepaald. — Bovenal weten de Kaffers hunne Werpspiesen zoo goed te bereiden, dat men ze bijkans voor een werkstuk van onze gewone Smederij zoude houden: daarentegen missen zij de bekwaamheid, om al wat bogtig is en dus meerder overleg vordert, te bewerken, zoo als, bij voorbeeld, het oor van eene bijl, om daarin den steel vast te maken, hoe zeer zij anders eene, voor hun behoefte allezins voegzame, soort van handbijlen weten te vervaardigen. De Bijl zelve heeft de gedaante van eenen breeden beitel; zij is 6 Duim lang; de vlakke breedte aan het einde, alwaar de snede is, bedraagt omtrent 2 Duim, en neemt naar den anderen kant langzaam af. Tot den doorboorden steel, waarin men deze bijl steekt, dient niet slechts een zeer taai, maar tevens aan het doorboord einde bijzonder kwastig hout, ten einde bij het gebruik niet te splijten.'

p. 202

Xhosa: copper rings

'Bovendien neemt de weduenaar eenige hairen uit den staart van eenen Os, reigt aan dezelve eenige koperen kleene Ringen, en draagt dit snoer om den hals, totdat de hairen vergaan.'

1803-6 Lichtenstein pp. 395, 462, 463, 495

p. 395

Xhosa: mining

'Metalle werden gegraben und bearbeitet.'

p. 462

Xhosa: no mining

'Sie graben ihre Metalle nicht selbst, sondern bekommen Eisen und Kupfer durch Tauschhandel von den kafferischen Völkern im Innern, wie sich in der Folge deutlicher ausweisen wird. Das mehrste wird ihnen bereits verarbeitet geliefert, doch besitzen sie Geschicklichkeit im Schmieden genug. . . .'

p. 463

Xhosa: bellows

'Um einen steten Luftzug hervorzubringen und dadurch dem Feuer die nöthige Stärke zu geben, bedienen sie sich eines Blasebalges, der aus zwei ledernen Säcken besteht, die beide in eine gemeinschaftliche Röhre ausgehn und einer um den andern zugeedrückt und geöffnet werden. Diese Erfindung ist ihnen ebenfalls von jenen entfernteren Stämmen mitgetheilt.'

p. 463

Xhosa: tools

Nothing more.

p. 463

Xhosa: fuel for forge

'Das Brennmaterial, dessen sich die hiesigen Schmiede bedienen, ist getrockneter Ochsenmist, der eine starke Gluth giebt.'

p. 495

Xhosa: sources of copper, iron

'Weit gegen Nordwesten hin, im Innern des Landes, kennen die Koossa ein Volk, Namens Macquina, und erzählen, dass dieses es sei, von welchem die übrigen Stämme ihr Kupfer und Eisen bekämen.'

1819-29 Moodie pp. 258, 259, 260

pp. 258-9

Xhosa: bellows

'The double bellows was the most curious part of the apparatus. It was formed of two goatskins, . . . The neck parts of the two skins were fixed into a common tube, made of a straight bullock's horn. . . the smith's assistant. . . then slips the thumb and fingers of each hand into small loops on each side of the aperture at the loose end of each bag, and opening his right hand to allow the air to enter the bag on that side, he again closes it and thrusts his arm forward, which forces the air through the tube. Before the air is all forced out of the bag on his right, he closes the aperture of the left-hand bag, and pushes the other arm forward in the same manner, and thus keeps up a constant blast through the common tube, which communicates with the furnace.'

p. 259

Xhosa: anvil and hammers

'We saw the smith make several assagays in a very short time, with stones of different shapes for hammers. He had several thin bars of iron, which he beat

out till they were of the proper thickness, upon his stone anvil, and then formed the point of the assagay in a very dexterous manner with his rude hammer. In forming the groove on each side of the head, or blade of the weapon, he used a flat round edged shore-stone.'

p. 260

? Xhosa: iron smelting

'By means of the singular bellows I have just described, the Kaffres can smelt out the iron from the ore, which is found in great abundance between Lovedale and the Buffalo river.

1824 Ross p. 212

Ngwane: tongs

'They live in neat towns—not like the Caffre places. The smiths use tongs. He knew the purpose of our tongs.'

1820–31 Steedman I p. 255, II p. 257

I p. 255

Mpondo: metal ores

'Copper and iron ore are found in the mountains, and specimens of silver and platina have been occasionally discovered.'

II p. 257

Mpako R.: iron ore

'The land near the beach in this neighbourhood is very high, and must have a very bold and bluff appearance from the sea. Several of the mountains near the beach are rich in iron ore. At the mouth of the Umpakoo river is a most singular mountain, well worthy the careful attention of any traveller skilled in geology. It is composed principally of iron ore. . . .'

1815–37 Shaw p. 61

Xhosa: trade iron from Thembu

Nothing more.

1827 Dundas

Fingo: smelting ovens

' . . . [we] proceeded on our journey, passed the Guonove and Gualaka Rivers, near the former of which we saw much very rich Iron stone, where some people of a distant tribe, called by the Kaffers Fingos (a word expressive of their being found and sheltered by them) who had been driven from their country by Chaka had established themselves for the purpose of working the Iron. They had built their rude furnaces which we were not allowed to see, and some of their labours in the form of hassegais were offered to us for sale.'

1825–9 Kay p. 133

p. 133

Xhosa: not much smelting, tools

Nothing more.

p. 133

Fingo: smelters

'The various wars that have taken place within the last few years among the tribes higher up the coast, and in the interior, have been the means of throwing amongst the southern clans numbers of poor destitute exiles, who, from their being acquainted with the art of smelting metallic ores, are likely to prove very useful, both to the Amakosae and Amatembu.'

1829 Kay (Meth. Mag.) p. 350

Fingo: metallurgy

As above.

- 1829 Bain pp. 103-4 note 54 Mpondo: copper neck-rings
 'Their other ornaments consist of common beads, ivory rings and large copper neck rings, some of which weigh several pounds.'
- 1829 Boniface p. 26 Xhosa: eagerness for iron
 Nothing more.
- (1833) Morgan pp. 43-4 Xhosa: account of smithing
 'The only manufactory amongst them that is carried on by a distinct set of men, is the making the heads of the assagai, the forming of axe heads, and the making of their sewing needles or awls; and he who practices this art is held in great estimation amongst them. The only tools are various kinds of hard stones, as hammers and anvils. Flexible boughs of green wood for holding the hot iron—and a bellows formed of an entire buckskin; the legs are tied up, and to the neck is fastened the horn of an ox which is perforated and forms the tube for the exit of the wind; the other end of the skin is open and two sticks are sewed to the brim—these have two loops on, one to receive the thumb the other the fingers. The method of using them is as follows:—a forge is formed on the ground by erecting a bank of earth a foot or two in height; this serves to secure the nose of the bellows and protects the skin from the action of the fire, which is made in front of the bank: a hole to communicate with the nose of the bellows and to permit the wind to act on the fire passes through it. The man who uses these machines (for there [are] two in use at a time) pulls one of the skins out, at the same time pressing the other towards the bank: in the act of extending it, he separates the thumb and fingers, thus opening the orifice of the skins, which then become full of air. He then shuts his hand that closes it, and pressing the skin to the bank the confined air rushes out through the horn—by thus alternately acting nearly a constant stream of air is supplied to the fire.'
- (1836) Martin p. 151 Thembu: smelting further inland
 Nothing more.
- 1820-56 Shaw p. 483 Xhosa: scarcity of iron
 'Iron was so scarce among the Kaffirs, that a few pounds' weight would, in barter among themselves, purchase an ox or a cow. It was, therefore, not surprising that they used to torment us by stealing every piece of iron which they could carry off, with any hope of being undiscovered in the act, . . .'
- 1837 Döhne p. 62 Xhosa: smithing
 'Dazu haben sie ihre eigenen Schmiede, welche mit Steinen hämmern. Der Blasebalg ist ein zugenähtes Fell, an dessen einer Oeffnung ein Horn befestigt wird, welches sie auf dem Erdboden fest machen.'
- 1836-44 Döhne pp. 8-9, 36-8 Xhosa: metals not discovered
 pp. 8-9
 Nothing more.

p. 36

Xhosa: forge, tools

'... Zuerst brennen sie Kohlen; dann machen sie aus Lehm einen kleinen Hügel von etwa 2 Fuss Breite und $1\frac{1}{2}$ Fuss Höhe, rund und hohl und mit zwei Löchern versehen. Dies ist ihre Esse. Zwei Säcke von Ziegenfellen, an deren Ende zwei ausgehöhlte Hörner befestigt sind, bilden den Blasebalg. Das Eisen, woraus alle Waffen gemacht werden, wird durch ein kleines Kohlenfeuer zuerst in der Esse heiss gemacht, dann mit einem runden Stein vierkantig gehämmert, mit Lehm bestrichen, damit es nicht verbrennt, im Feuer geschweisst, nochmals vierkantig glatt gehämmert, ausgereckt, zugerichtet, wieder gehämmert, damit die rechte Form herauskommt, und dann völlig ausgearbeitet, ...'

pp. 37-8

Xhosa: brass-smiths

'Eine zweite Art Handwerker sind die Messingschmiede. Sie arbeiten ohne Feuer und verfertigen aus Metall, das aus der Colonie von den Engländern kommt, die Arm- und Fingerringe und den Gurt, welchen sie über den Hüften um den Leib tragen. Dieser besteht aus lauter glattgehämmerten, schön abgerundeten Ringen, von $\frac{1}{2}$ Zoll im Durchmesser, die, an einen Riemen gereiht, als Zierrath getragen werden. 3-400 gehören zu einem Gürtel, und für 2 Gürtel bekommt der Meister eine Kuh.'

1842 Baines I pp. 51-2

I pp. 51-2

Xhosa: assegai manufacture

'The Kafirs, as well as the Hottentots, formerly manufactured their own assegais from iron found either in a native state among the mountains or obtained in ore at a short distance from the surface, and some of the remoter tribes still do so; but among those on the Colonial frontier the general adoption of fire arms, and the facility with which iron and, saith the many tongued, assegai heads of British manufacture are obtained, has caused so great a declension of this branch of native industry that few travellers indeed are favoured with an opportunity of witnessing it. ...'

I p. 52

'distant tribes': smelting

'The ore is still smelted among the distant tribes by being piled in alternate layers with charcoal, enclosed by a wall of clay, and subjected to the action of two bellows, each consisting of the entire skin of a small animal, generally a goat, pointed with a bullock's horn, both of which are sometimes directed into the larger extremity of the horn of the eland, and alternately distended and compressed, either by two persons or by the right and left hand of one, so as to keep up a continuous blast in the required direction.'

I p. 52

Xhosa: forge

'... The forge is merely a wall of clay or ant hill, perforated to receive the nozzle of the bellows before which the fire is lighted; yet this simple apparatus has been found to answer so well the purpose for which it is designed as not infrequently to be adopted by Europeans who have had occasion to exercise the blacksmith's art at a distance from the appliances of civilisation.'

- I p. 52 general: desire for iron
 '... so harassed the Kafirs as they retired with their plunder as to teach them, for a long time after, more moderation in their desire for the iron work of Colonial wagons.'
- 1842-7^a Ward pp. 124-5 Xhosa: bellows
 Nothing more.
- 1842-7^b Ward p. 39 Xhosa: bellows
 Nothing more.
- (1853) Merriman p. 65 Xhosa: metallurgy
 '... the only kind of hand craft in which these people seem to display skill is in metallurgy. The pipe and the assagai or spear furnish the chief exercise of their craft.'
- (1853) Kretschmar p. 239 Xhosa: articles imported
 'Eiserne Geräthe, wie Hacken, Spaten und Beile, welche Einzelne besitzen, sind nicht durch Kaffern gefertigt, sondern eingeführt.'
- 1862 Bauer & Hartman p. 489 Thembu: smithing
 'Leaving the wagon behind, we rode past many kraals, at one of which we were surprised to see a blacksmith in full work. He had a very ingenious contrivance, which served him in the place of bellows, and seemed to use excellent coal for his work, which consisted of highly finished assegais and hooks.'
- (1862) Anon (E.P.) p. 85 general: spear-making
 Nothing more.
- 1863-6 Fritsch pp. 70-2 Xhosa: anvil, tools
 pp. 70-1
 Nothing more.
- p. 71 Xhosa: bellows
 'Die zum Schmieden nöthigen Geräthschaften werden in ähnlicher Weise in einem grossen Theile des afrikanischen Continents in Anwendung gebracht und bestehen hauptsächlich aus zwei cylindrischen Blasebälgen von Thierhäuten, die oben offen, aber mit je zwei parallelen Stöcken versehen sind, während unten ein Kuhhorn mit durchbohrter Spitze angefügt ist, um den Luftstrom in das Feuer zu leiten; das Versengen der ausführenden Spitzen wird verhindert durch Einleiten derselben in ein thönerne Ansatzstück von conischer Gestalt, welches die Verbindung mit dem Feuer vermittelt.'
- p. 72 Xhosa: copper, steel
 'Kupfer bringen die Eingeborenen in der beschriebenen Weise wohl mit einiger Mühe zum Schmelzen, doch bietet hierbei die Natur ihnen den Vortheil, dass gediegenes Kupfer als gestrickte Massen im Sande der Ravinen verrollt nicht selten gefunden wird, die Darstellung aus Erzen also fortfällt. Mit Eisen verhält sich die Sache ganz anders, da dasselbe gediegen in grösseren Mengen nur als Meteoreisen vorkommt und es eine kühne Behauptung

wäre, sämmtliches von den Eingeborenen verarbeitetes Eisen auf Meteore zurückführen zu wollen.

‘Wood betrachtet das von den Kaffern verarbeitete Metall, wie es scheint, als eine Art Gussstahl, den er mit dem indischen Wootz vergleicht, und stellt Vermuthung auf, wie die auffallenden Erscheinungen an demselben, besonders das schwierige Rosten, zu erklären seien. Das Eisen ist aber in der That weich und geschmeidig, so dass man eine dünne Assegai-Klinge aufrollen kann, ohne dass sie bricht und das Geheimniss der geringen Neigung zum Rosten im Vergleich mit europäischem Metall beruht einfach darin, dass Ersteres anhaltend gehämmert und dabei angelassen ist, wodurch ein sehr resistentes Häutchen von einer niedrigen Oxydations-stufe auf demselben entsteht, während europäisches Material stark erhitzt, mässig gehämmert, dann mit der Feile bearbeitet und vielleicht auch noch polirt wird, so dass es eines ähnlichen Schutzes entbehrt. Die Kafferwaffen sind demgemäss auch nicht blank, wie Wood angiebt, sondern von einer bräunlich grauen Färbung, indem nur an den Kanten durch Anschleifen das blanke Metall zu Tage tritt. Werden die Schneiden wegen der Weichheit des Metalles auch bald stumpf, so lassen sie sich dagegen wiederum leicht schleifen und Eile hat der Arbeiter nicht mit der Vollendung seiner Geräthschaften.’

1845-89 Kropf p. 112

Xhosa: smelting oven, bellows, hammer

Nothing more.

(1871) Griesbach p. cliv.

?: smithing

Nothing more.

1871 Bauer p. 275

Insizwa Mt.: copper ore

[passed Intiswa Mt.] ‘where copper ore of a good quality is to be found.’

(1882) Theal pp. 24-6

Xhosa: smelting

p. 24 ‘In many parts of the country iron ore of excellent quality is abundant, and this they smelt (or rather did so until recently) in a simple manner. Forming a furnace of a boulder with a hollow surface, out of which a groove was made to allow the liquid metal to escape, and into which a hole was pierced for the purpose of introducing a current of air, they piled up a heap of charcoal and virgin ore, which they afterwards covered in such a way as to prevent the escape of heat. The bellows by which air was introduced were made of skins, the mouthpiece being the horn of a large antelope. The molten iron, escaping from the crude yet effective furnace, ran into clay moulds prepared to receive it, which were as nearly as possible of the same magnitude as the implements they wished to make. These were never of great size—the largest being the picks or heavy hoes used in gardening.’

(1887) Matthiae p. 11

Xhosa: articles made of iron

Nothing more.

(1906) Whiteside p. 175

Xhosa: metal-working

Nothing more.

(1912) Ayliff & Whiteside p. 9 Hlubi: skilled workers
 '... [speaking of Basutoland] The Amahlubi were very skilful workers in metals and Motshole wore on his neck a necklace which was wrought on the wearer's neck in one piece and was supposed to possess magical powers. Sikonyela coveted this.'

(1919) McLaren p. 442 Xhosa: smelting from ore
 'In olden times iron was smelted, *nyibilikisa*, from the ore, *isi-nyiti*, by a smelter, *i-lala*, by heating it in a furnace, *isi-dlangalala*, where it was blown upon, *futa*, with a powerful bellows, *im-futo*, till it was heated to a white heat, *ubu-qaqauli*, and then run off into the sand. The iron thus obtained, or later, purchased from the trader, was forged into shape, *kanda iyilwe*, by a blacksmith, *um-kandi*, ...'

(1926) Du Toit pp. 291, 412 Eastern Cape: copper
 p. 291 'Apart from the existence of small quantities of copper pyrites in the districts of Queenstown and Cathcart, the only occurrence worthy of attention is that near Mount Ayliff, where copper-nickel ores are locally concentrated at the basal contact of the Insizwa gabbro-norite mass.'
 p. 412 'The copper-nickel ores of Insizwa with several per cent. of metals carry pyrrhotite, pentlandite and chalcopyrite with a good platinum content.'

(1926) Müller p. 40 Hlubi: art of smithing now lost
 'Ein Schmiedehandwerk hat es wahrscheinlich früher einmal gegeben. Die Kaffern mussten sich doch die Spitzen ihrer Assagaie, die Hacken zum Bestellen ihrer Felder selbst bereiten. Dies Schmiedehandwerk ist aber allmählich in Vergessenheit geraten. Ihre Assagaie mussten sie der Regierung abliefern, und die immer regierungsfreundlichen Hlubis werden es wohl freiwillig getan haben. Die Feldhacken kamen ausser Gebrauch, als die viel besseren Pflüge eingeführt wurden.'

(1927) Poto Ndamase p. 118 Mpondo: smelting
 'Emva kwalo kungene umkonto wesinyiti. Isinyiti esi besinyityilikiswa elityeni ebeliye ligutywe libe ngumgubo. Lomgubo-ke ubugalelwa emalahleni omlokoti, ize ngapezulu ibe ngamalahle ibuye ibe ngumgubo welitye, njalo njalo. Lento-ke ibisenziwa kwisigingqana emhlabeni, ize umlilo uvutelwe ngemfuto eyenziwe ngesikumba senkomo. Ubuti-ke wakunyibilika umgubo sivuze isinyiti singamanzi, sibe zintambo. Ezintambo-ke bekusenziwa ngazo imikonto namazembe.'

[After the wooden throwing javelin came the spear of iron. Iron-ore was smelted from stone ground to powder. This powder was then cast on live coals of *umlokothi* wood, on the powder there was more coal again, then more powder, and so on. This was done in a basin-shaped hole in the ground; the fire was given draught by bellows (*imfutho*) made of cow hide. When the powder melted the iron became liquid and turned into strands (rods). These rods were converted into assegais and axes.]

(1928) Wagner pp. 13, 143, 191 Eastern Cape: occurrence of iron-ore
 p. 13 'Within the Union of S.A. evidence of activities of early metallurgists is furnished by accumulations of slag, remains of old furnaces, and more strikingly by the ancient workings for iron ore that are scattered broadcast over the Transvaal, Natal, Zululand and Griqualand West, their non-existence in the Cape Province being due to the absence of iron deposits in that territory.'

p. 143 'No economically significant deposits of iron ore have so far been found in the Karroo Beds of the Cape Province. The writer was some years ago given a small specimen of strongly magnetic argillaceous ironstone, said to have been obtained in the neighbourhood of Cala, which lies in an area of Beaufort and Molteno beds. He has not been able to obtain any particulars of the occurrence.'

p. 191 '. . . lateritic surface ironstones that have such a wide distribution in the more humid districts of South Africa. They are found at or, as is more usual, a foot or so below the surface. . . . The ironstone . . . occurs either as a continuous sheet or as a layer of nodules or pellets, the spaces between which are occupied by sand or soil.'

p. 192 'From what has already been said, one would expect the ironstone to be very impure, and this unfortunately is almost invariably the case; most of it is highly siliceous, none has so far been found sufficiently rich in iron to be of value under present-day conditions as a potential source of metal.'

(1932) Soga p. 406 Xhosa: ornaments
 'Arm bangles of solid metal, others of wire-work of original Native workmanship, in a variety of patterns, are still made by a few experts in metal work.'

1932 Hunter pp. 100, 102

p. 100 Mpondo: smelting
 'Iron was formerly smelted from "a blackish gravel" found in outcrops in certain districts. . . . Smiths were specialists. The art was handed on from father to son, but any outsider could pay a smith to teach him his art. The smiths were not an endogamous group. No smelting from ore is now done. . . .'

p. 102 Mpondo: wire-work
 ' . . . In return men twist trade wire into bangles and waist bands.'

1937 Cornner Correspondence Mpondomise: smithing
 ' . . . assegais and bracelets. . . . In the old days these articles were made by a so-called professional native blacksmith. . . . To-day, no-one plies that craft, and each man makes his own assegai from an old file, which he heats on a dung fire and hammers it out himself on stones.'

1945 Makalima chap. 9, paras. 1, 17, 22-9, 33, 34, 36-40

Fingo, Thembu, Mpondomise: smithing

Nothing more.

para. 38

: copper

'Ukufunyanwa ko bhedu: Ubhedu lalufunyanwa kube Lungu.'

[Where copper was obtained: It was got from the Europeans.]

(1949) Duggan-Cronin p. 13

Mpondo, Mpondomise: iron smelting

'Iron was smelted from ore and beaten into axes, spear-heads, and hoes, but it was scarce, and old men say that many of them had to use wooden hoes. . . .'

1971 Gitywa pp. 138-45

Xhosa: smiths and metal-working

p. 139

Xhosa: anti-rust treatment

'Trying to find an explanation why native metal articles did not rust readily, Wood postulates that this freedom from rust may be obtained by a process similar to that which is employed in the manufacture of geological hammers, namely, that while the metal is hot, it is plunged into oil and then hammered. This is significant in that an old assegai smith of Dikidikana Location, Middledrift, volunteered similar information, but in his case the red hot iron was immersed in a salt solution after it was hammered.'

p. 142

Xhosa: no mining, modern sources

'Informants all agreed that although the Xhosa knew how to work with metal, they never mined metal extensively, nor have they any knowledge of any of their contemporaries or forefathers mining metal ore, *isinyithi*. Informants themselves made their assegais from old or new files or from any suitable piece of iron.'

Xhosa: forge and charcoal

'To fashion these into spears, the metal was burnt red hot in a "furnace", a perforated four gallon tin or any metal receptacle suitably sized to make the fire in. Dried cowdung, *amalongo*, or wood from the Acacia karroo, *umnga*, was used. One informant, born in 1876, added that *umnquma*, *Olea africana*, *umhlakothi*, *Rhus legatii* and *umhlakotshana*, *Rhus lancea* made excellent charcoal for heating the iron.

'The wood was burnt in a hole dug in the ground. When the wood was burnt to coals, the fire was doused by covering it up with a layer of earth and left like that to cool. The charcoal thus produced was used in a proper furnace and not in the perforated tin, *imbhawula*. The furnace proper was built of soft stone cemented together with mud. The soft stone was preferred to the hard stone because it did not split on being intensely heated. The whole furnace was shaped like an anthep which was open at the top. Provision was made in the wall of the furnace for a hole to take the nozzle of the bellows.'

p. 142-3

Xhosa: trade

'Those who wanted them usually placed an order for such assegais. It was not everybody who placed an order for an assegai who got it. All customers were carefully screened by the smith in order to find out whether the buyer had any malicious intentions, for example, a young man contemplating to kill his

father. Sample questions in the screening would run like this:—"Whose son are you?" "What do you need the assegai for because there are no wars, nor are there animals to hunt down?"'

'In the case of an assegai assault on somebody, the Chief's court always tried to find out who the smith was who sold or made the assegai for the offender. Should it be found that the smith was irresponsible in doing so, he was then liable to the payment of a court fine.'

P. 143

Xhosa: bellows

'According to informants the bellows, *imfutho*, was made from the skin of a buck, *impunzi*, in the absence of which an ordinary goat skin was used. The animal was not slaughtered in the normal way by cutting the skin open along the belly, but the head was cut off and the skin "peeled" off the carcass in such a manner that it formed a bag, open at both ends. The neck part of the skin was joined on to a tube made of a bullock's horn. The opening at the opposite end of the skin was contracted to a narrow aperture to which short slats of wood were sewn so that it could be opened and closed at will with the thumb and fingers of the hand.'

P. 143

Xhosa: decline of craft

'Today very few smiths practise their craft. . . . It is secretly practised today to make spears for the circumcision of boys or for use on ritual and ceremonial occasions.'

METALLURGY: TERMS

ilala smelter of ore, smith D. Since in southern Natal this denotes a cluster of tribes, this word probably refers in the first place to a people, not to the craft for which they were noted **118**

-nyibilikisa to smelt, D, generally known to mean 'melt', as fat. Smelting was not known to the Cape Nguni **119**

-khanda beat out by hammering, as iron on an anvil, forge D. An old generally known Bantu root **120**

umkhandi smith D. Cf. Zu and languages of the interior (from *-khanda* beat out, hammer) **121**

isikhando smith's shop, [smithy] D Bh only. (From *-khanda* 'forge'. Not really a word, and doubtful whether ever used, because a proper smithy never existed. The only people in southern Africa who have a proper name for the place where iron-working is done are the Venda, who call it *shondo*. *Isikhando* could just as well mean 'tool for forging') **122**

umkhando 1 smith-work, beaten work D, but not confirmed in Transkei. 2 kind of stone Mp Xes (from *-khanda* forge) **123**

isinyithi 1 iron ore, iron; ore of any other metal D (they could not have known any other ore). 2 not known, Tkei, except 3 smelted iron or lead (prob. modern) T. 4 iron that cannot be bent, cast iron Mp **124**

- indondo* 1 nD. 2 clips of brass or copper clamped round bangle (anklet, etc.) of brass wire rolled round tail-hair core or straight onto such core; hence the whole of such bangle, anklet, etc. T Mp general. 3 In Zulu this same word denotes very large solid brass beads of remarkable size, viz. c. 20 mm diam. (from *-londa* 'keep safe') 125
- intsimbi* iron; articles made of iron; beads, D general. From the common Bantu root for 'iron'. In the absence of knowledge of other metals, frequently used for copper 126
- ixina* brass, D, but mostly unknown 127
- ubhedu* 1 copper, D. 2 old word still remembered by some, but meaning not known, Bo X 128
- ucingo* brass, copper or any other wire D general 129
- isidlangalala* 1 furnace for melting ore, D. 2 not confirmed by anybody in various parts of the country, and appears doubtful, esp. since most informants do know the word in the meaning 'group of people', whilst iron-smelting was unknown until introduced by Fingo metal-workers, who kept the craft to themselves 130
- iziko* fireplace or hearth in the centre of the hut, D general, but not necessarily inside hut; also forge 131
- imfutho* bellows D general except Bo who say *isifutho* (from *-futha* produce a draught) 132
- isifutho* bellows Bo 133
- amalahle* charcoal D general (lit. 'what is to be thrown away') 134
- isikhandelo* 1 anvil D. 2 stone on which to pound medicine Mp. 3 burring stone to give tooth to grinding stone Xes. 4 unknown X Bo (from *-khanda* forge, lit. 'something to forge on') 135
- isando* hammer. This word is mistakenly assumed by dictionary-makers to be derived from or connected with *-anda*, or at least derived from a root *-ando*. However, the common Bantu root for 'hammer' is *-yundo*, found, e.g., in Karanga *nyundo*, Venda *nundo*, Sotho-Tswana *nôtô* (by assimilation from *notô*). The other Nguni languages, e.g. Zulu, also have *isando*. The word is known to most but not all people one would expect to know it. This may be due to the fact that originally and until fairly recently *isando* was not a real tool but merely a hard stone used as hammer in metal work. Nowadays it denotes a European-type hammer 136
- udlawu* 1 (Em) smith's tongs D Mp. 2 tongs made of wire Bh. 3 iron for digging Xes Mp but denied by other good Mp informants, and the word in any sense was unknown to good X and Bo informants. 4 necklace with flaps (T Blohm) Mp X 137
- inkxola* (*-xhola* chisel out or off; carve roughly; pick a millstone, i.e. burr grindstone to sharpen it) chisel, gouge D McL but hardly known 138
- isixholo* chisel, gouge (from *-xhola*) but, like *inkxola*, not much used 139
- isibazo* (from *-baza* 'sharpen to a point', actually a widely-distributed Bantu verb denoting to 'carve') 1 nD. 2 chisel Xes Bh. 3 adze Hlu 140

METALLURGY: DISCUSSION

The greater part of the country occupied by the Cape Nguni, at least during the last 350 years, lies within the Karroo system, and has no significant deposits of iron ore. There are, however, small deposits of lateritic ironstones, such as occur all over South Africa on or, more frequently, just below the surface, in forms varying from a continuous sheet of stone, to small pellets.

Of copper (*ubhedu*) the only notable deposit is in the Insizwa range near Mount Ayloff, where there is a concentration of copper-nickel ore. This was noted by Bauer in 1871, but he made no further comment. There are also small quantities of copper pyrites in the Queenstown and Cathcart areas. Fritsch stated that a certain amount of copper was obtained in the form of alluvial native copper, but this is not substantiated. The meaning of the word *ubhedu* was no longer known to Xhosa and Bomvana informants. The same word in Zulu means 'shell' and in South Sotho *lepetu* is a particular brass ornament worn by warriors. It is not possible to say which is derived from which.

Paravicini di Capelli stated that iron was obtained from rocks and Steedman reported a hill rich in ore near the north of the Mpako River, but this is not confirmed. Moodie, writing after the arrival of the Fingo, wrote of the great abundance of ore between Lovedale and the Buffalo River and of its mining and smelting there, and Dundas stated that the ore was rich near the Gonubie River, where the Fingo worked it. These authors described neither the method of mining nor of smelting the ore. Paravicini di Capelli and Baines both mentioned the finding of iron in its native state, and its use by smiths, but Fritsch discounted this on the ground that they had neither the skill nor the equipment to do so. Theal, however, claims to describe a Xhosa smelting furnace, and states that it was a boulder with a hollow surface, and that a hole was made in it to take the bellows, and a groove was made to let the liquid metal run off into clay moulds. This description, coupled with the fact that Theal states that heavy iron hoes were cast, prompts one to disregard this source.

Sparrman's report, from Bushman information, that the Thembu mined and smelted 'a species of metal' which, from the analysis of an ornament said to have been made from it, appeared to be a mixture of copper and silver, is not confirmed by Bonatz, who lived among the Thembu 60 years later. Nevertheless, the locality Sparrman gave 'on a mountain two days journey north of the Tsomo River' could well be the Insizwa Mountains, where a mixture of copper and nickel does occur. But it could be that the Bushman report, if true, referred to the working of metal that had been obtained by trade from the oft-quoted 'tribes of the interior'—for example the Macquina (?Bakwena) who, Lichtenstein was told, supplied 'the rest of the tribes with iron and copper'.

With the above exceptions accounts of early travellers and missionaries agree that neither the Xhosa nor the Thembu mined iron or copper or smelted them from the ore, though it must be remembered that mining and smelting were, in other parts of the country, very specialized and often secret activities, and it might be that the people refused to tell. On the other hand, in other parts

of the country, especially Natal and the Transvaal, much evidence of ancient mine-working is to be seen.

Modern Thembu informants quoted the former use of pointed wooden spears and wooden spades as an indication that they did not have iron.

Whether the Xhosa and Thembu lost the art of smelting ore through sojourn in a country where it was not easy to find, or whether they never possessed the art at all, is difficult to say. The Kropf-Godfrey Dictionary gives a word for ore (*isinyithi*), and a smelter of ore (*ilala*)¹; and a smelter (*umnyibilikisi*), apparently a manufactured word from the verb generally meaning 'to melt' as fat melts. These words seem to distinguish the smelter from the smith (*umkhandi*), from the verb 'to beat out by hammering'. On the other hand it must be remembered that the dictionary was published almost a century after the arrival of the immigrant tribes, who knew the art of smelting. At all events it seems evident that the Xhosa and Thembu were dependent for their metals on outside supplies, which they received in a malleable state.

Early writers presumed that the country was rich in ore, only waiting to be found and used, and expected the immigrant tribes, with their knowledge of mining and smelting, to prove helpful to the Xhosa and Thembu in this respect. Nevertheless, even after the Fingo had settled in the country, there are only the two records already mentioned of smelting from the ore. Dundas, in 1827 passed, near the upper Gonubie River, the site of some Fingo smelting ovens, which, however, he was not allowed to see, and Moodie, writing of the same period, stated that iron was smelted from ore that was found between Lovedale and the Buffalo River.

In Pondoland, however, outcrops of 'a blackish gravel' had been found and were worked by the Mpondo.

Xesibe informants in 1948 stated that there was plenty of ironstone, which they called *ilitye lesinyangane*, in the Mount Ayliff district, and that it had been, but was no longer, worked. They claimed that iron was smelted in the area until about the middle of the nineteenth century.

Of the smelting ovens used by the Fingo or Hlubi, who were said to be skilful workers, there is no description. The Mpondo are said to have ground the ore to a powder, and put it in a basin-like hollow in the ground, in alternate layers with charcoal embers. An ox-hide bellows was used to keep up the fire. According to Xesibe informants the ore was placed on a fire of hard woods in a hollow in the ground, and blown with a bellows.

There is no description of the treatment of the smelted iron to separate it from the slag. It must simply have been hammered and reheated repeatedly to clean it. The only indication that it was run into moulds is from Poto Ndamase's account of Mpondo smelting.

Before the advent of European settlers, the Cape Nguni are said to have obtained small supplies of metal by trade with the tribes to their north and east, the Xhosa via the Thembu. (Recently two hoe-heads of types usually found in

¹ *amaLala* is the name collectively applied to a number of tribes of southern Natal.

the northern Transvaal were dug up and a third was found on the surface, in lands in the present Ciskei, between Komgha and the Kei. (Kaffrarian Museum nos. Y746, Y801 and Y894.)) Those living near the coast had a good subsidiary source in the numerous ships that were wrecked there, and whose survivors tell of the eagerness of the natives to obtain metal in any form. So highly prized was it that the survivors of the Stavenisse reported that among the Xhosa, though everything else belonging to a deceased person was destroyed, metal objects were kept. After the arrival of Europeans from the west, iron, copper and brass are mentioned among the main items of barter, cattle being given in exchange, and scrap iron in any form was eagerly collected. Paravicini di Capelli records the amazement of Gaika when he saw that the horses hooves were shod with iron, and even as late as the 1830s Shaw remarked that iron was still 'so scarce that a few pounds weight are worth a cow'.

Once they had the metal, Xhosa smiths were adept at working it, and had an adequate range of tools. Records of the other groups are not as full, but the indications are that their working equipment was similar.

The Xhosa forge was either an anthill which had been cut straight down one side (the front), or a small wall or mound of clay about 60 cm high, pierced from back to front by a small tunnel. The iron was placed in a hot dung, charcoal or hardwood (*umlokithi*, *isiqalaba* or *isiqwane*) fire which was made in a hollow in the ground in front of the anthill or clay wall, and the nozzles of the bellows were put in the tunnel from the back, so that the flame was blown to the front of the forge. A different sort of forge is described by Döhne as 'a little hill, two feet broad by $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, round, concave, and furnished with two holes'. This sounds like the Natal type, and may have been introduced by the immigrant tribes.

Forges of other tribes are not described, but the use of charcoal as fuel is mentioned. Modern Bhaca informants stated that the fire was made in the kraal.

Xhosa, Thembu and Bomvana and no doubt all the groups made a double bellows out of buck, calf or goat skin (Pl. 19:8). Each of the pair was made of a whole skin, cut off at the neck, into which was bound a nozzle, which might be an ox-horn cut off and perforated at the point or, according to eighteenth-century writers, the long bone of a sheep or a gun-barrel. Xesibe informants said that the nozzle was of wood. The other end was left open and two sticks sewn on to the edge, each stick having a loop, one to receive the thumb, the other the fingers. According to most authors the nozzles of both bags were inserted into the tunnel in the forge, not far enough to burn. Lichtenstein and Moodie described the necks of each of the two bags as being bound on to one horn. This is not possible, but may have been an incorrect observation of a variation recorded by Baines of the 'distant' tribes, that they put the two neck horns into one larger horn, or by Fritsch that the Xhosa put them into an earthenware tuyère. To hold the bellows in place it was secured by thongs, which tied it to pegs stuck in the ground. Probably the thongs were tied to the front legs of the skin. The smith's assistant sat at the back of the bellows behind the forge, gripped

the back of a bag in each hand and maintained a continuous draught by pressing and pulling in and out alternately, closing and opening the skins as he did so.

The Xhosa anvil, and presumably that of all the groups, was a large flat stone or small boulder.

The Xhosa tongs were made of a piece of pliable green wood, split for a certain distance, but the Amangwane, and probably all the immigrant tribes, had iron tongs, and modern Bhaca informants knew them as made of wire.

The hammer was a stone or, according to Alberti, a piece of iron 'in the shape of a truncated cone' and with no handle. Paravicini di Capelli, however, states that the hammer-stone was attached to a wooden stick. There is no confirmation of this. Different sizes and shapes of hammer-stones were used for different purposes. Moodie mentions the use of a flat round-edged shore stone for making the groove on spear-blades.

An iron chisel was commonly used by the Xhosa for cutting metal, and for ornamenting it with hatched incisions, though Von Winkelmann saw stone chisels being used as well for making spear-heads. Paravicini too saw stone chisels in use.

During the making of objects the iron was heated and reheated in the forge and according to Döhne was covered with clay each time it was put back on the fire 'to prevent it from burning'. Alberti mentions this coating with anthill clay when two pieces were to be forged together—they were thus heated and hammered together.

Several authors discussed the possibility of the Xhosa understanding how to harden iron 'since their spears are like steel', but Fritsch discounted this, as the iron remained soft and pliable. He pointed out that the resistance to rust was due to the tough outer skin that was produced by continued hammering and which was not polished off.

With iron so scarce, the objects made from it were few. First and foremost were the spear-heads, which were made in a variety of shapes, but all formed first from a thin rod of metal. The plainer forms would need no further tools than the hammers, but the serrations and barbs with which some of the tangs were provided called for the work of a chisel. The shortage of iron is emphasized by the fact that in earlier times wooden sticks with the ends sharpened and hardened in the fire were used in lieu of iron-headed spears. In Pondoland the price for six to eight spear-heads was an ox. According to Gitywa (1971) customers in recent times when spears had ceased to be in general use were screened by the smith to make sure that they had no vicious intentions, as the smith himself would be liable to a fine if he had been careless in this respect.

Domestic axe-heads (or hatchets) were made of iron. These are described as a flat triangle, the base of which was the sharpened cutting edge. The point was inserted through a hole in the haft-head. For use as an adze the head could be turned round, so that the cutting edge was at right angles to the haft. According to Makalima, axes were also weapons of war among the Thembu. If so, the habit could have been learned from the South Sotho. It is stated that by 1853

no axes were being made.

Awls, both the thin and unhafted iron points, of which men usually carried one hung round the neck, and the somewhat thicker and hafted tool, were made of iron.

There is no record that knives or hoes were ever made, but they were imported from the Cape, together with axes, from the early years of the nineteenth century onwards.

Occasionally iron was fashioned into ornaments, but only for chiefs and the well-to-do. A single iron bangle might be worn, or sometimes a girdle of small iron rings threaded on a thong. The latter were, however, more commonly seen in brass. The method of making rings was to flatten a piece of metal into a plate of the desired thickness, cut from it with the chisel strips of the desired length and width, and bend them round a cylinder of wood of the diameter of the size of ring required. Among the Xhosa, and probably other tribes, the bangles and rings were articles of trade.

Barrow also mentioned beads. He did not describe their manufacture which might have been like that of the rings described above. Von Winkelmann stated that the copper and brass were worked in the same way as iron, but according to Döhne the brass-smiths worked without fire. This seems likely in view of the fact that copper and brass were used exclusively for ornament, mostly in the form of rings of varying sizes made in the method described above, for ear-rings or bangles, or for threading as a girdle, for which three to four hundred small rings were required. Two girdles cost one cow. The later method of making brass rings for girdles, as seen on examples made until fairly recently, was to cut thin rings off a hollow brass rod of the required diameter.

Wire was obtained from the Colonists and there is nothing to show that it was ever drawn. It was coiled into bangles and belts, as it is elsewhere in South Africa.

A type of metal-working that was still practised until fairly recently, but only by wood-carvers, is that of inlaying the bowls of pipes with decorative patterns in molten lead.

Barrow and Shaw also recorded the making of small chains of iron, which were popular for ornament, but these have not been seen, nor are they illustrated. There are in the South African Museum some Thembu and Fingo ornaments, obtained in 1906, with iron chain attached, but it is doubtful whether the chain is of Nguni make.

Smithing was exclusively a masculine profession and a specialized and highly esteemed one. According to Hunter it usually passed from father to son among the Mpondo, but anyone might be apprenticed. If there was any ceremonial initiation it has not been recorded. The brass- and copper-smiths were a separate class.

It is recorded that the Hlubi were very skilful workers in metals, but, with the exception of the actual smelting, there is no record that any of the immigrant tribes brought about any change in the methods of the craft.

The present position is that it is difficult to find a smith in the whole of the Transkei or Ciskei, and no smelting has been done for many years. A bellows was collected from the Bomvana for the Transvaal Museum in 1935 (Pl. 19:8) and while it is not impossible that there may be isolated smiths still practising, no informants were able to direct us to one unless one includes the few individuals who make spear-heads for customers. In general each man makes his own spear, preferably from an old file which he heats in the fire and hammers into shape. Tools mentioned by those who make for sale to others were a store-bought hammer, tongs and file, and a piece of railway-line as an anvil, and emery-paper or -cloth, or a rough piece of dolerite to shape the edge.

In addition to spears, other objects are made out of scrap iron, or old cutlery, for personal use or sometimes for sale. Drills, chisels, awls and metal snuff-spoons are made legally, and battle-axes and guns illegally. Most metal tools and implements, however, including the hammers, files and other tools for making such metal articles as are made, are bought at stores.

Metal ornaments are commonly made, not necessarily by specialists and not only by men. Thin strips of metal are cut and hammered into shape as finger rings or bangles, but more common are the aluminium-, brass- or copper-wire bangles and girdles. These are usually made by rolling the wire between a horn and a flat piece of wood round a core of wire or tail hair which has been bent and fastened to the size of ring desired. One woman maker, however, wound the wire between her fingers. These ornaments have been made for a long enough period to be considered traditional.

POTTERY: SOURCES

- 1593 Lavanha p. 235 Umtata R.: mention of pots
 'Usaõ vasos de barro secos ao Sol. . . .'
 [p. 294 'They use vessels of clay dried in the sun. . . .']
- 1647 Feyo p. 251 Kei R.: pots
 'Chegando a hum alto queymamos hũas palhotas, não achando dentro mais que hũas panelas de barro vazias.'
 [p. 312 'Reaching a height, we set fire to some huts, in which we found nothing but a few empty clay pots.']
- 1686 (Stavenisse) p. 58 Mbo: pots
 ' . . . uijt welck koorn sij . . . swaar en vet bier . . . brouwen, 't welcke sij in aarde vaten bewaren. . . .'
- 1776 (Hallema) p. 133 Xhosa: pots
 Nothing more.
- 1778 Van Plettenberg p. 49 Xhosa: pots
 Nothing more.
- 1788 Von Winkelman p. 86 Xhosa: pipe
 'Sie besteht aus einem gut ausgeriebenen Rindshorn; . . . ein 8-10 Zoll langes

dünnes hölzernes Röhrchen . . . auf jenem steht ein steineres oder roth thonigtes cylindrisches in der Mitte, wie mit 2 Fingern etwas eingedrücktes Köpfgen, das ohnegefehr 1 bis 2 Zoll lang und beinahe 1 Zoll durchgehends dick ist.'

1797 Barrow p. 170

Xhosa: pipe

Nothing more.

1802-6 Alberti p. 37

Xhosa: pots

'Het vleesch wordt gekookt of gebraden: het eerste geschiedt in Potten, die, uit klei gevormd, in het vuur gehard zijn, en inderdaad geene ongevallige gedaante hebben. . . .'

1803-6 Lichtenstein pp. 463-4

Xhosa: making, use, capacity of pots

p. 463 'Zur Aufbewahrung von Flüssigkeiten und selbst zum Kochen verfertigen sie grosse Töpfe von feinem Thon, die an der Sonne gehärtet werden und nicht glasirt sind. Einige dieser Töpfe halten sechs Eimer und mehr und indem sie immer etwas durchschwitzen, erhält sich die Flüssigkeit darin besonders kühl. In ihrer Gestalt gleichen diese Töpfe grossen Flaschen mit weitem Halse.'

1821-4 Thompson p. 361

Xhosa: making of pots

'They make a coarse sort of earthenware by kneading a paste of clay mixed with river sand, and afterwards fashioning the vessels with the hand. These, after being dried in the sun, are baked in a fire of cow-dung. They are generally used for boiling victuals.'

1819-29 Moodie II p. 249

?Xhosa, Fingo: clay used

'The earthen pots are formed of the fine clay taken from ant-hills, and hardened in the fire.'

1825-9 Kay p. 147

Xhosa: pottery

' . . . the women are occupied in repairing their habitations, or in building new ones, in making baskets, baking-pots, or manufacturing mats. The pots which are commonly used for cooking, &c., are a very rude description of earthen ware. They are clumsily moulded, and exceedingly inconvenient, having neither handles nor coverings. A comparatively small degree of attention is paid to the preparation of the clay, which in all probability is far from being the best; and hence many of these unsightly vessels are very porous. Nevertheless they stand the fire tolerably well, and answer every purpose for which the natives require them.'

1832 Anon. (1) p. 151 (taken from Lichtenstein)

Xhosa: pots

'For keeping liquors, and even cooking, they make pots of clay, which are hardened in the sun. Some are very large in their form. They resemble bottles with wide necks.'

1834 Bonatz (2) p. 352

Thembu: pots made by women

'The women also manufacture . . . round earthenware pots, which they mould and bake with great cleverness.'

1835 Alexander p. 113

Nothing more.

Xhosa: pipe

(1836) Martin p. 158

Nothing more.

Thembu: mention of pots

1836-44 Döhne p. 42

Xhosa: making of pots

‘Eine dritte Arbeit, die nur einzelne Frauen verstehen, ist das Topfmachen aus Thon, der trocken gegraben, zu Pulver gestossen, nass gemacht und geknetet wird. Ist der Topf geformt, so muss er in der Luft gut trocknen; dann wird inwendig und auswendig herum trockner Kuhmist gelegt und ein grosses Feuer um ihn herum gemacht, bis er durchgebrannt ist. Wenn er kalt geworden ist, wird Kafferkorn gerieben, das Mehl mit Wasser gefeuchtet, in den Topf gethan, Wasser zugegossen, und das Korn zu einem trocknen Brei gekocht. Hiermit wird der Topf inwendig und auswendig bestrichen, und, was übrig ist, wird wieder hineingethan, Wasser zugegossen, auf Feuer gesetzt und so lange gekocht, dass nach vielem Ueberkochen, fast Nichts mehr darin ist. Dies ist die Glasur, die aber gar kein Ansehn hat. Für einen Topf von 2 Eimern bekommt die Töpferin eine Ochsenhaut, von sehr Reichen auch manchmal eine Kuh.’

1863-6 Fritsch p. 75

Xhosa: description

‘Es folgt nun eine Anzahl irdener Gefässe verschiedener Gestalt und Grösse, welche indessen nicht unter ein gewisses Minimum sinkt, und bei den kleinsten immer noch die unserer gewöhnlichen Töpfe übertrifft. Die verbreitetste Form ist die einer Bowle mit gar nicht oder nur wenig markirtem Fuss; von dieser Grundform finden sich aber je nach Zweck, Gebrauch oder Laune des Verfertigers mannigfache Abweichungen, besonders hinsichtlich der Gestalt und Weite der Mündung, welche entweder gerade aufstehend, von mässiger Weite und mit einem kuppelförmigen Deckel verschliessbar sein kann (Kochgefässe), oder von mittlerem Durchmesser mit umgelegtem Rande (Wasser- oder Biergefässe), oder die Mündung wird ganz weit, das Gefäss selbst niedrig und nähert sich mehr einer Schüssel. Viele haben gar keinen Boden, sondern laufen nach unten stumpf kegelförmig zu, so dass sie nicht aufrecht stehen bleiben. Solche Gefässe sind dazu bestimmt, auf dem Kopfe getragen zu werden, und ruhen dabei auf einem dicken, von Bast geflochtenen Ringe, in den sich der tiefste Theil einfügt.

Diese irdenen Geschirre werden aus Thon angefertigt, wie derselbe in ziemlich reinem Zustande in den Termitenbauen gefunden wird, ohne Anwendung einer Drehscheibe, indem mittelst der Hände unter zeitweiser Benutzung von hölzernen oder knöchernen Modellirwerkzeugen die Form hergestellt wird, die sich allmählig vom Grunde aus durch successives Aufsetzen neuer Thonparthien entwickelt. Obgleich für gewöhnlich die auf so einfache Weise hergestellten Formen viel hinsichtlich Eleganz und Regelmässigkeit zu wünschen übrig lassen, haben es manche Stämme auch in dieser Richtung zu einer bemerkenswerthen Geschicklichkeit gebracht,

so dass man kaum glauben sollte, die Gefässe seien ohne Drehscheibe hergestellt.'

1845-89 Kropf p. 117

Xhosa: account of making pots

Nothing more.

(1881) Nauhaus p. 347 figure

Xhosa: description of pot

'Fig. 4. Ein dunkelschwarzes Thongefäss der Kaffern, 25.5 cm. hoch, mit drei symmetrischen hervorspringenden Leisten mit Querrippen. Der Topf verdient ein besonderes Interesse, weil die Kaffern diese Art der Gefässe seit langer Zeit nicht mehr anfertigen.'

(1887) Matthiae p. 11

Xhosa: cooking in pots

Nothing more.

(1919) McLaren p. 441

Xhosa: clay used

'The pot-clay, *u-dongwe*, was taken from the river-bank or from a pit, mixed with water, and then trodden with the feet and worked with the hands till it was a plastic mass of prepared clay, *um-dongwe*. The potter, usually a female, took a lump of this, and with her hands and a piece of wood laboriously moulded, *bumba*, the clay into the shape desired, giving it a thickness of from a quarter to half an inch.'

(1932) Soga p. 407

Xhosa: articles made

Nothing more.

1932 Laidler p. 778

Cape Tribes: (comparative study)

Nothing more.

1932b Hunter p. 100

Mpondo: making of pots

'Pottery is a specialized art. In a radius of ten miles from 'nTišane I know of only three potteresses; at 'mBotyi, in a district of about fifty square miles, there were two; at Ntontela three lived within a five-mile radius of the store. The art is usually passed down from mother to daughter, but any woman who chooses may learn. A special clay is dug and pounded fine, a ring of clay the size of the base of the pot desired is placed on a mat. A lump of clay is flattened out and fitted into the ring to form the base. The sides are made by building ring upon ring. The potteress shapes the walls as she builds. The whole is smoothed with a wetted chip of calabash, and the pot set to dry in a hut. To fire, one or more pots are put into a slight depression in the ground, wood piled around and inside them, and a blazing fire kept up for one and a half to two hours. Many pots crack in the firing. It is realized that a stone in the clay or uneven temperature will cause a crack, but cracks are also attributed to the presence of a person with a 'soft head' (*intloko ethambileyo*). For fear of 'soft heads' pots are usually fired in a secluded place. No pots are made during winter, as the cold dry air is thought to make them crack more easily. Pots are made in varying shapes and sizes, from the small milk bowl, 6 inches in diameter, to the beer barrel, 4 feet deep and 3 feet in diameter.

The potteress works in her own time and may keep a customer waiting for months before fulfilling an order.'

(1938)*a* Laidler pp. 104, 107, 109, 156

Cape Tribes: description

pp. 104, 107, 156

Nothing more.

p. 109

Mpondo: blackening

'In Pondo-land pottery is blackened by smoking with goat dung.'

1939 Clarke letter to S.A.M.

Mpondo: description of a pot

'The collar-top shape is merely a container for small allowances of foodstuffs like sprouted grain or 'Amarewu'. More money is charged by the makers of this vessel known as the Inkonga.'

(1943) Schofield pp. 259, 261, 272, fig. 277 & description 275

Nguni: pottery

Nothing more.

1945 Makalima chap. 9, paras. 2, 14, 17, 18, 19, 43, 51, 55

Fingo, Thembu, Mpondomise: pottery

Paras. 2, 14, 18, 19, 51

Nothing more.

para. 17

: making

'*Izinto ezenziwa ngodongwe*, kutatwa udongwe kukutshwe amatye namahlutye. Luya bunjwa ke kwenziwe ingqayi ezo, nokuba yintonina leyo yenziwayo, lugudiswe luze luti lakoma lutshiswe lube bomvu.'

[*Things made of clay*: They take clay and pick out the stones and gravel (*ihlaltutye*). They then mould the pots or any other thing that is made. They are smoothed and when dry they are fired and they become red.]

para. 43

: preparation of clay

'*Indlela zokuxhonxa udongwe*: Xa kuzakwenziwa ingqayi nengcaza, udongwe luyakandwa ludityaniswe nesabhunge nokuba lilitye elinkumnkum ukuze lungaqekeki.'

[*Ways of forming clay*: For making earthenware pots, clay is pounded and mixed with earth or stone of a friable nature to prevent it from cracking.]

para. 55

: where clay is found

'*Apo lufunyanwa kona*: Udongwe lufunyanwa emlanjeni, kumhlaba omnyama, nakolubhelu, nakobomvu, nomhlope. Liyembiwa ngolugxa kutsho kushiyeke sekuko imingxuma kwindawo kwindawo ekwembiwa kyo udongwe.'

[*Where it is found*: Pot clay is found along rivers in black, yellow, red and white soil. It is dug with a crowbar and holes remain at the spot where the digging took place.]

(1948) Schofield pp. 154, 158, 185-8, 209

Cape Nguni: derivation and description of pottery

pp. 154, 185-7, 209

Nothing more.

p. 158. 'These meagre historical records are still further amplified from the archaeological field, for, as we have already seen, typical pieces of Class NC₂ pottery have been found in the caves and shelters near Cala and at Qolora in the Transkei, and it was doubtless from these wares that the Bushmen acquired the practice of "all over" patterning for their pottery.'

The influence of this pottery spread in yet another direction, for, as we shall see, the Nguni invaders of the Eastern Province, do not seem to have been pottery makers, and some of them, the Xhosa, for example, have apparently never acquired the art, but others—the Mpondo and the Thembu—adopted the NC₂ practices and have retained them to the present day.'

p. 188

Zulu: black colouring

'After the pots have been burnt, they are treated with a compound made by mixing the pounded leaves of the *uVemvane* plant (*Sida rhombifolia*) with sifted soot. This is rubbed into the surface and produces a fine black polish.'

1949-60 Hammond-Tooke p. 28

Bhaca: pottery

'Pottery is a specialized art which is today almost obsolete, being carried on mainly in the Njijini, Mandeleni and Moboba areas where suitable clay deposits are found.'

(1954) Hewitt p. 38

Eastern Province: pots excavated

Figure and description only.

1971 Gitywa pp. 103-8

Xhosa: preparation, making

p. 103

Xhosa: preparation of clay

'The clay, *udongwe*, is obtained dry or wet mostly from the vicinity of a river, stream or anywhere where suitable clay is obtainable. If obtained dry, the clay is ground, *ukusila*, on a flat stone to remove small pebbles and other vegetable impurities before mixing it with water; if obtained wet, the clay is thoroughly "wedged" on a flat stone to a plastic consistency. Although this was not acknowledged by the informant, the "wedging" is to remove air bubbles which would cause cracking of the finished vessel when fired.

The prepared clay is wrapped in damp sacking, to allow for thorough softening as well as keeping it at the same state of dampness.'

pp. 103-4

Xhosa: building, drying

'A lump of clay is rolled between the hands into a cylinder, *umsundulo*, of about twenty centimeters in length. This is then coiled in an anti-clockwise direction on a flat surface, usually a piece of cardboard. More coils are added, the tips of succeeding coils overlapping about four centimeters, until the desired diameter of the base is attained. The ribbed coils are smoothed with the blade of a knife.

Brown paper is greased with fat and then lined along the inside bottom of an enamel dish. The smoothed clay base on the cardboard is inverted into this greased paperlined dish and the cardboard removed revealing the reverse side. It is smoothed similarly, care being taken to exert equal smoothing pressure as the clay base assumes the contoured shape of the inside of the dish.

Successive coils are added in the manner described inside the dish which is easily pivoted on its smooth base as the coils are being added. The dish serves as a "potter's wheel" and as a mould for building up a symmetrical base. The greased paper lining prevents the sticking of the clay base to the dish when it is ready to be removed. Both the dish and the greased brown paper are important innovations which are not part of the traditional technique.'

pp. 104-5

Xhosa: firing

'The baking, *ukoja*, is done when the pots are completely dry, about two weeks in good weather. The "kiln" is a hole dug in the ground. Any member of the family may prepare the "kiln", but the potteress herself must do the baking since she has the necessary experience in laying the pots and the amount of fuel necessary. In addition, it is taboo for anybody else to do the firing.

The pots, arranged mouth to mouth in the "kiln", are filled and surrounded with dry grass, firewood and dry cowdung. This is to ensure that every pot is well baked inside and outside. The whole pile is set alight in the morning, a calm day being chosen so that the heat is not dispersed by the wind. With a strong big fire, the process lasts for the whole day, and if sufficient fuel was laid on at the beginning, there is usually no need for replenishing the fire. By evening the pots are ready, *zivuthiwe*, a condition recognised from the reddish brown colour the pots acquire, and from the metallic ring they give when tapped. They are removed from the "kiln" when they are completely cooled, usually on the next day. . . . After baking, and the pot has been cooled off, it is filled to the brim with hot, soft mealie meal porridge, *isidudu*, which is allowed to remain in the pot overnight. It is emptied on the following day, and after allowing the porridge layer lining the inside of the pot to dry, it is peeled off. An alternative method is the cooking of fat meat in the pot. This necessitates the slaughtering of a goat for the purpose. Although this was not acknowledged by our informants, this may have been a ritual slaughtering in the past.'

pp. 105-6

Xhosa: taboos

'Several taboos govern the making of clay pots. Some of these can be explained by cause and effect, the potteress having learnt the disastrous effects of non-abstention from the past; some are based on magico-religious notions.

All informants claim that clay is "fastidious", *udongwe lunochuku*, and selective of persons handling it. The clay cracks and splits when handled by persons "unsuited" to do so. Such a person is described as a woman in her menses, a physical condition which renders her unclean according to Xhosa custom; a pregnant woman, a person possessing or dealing in evil medicines, *amayeza amabi*, one who has had contact with a corpse without ritual cleansing thereafter, or anybody who was not born to work with clay. . . .

The "workshop" of the potteress is taboo to all strangers and the ritually

unclean; this includes family members with the exception of the pre-pubescent.'

figs. 1-12 btw. pp. 106 & 107

Xhosa: making the pot

p. 107

Xhosa: revival of pot-making

'The mother of one of my informants claimed that nobody taught her pot-making. She acquired her skill when her mother took ill in 1916. During her illness her mother had a "vision", *umbono*, in which she was told by her ancestors not to discard Xhosa customs and traditions, and particularly that she should revert to the use of skin cloaks and clay utensils, *izitya zodongwe*. . . . After the patient's death, her daughter (my informant's mother) began making clay pots in conformity with her mother's vision. She passed the craft on to her daughter, my informant.'

pp. 107-8

Xhosa: craft taught in school

'Of the schools visited in the Ciskei, only one was found to engage in pottery as part of the school's craftwork. . . . What was striking, however, was the fact that despite the school's attempts to re-establish pottery as a craft, the local people in the village showed no interest whatever in it, since none of them offered any help to the school or the pupils when asked for it, nor did they support and encourage the effort by buying and using the pots.'

POTTERY: TERMS

udongwe 1 pot-clay D general. 2 any clay, including potter's clay (from same root as *ilongwe* 'dung', which suggests that pottery was first made of dung and clay from cattle-kraal) **141**

ibumba 1 clod-prepared pot-clay D. 2 prepared clay McL. Not clear what this means. Most informants say just potter's clay. (From *-bumba* 'mould, form') **142**

umdongwe 1 prepared, formed clay, D Bo. 2 vessel formed of clay, D. 3 white clay not used for pots because it cracks, but for toys Mp **143**

imbokotho, *imbokothwe*, *imbokothwa*, *imbokodo*, *imbokodwe*, *imbokodwa* round or oval stone, esp. upper grinding-stone for grinding corn; smoother for clay, general **144**

ithambo 1 bone, D. 2 a small white bead generally worn by Kafirs, and so named because it resembles bone in its substance, D. 3 *tamboo*, the most valuable bead (Steedman). 4 pl. *amathambo* divining bones (modern) **145**

imbiza 1 formerly, earthen pot for cooking as distinguished from an iron one; now any pot for cooking D Mp (Licht). (This is a misleading definition, as formerly there were only earthenware cooking-pots, and no iron ones to distinguish them from.) 2 The introduction of iron pots has caused the term to be generally applied to them. 3 The Bh pron. *imbita* is a regular sound shift. 4 no longer general, X. 5 three-legged iron pot, Bo. 6 pot for cooking, Xes. 7 large pot for beer, Xes. (derived from a causat. of *-bila* boil, therefore means 'article in which one causes things to boil', and is the

equivalent of *pitsa*, *pitsa* of the Sotho-Tswana tribes of the interior) **146**
ingqayi 1 round earthen vessel, an earthen bowl, D general. 2 small spherical
 pot, general. 3 large pot (T Mak) **147**
isiciko lid of any kind, general; also e.g. stone cover of grain pit **148**

POTTERY¹: DISCUSSION

It has been suggested by Schofield that for a very long time before their entry into the Cape, the Cape Nguni had not been pottery makers, and that while the Thembu and Mpondo, presumably before entering the Cape, adopted the pottery art of earlier Bantu migrants, whose pottery he calls Natal Coastal₂ (NC₂), and whom he tentatively identifies as Bafokeng, the Xhosa never learnt at all unless it was a little from the Hottentots. This opinion is based on a comparison of modern Thembu and Mpondo pottery with finds of NC₂ in Natal and the Cape. Examples of modern Mpondo and Bomvana pottery illustrated here (Pl. 21 and 20) correspond exactly with Schofield's description of NC₂. It has not been possible to find an authentic Thembu or early Xhosa pot, and only Nauhaus's illustration of a 'Kaffer' pot is known in the literature. It is not possible, therefore, to judge their affinities. But the pottery found in fair quantity on the middens of the beaches near and north of East London and inland (Pl. 23) seems to be thick and clumsy ware, not at all like Hottentot or even NC₂. Recorded material evidence is thus not sufficient to prove or disprove Schofield's theory.

It would seem fair to expect, however, that if the Thembu and Mpondo adopted the pottery of the Bafokeng they would also have adopted the names of the various sorts of pot. A comparison of Southern Nguni and South Sotho vocabularies shows that this is not the case except in one instance—Xhosa *imbiza*, Sotho *pitsa*, both of which are derived from *bila* (to boil), which is an old and widely-distributed Bantu root, and is also general in South Africa. On the other hand, several names of pots, including *imbiza*, are the same in Zulu as in Xhosa, which would indicate a common Nguni knowledge of pottery.

The survivors of the *Santo Alberto* saw pots in use in 1593 near the mouth of the Umtata River, by people who must have had a strong Hottentot connection. In 1647 the survivors of the *Sacramento* and *Nossa Senhora da Atalaya* saw pots in huts near the Kei River among people who by their description must have been Bantu. The men of the *Stavenisse* saw 'Mbo' pots, but near the Umtamvuna River. In 1778 Van Plettenberg, who travelled among the Xhosa, stated that they used pots, and in 1803 Alberti and Lichtenstein found that the Xhosa actually made pots as well as using them. Thereafter there are several descriptions of Xhosa, Thembu and, later, Mpondo methods.

Various sources are given for the clay used. Some mention the fine clay of anthills, others red earth, and there is at least one reference to the mixing of river sand with the clay. (The use of sand as a filler is an important item of pottery

¹ For a specialist description see Lawton (1967), especially pp. 30–50.

technique.) McLaren, reviewing the evidence from much later, states that the clay was taken from known pits or from river banks, which are a good source because the clay is then somewhat plastic. This tallies with Makalima's and other modern informants' description of modern Xhosa, Thembu, Mpondo and Bhaca practice.

Though all the details are not given, the method of preparation of the clay cannot have differed from modern practice. The clay must first be pounded fine and all stones and unevenness removed. At this stage sand, or friable stone or broken potsherd which has first been ground to a powder, may be added, if a filler of non-plastic material is considered necessary. This is the case when the clay itself is so pure that excessive shrinking might take place during drying. The clay is then moistened and kneaded, probably with the feet as well as the hands. This latter process is usually repeated at intervals until the clay is mature and plastic. At least one modern Mpondo potter was, however, able to find clay that had only to be kneaded after it was collected and was then suitable for use at once.

There is no adequate early description of the method of building Xhosa or Thembu pots, except that, as is common in Bantu Africa, no potter's wheel was used, and the only tool was a wooden or bone smoother. How the base was formed is not described (except by one informant who said it was flattened on a stone), but the sides were made 'by the addition of new pieces of clay'. This corresponds with modern Bomvana practice of adding short rolls of clay, not coiled, to a rough base. According to McLaren the walls of Xhosa pots were 7,5 mm to 12,5 mm thick, as they are in modern Bomvana ware. Gitywa describes the method of modern Xhosa potters of the Middledrift district of the Ciskei. Apart from the introduction of modern tools and aids, it is interesting that the method used, to build base and walls by coiling rolls of clay, is that only observed by ourselves among the Mpondo. One of the informants belonged to a family that had commenced making pottery in response to a vision by a sick woman.

Mpondo, Xesibe and Bhaca ware is somewhat finer than that of the Bomvana. In modern Mpondo pottery the sides are coiled. A ring the size of the base is placed on a mat, and then fitted with a flattened round of clay to form the actual base, or a saucer-like base of clay is put straight on to the floor. Thereafter the long rolls, the thickness depending on the size of the projected pot, are coiled vertically to make the sides. If the base is temporarily stuck to the ground the potter has to move round the pot (Pl. 18:1-5).

During the moulding of the pot, and when it is complete, the surface is smoothed inside and out with water and a small piece of smooth wood, bone, calabash rind (Pl. 18:6), or any smooth hard object. It is quite possible to build a large pot in a day, but if it is not finished it can be left until the next day.

Cape Nguni pottery is not glazed, but a Mpondo potter seen in 1958 rubbed a thin paste of red clay over the pot on the day after it was completed and burnished it with a stone. Döhne describes as the final process in Xhosa

manufacture the cooking and rubbing into the walls, inside and out, of a certain quantity of sorghum porridge, which was cooked, watered and recooked until hardly any of it was left. This, he said, closed the pores and took the place of a glaze. Most modern informants agreed with this.

The pot figured by Nauhaus (Pl. 20:2) was 'dark black', but most of the pots seen nowadays are either lightish red, or greyish brown, according to the amount of iron present in the clay, and have a dull surface. Certain Mpondo pots have a slight reddish brown burnish and for some of the finer ware, Mpondo, Xesibe and Bhaca use a black burnish, in appearance like that of the Zulu. Various methods of obtaining a black burnish were described—by smearing the pot with goat dung before firing in a slow fire; by smearing it with fat, and filling and covering it with straw, then burning the straw; or by smearing the pot with pumpkin leaves before firing. (Schofield mentions the use by Zulu of the pounded leaves of *Sida rhombifolia* mixed with soot, which is rubbed into the surface.) In fact it is quite easy to blacken a pot by smoking it in the dense smoke of a half-smothered fire.

Cape Nguni pottery is not highly decorated. For the Xhosa no decoration is mentioned, except on Nauhaus's pot, which had three raised lozenges of horizontal ridges. Thembu pottery is said to have had as its only decoration notching of the edge of the rims, which is also the only decoration on modern Bomvana pottery (Pl. 20:6, 7, 8). Mpondo pottery is decorated with bands and patterns of crescentic impressions, round the mouth or shoulder of the pot, or with raised conical or diamond-shaped knobs (Pl. 21). Xesibe and Bhaca have the same sort of decoration as the Mpondo, but diagonal incised lines are more common than the crescentic impressions (Pl. 24). The quill of a feather (Mp), a twig (Mp), the edge of a calabash smoother (Mp), a wire bangle (Bh), a tin, knife or any suitable object (X) were mentioned as tools for decorating.

The earliest sources mention only that the pots after moulding were dried in the sun. This can obviously not have been the whole story, as other fairly early sources show, and the method more fully described by Döhne is the same as that used today. The pots were first allowed to dry out in the air (Mpondo potters said until there were enough to make a firing worth while). They were then packed together at the firing-site, filled and covered with dry dung, and a big fire was built round them and kept up until the firing was complete. According to Hunter the Mpondo placed the pots for firing in a hollow in the ground, wood fuel was used exclusively, and the firing took about two hours. Other Mpondo did not bother about a hollow. Yet other Mpondo, visited in 1968, built a walled furnace, open at the top, and covered the pots placed in it with dung. This very modern method was only seen once (Pl. 19:1-7). Many pots crack during the firing, and this is attributed to unevenness of the clay, unevenness of the temperature, to avoid which pots are often made and dried indoors, or to supernatural causes. Potters varied as to whether or not they made their pots in winter, when the temperature is more uneven, or in summer, when they have less time. The important factor seems to be that pots should not dry too

quickly or in a draught, for fear of cracking.

The finished ware is fairly fragile, although, with the assistance of a binding or network of twisted bark or plaited grass rope, with which most beer pots are furnished (Pl. 22:1, 4), large pots hold a very great volume of liquid. The porosity of the pottery has the sole advantage that liquids are kept cool by evaporation.

It is not possible to reconstruct the shapes of Xhosa pots from the early descriptions (Lichtenstein compares them with a large bottle with a wide neck) and unless one accepts as Xhosa the excavated pottery (Pl. 23) referred to before, no actual specimens appear to have survived in museums with the exception of that figured by Nauhaus (1881), which is a calabash-shaped pot with an inward-sloping neck.* Fritsch (1872) makes some attempt to describe them, albeit it is not quite clear whether he is referring to Xhosa or to all Cape tribes. He mentions 'a number of' shapes and sizes and describes four, which appear to be (1) a spherical pot without neck, (2) a spherical pot with short upright neck, which was the cooking-pot and could be covered with a concave lid, (3) a spherical pot with short everted neck, for water or beer, and (4) a shallow, open-mouthed bowl. Many of the bases were 'bluntly conical' (Lawton's 'pointed') or rounded. The excavated pottery is mainly spherical.

The shapes recorded today among Middledrift Xhosa, Bomvana, Mpondo, Xesibe and Bhaca are variants of the above four, and in addition there are the large vertical walled beer-brewing pots (Pl. 20:1, 3, 4). Bases tend to be flattened, though some are round. The Mpondo make most of theirs with a definite flat base, which follows from the method of commencing the moulding of the pot. A shallow bowl serves as a lid and also as a dish. Other lids known now are those of European vessels. Lids proper, lugs, handles, spouts and feet, are neither recorded for early times nor have they been seen on modern Cape Nguni pottery.

In size the modern pots vary from small bowls (Pl. 20:7) about 8 cm high by 15 cm diam., to the large beer-brewing pots (Pl. 20:1, 3, 4; Pl. 22:1, 2, 4; Pl. 24:4). The largest seen was 68 cm \times 52 cm, but Hunter records them up to 120 cm \times 90 cm. The same variation was probably found in the early days: Lichtenstein mentions pots holding up to 6 *Eimer* (buckets).

Pots were used for cooking, drawing water, holding liquids and the leftovers of food, holding grain, and as drinking-cups for all liquids, and were shaped accordingly. Nowadays three-legged iron pots, which are figured quite early in drawings (cf. Paravicini's drawing 1803), have everywhere supplanted earthenware for cooking, but where pots are still made they are used for the other purposes, particularly for brewing beer, which tastes better brewed in earthenware. According to Makalima the Thembu in 1945 used an earthenware milking vessel, as do the Bhaca.

Another article that should be included under pottery is the earthenware pipe-bowl that was used on the water-pipe for dagga or tobacco. These are

* Descriptive terms as used by Lawton (1967), pp. 21-9.

mentioned several times in the literature, but only once described (Von Winkelman) as made of red clay, 1-2 *Zoll* long, and 1 *Zoll* in diameter, cylindrical but squeezed in at the middle. (The *Zoll* varied from 23,6 mm to 53,2 mm.) This sounds like those associated with Schofield's NC₂ pottery.* More recent earthenware pipe-bowls are larger. There is no mention of the firing of the pipe-bowls, but they must have been fired, and were probably made by women. Pottery in general was, and wherever it is practised today still is, a specialized art, and traditionally practised by women only. In 1969, among the Khomane of the Ngqeleni district, however, two men potters were reported, one of whom was visited, and gave as his reason that he enjoyed the work, and found it profitable. The potter fulfilled orders for other people, and some shapes cost more than others. In the old days the Xhosa price for a medium pot (two buckets) was an ox-skin, which is higher than modern prices. The art was often passed on from mother to daughter, but anyone could learn. Gitywa reports the existence of taboos to be observed by the potter—mainly the exclusion from the working place of 'unsuitable' persons. Today, as far as can be discovered, there are no Xhosa potters left except those reported by Gitywa in the Middledrift district of the Ciskei. He found, however, that pottery was not often taught in schools and, where it was, aroused no interest outside the school. According to Soga there were still a few potters in 1932, but informants in Willowvale in 1948 were of the opinion that no pottery had been made for the last 50 years, and Nauhaus gave the decline as before 1880.

For the Thembu the position is probably the same. According to Makalima the Thembu still made pottery in 1945, and one potter was known in the Engcobo district in 1950, but other informants said that pottery had not been made by Thembu for as long as they could remember.

Fingo near Tsomo said that no pottery was either made or used, but the constable interpreter said that on the contrary it was brought into Tsomo for sale.

Mpondomise informants said that they could not remember pots being made, but that they bought pots from their Hlubi neighbours.

The Hlubi of Herschel and Mt Frere districts were said to make and sell good pottery, until the 1950s and 1960s respectively.

In Bomvanaland there was one very old potter in a fairly large area visited in 1948, but there may have been others.

Amongst Mpondo, Xesibe and Bhaca, however, pottery is still made, though the number of specialists is small. Every homestead visited, even as late as 1969, had some pots, and earthenware seemed to be used to the exclusion of everything else for beer-making.

South Sotho influence is considerable and was seen at Qawukeni, where some of the pots had been made in the Sotho style by South Sotho women resident in the area, and again at Elubaleko, where pots had been made in Xesibe style, but by an itinerant South Sotho potter. People as far afield as

* Schofield (1948) p. 152, Pl. viii, figs. 17, 18.

Mt Ayliff, Mqanduli, Idutywa and Engcobo said that they obtained their pots from a group of South Sotho potters near Insizwa, some travelling a long distance to get them. Another group was said to be established at Matatiele, and there was a strong South Sotho pottery industry in the Herschel district in the 1960s.

WOOD-CARVING: SOURCES

- 1593 Lavanha p. 235 Umtata R.: wooden vessels
 'Usaõ vasos de barro secos ao Sol, e de madeira lavrados com humas machadinhas de ferro, as quaes saõ como huma cunha metida em hum pão, e com as mesmas cortaõ o mato.'
 [p. 294 'They use vessels of clay dried in the sun, and some of wood carved with small iron axes, which are like wedges set in a piece of wood: with these they also clear the thickets.']
- 1802-6 Alberti pp. 112-13 Xhosa: spade
 'Het spitten geschiedt met Spaden, vervaardigd uit de zeer harde soort van hout, onder den naam van Nieshout bekend, en wel uit een stuk. . . '
- 1821-4 Thompson p. 361 Xhosa: wooden vessels
 'They use also a few wooden vessels, carved out of soft wood; and their rush baskets are well known, which are so closely woven as to retain milk and other liquids.'
- (1853) Kretzschmar p. 239 Xhosa: manufacture
 'Sie verwenden sehr viel Mühe auf die Anfertigung grosser hölzerner Nöpfe, die sie aus einem Blocke Holz aushöhlen und in deren Aussenseite sie allerlei Figuren graviren.'
- 1863-6 Fritsch p. 75 Xhosa: making of large utensils
 'Ausnahmsweise werden selbst grosse, bauchige Gefässe von Bowlenform aus solidem Holz geschnitzt, wobei die Ausdauer des Arbeiters, der mit den beschriebenen einfachen Werkzeugen den mächtigen Holzklotz in einen grossen Topf verwandelt, ebenso zu bewundern ist, als die Zähigkeit und Haltbarkeit des Holzes, dass es nicht schon während der Arbeit oder später im Gebrauch durch ungleiches Austrocknen reisst oder springt. Die Aussenfläche der Holzgefässe ist häufig ganz glatt, indem nur der Rand und die Vorsprünge geschwärzt sind, in anderen Fällen sind Verzierungen in Form von breiten, rings herum laufenden Rändern angebracht, in welchen dunkle und helle Felder, oder glatte, mit gekreuzt eingeschnittenen Stellen abwechseln, oder Beides ist vereinigt.'
- (1881) Nauhaus pp. 345-6 and Pl. IX general: wood-carving
 'Zierliche Schnitzarbeiten zeigten auch die verschiedenen Arten von Kopfkissen aus Holz gefertigt, ebenso verschiedene Holzgefässe und Löffel. An einigen dieser Geschirre fiel die regelmässige Musterung in der Ornamentik

auf. An vielen war die Musterung markirt durch schwarze und weisse Streifen,—andere Gefässe waren tief schwarz gefärbt. Die schwarzen Streifen und ganze schwarze Färbung stellt der Kaffer her durch Bestreichung der betreffenden Stelle mit Fell,* über welche er dann mit einem heissen Eisen so lange hin und her fährt, bis er die gewünschte Bräune oder Schwärze erhält.'

(1907) Sim pp. 6, 7, 8, 9, 291

Transkei: state of forests, woods used

pp. 6-9

Nothing more.

p. 291

: stinkwood not used

'It is curious that the Kafirs do not seem to have a name for this tree (stinkwood); presumably it did not enter into their domestic economy before the advent of the European wood-cutter. . . .'

[This is not true, see 163.]

(1919) McLaren p. 444

Xhosa: wooden articles

Nothing more.

(1927) Poto Ndamase pp. 121-2, 123

Mpondo: wooden articles

Nothing more.

(1932) Soga pp. 406-7

Xhosa: wooden articles

Nothing more.

(1945) Makalima chap. 9, paras. 3, 5, 14, 17, 18, 44, 56-59

Fingo, Mpondomise, Thembu: wood-carving

paras. 3, 5, 18, 56-8

Nothing more.

para. 14

: articles made

'Intonga namabhunguza zizona zinto ke bezisenziwa kakulu ezi kwa Xosa, zibe nanamhlanje zisenziwa. Intonga ngumnqayi eye ote tswi, ze lona ibhunguza libe negqhudu kwelacala lingapaya. Izipato zemikonto zenziwe ngomsimbithi, isikali esi somkonto siti thu kweliyacala lingapaya. Izapeta zentolo, zenziwe ngozungu, umti otambileyo nozingati. Isapeta yinto eluluti nje, olusuke lwagotywa laza lagcinwa ngomtya ukuba lungoluki. Izitulo bezisenziwa ngemiti yehlati—kwenziwe nje imiqonga kusuke kuhlaliwe kuyo. . . . Amabhunguza namagqudu enziwa ngomsimbithi nomtati, nogqonci, nomnonono nomnqayi.'

[Sticks and knobkerries are things which the Xhosas particularly made. Sticks are made from the *Elaeodendron velutinum* (umnqayi) tree. It is a straight long stick whereas the knobkerrie (ibhunguza) is a short stick with a big knob at one end. The handles of assegais are made of Kafir ironwood (umsimbithi), the blade of the assegai protrudes from the other end. Bows to shoot arrows are made of the flexible wood of uzungu or uzingathi. A bow is just a stick, bent and kept so by a string or thong. . . . Stools were made of trees from the forest, these were made into blocks for people to sit on. . . . Knobkerries and

* Unless, which seems more likely, this is a misprint—Fell (= skin) for Fett (= fat).

short sticks with knobs are made from the following: Kafir ironwood, sneezewood, underbrush, roodebesje, *Elaeodendron velutinum*. . . .]

para. 17 : making of wooden articles
'*Izinto ezenziwe ngomti zenziwa ngokuqingqwa ngezembe nangemela kugudiswe kwangemela*. . . .'

[*Things made of wood*. They are carved from the solid with axe and knife. A knife is also used for smoothing. . . .]

para. 44 : tools used
'*Ukusetyenzwa komti: Xa kusetyenzwa umti uyaxholwa ngentshengeca. Amabhunguza, nenduku, namacepe omi enziwa kwangezintshengeca*.'

[*How wood is worked*: The wood is chiselled away with a gouge or chisel (*intshengeca*). Clubs, sticks, and wooden spoons are also carved with sharp-edged stones.]

para. 59 : treatment of wood
'*Xa kubazwa umti, kusenziwa intonga namabunguza, kufuneka utanjiswe amafutha nobulongwe benkomo. Umti kufuneka ufakwe endlini apo kungeko langa namoya ukuze ungaqekeki. Amafuta awenza uswame kakuhle ungacandeki xa usetyenzwayo*.'

[When wood is carved into sticks and knobkerries, it must be softened with fat and cowdung. The wood must be placed in a hut where there is neither sun nor draught, lest it crack. The fat makes it soft and not inclined to split when worked.]

1962 Velcich pp. 670-2 Xhosa: pipes
Nothing more.

1971 Gitywa pp. 130-7 Xhosa: pipe-making
The whole chapter is of great interest but cannot be quoted in full.

WOOD-CARVING: TERMS

isibazelo (from *-baza* 'sharpen to a point', original Bantu meaning 'carve')

1 block or anvil on which one sharpens points D. 2 wooden block on which to steady wooden objects being carved Xes Hlu 154

intshengece (pron. intjengece) 1 sharp-pointed stone, flint for cutting with, D X Mp Xes. 2 sharp-edged (not pointed) knife or sword X Bo. 3 sharp stone for gouging out wooden utensils (T-Mak) 155

umsumbithi Kaffir Ironwood (*Millettia caffra* Meisn.). Derived from the roots for 'iron' and 'wood' (*-simbi*, *-thi*), this is an interesting archaic form 156

ugqonci *Trichocladus ellipticus* E. & Z. D 157

umnonono rooibessie (roodebesje) *Olinia cymosa* Thunb. D 158

umnqayi *Elaeodendron velutinum* Harv., a forest tree furnishing the long pointed stick without a knob, used as weapon in single conflict, and . . . in dancing; the stick itself D X Bo Mp Xes 159

- umthathi* Sneezewood, *Ptaeroxylon obliquum* Radlk., splinters were used to give light before candles and lamps were known, D **160**
- umthenenende* 1 nD. 2 sp. of tree, makes sticks Mp. 3 *umthenenenda* is *Cola natalensis* Oliver, greatly prized for making sticks, Sim. **161**
- umgxina* Assegai wood (*Curtisia faginea* Aiton) D spear-shafts **162**
- umnimbithi* Black Stinkwood (*Ocotea bullata* Nees.) D **163**
- umhleli* Stamper-wood, *Ehretia hottentotica* Burch. D, used for making spear-shafts **164**
- umhlebe* 1 Black ironwood, *Olea laurifolia* Lam., and Bastard ironwood *Olea foveolata* E. Mey. D. 2 Used for spades **165**
- isiduli* 1 *Brachylaena elliptica* Less., a kind of tree used for producing fire (with two firesticks . . . described) D. 2 used for spear-shafts **166**
- umlungumabele*, *umnungumabele* knobwood (*Fagara capensis* Thunb.) staffs, sticks **167**
- umnquma* Wild Olive (*Olea verrucosa* Link) **168**
- umzane* White Ironwood (*Toddalia lanceolata* Lam. & *T. natalensis* Sond.) D staffs, sticks **169**
- umsintsi* Kaffirboom (*Erythrina caffra* Thunb.) **170**
- umthentsema* Cape plane or Redwood (*Ochna arborea* Burch.) D for staffs, sticks **171**
- isithombothi* *Acalypha glabrata* Müll. D **172**
- umqwashube* Rooi-els (*Cunonia capensis* L.) D staffs, sticks **173**
- umnyamanzi* *Acacia caffra* Willd. 1 nD. 2 sp. of hardwood, grows along rivers, esp. near Butterworth, used for making tobacco pipes, Fgo T **174**
- umhlunguthi* 1 sp. of soft-wooded tree, used as a hedge round kraals, D. 2 sp. of tree, used for troughs, head-rests Mp Mpm T **175**
- umhlangwe* 1 nD. 2 sp. of tree, used to make milk-pails (X Soga 407). 3 fairly large tree T **176**
- umnqwane* *Erythrina latissima*, E. Mey. for milk-pails **177**
- umthombothi* Sandalwood (*Spirostachys africana* Sond.) a hard scented wood, used as a perfume, pieces of which are worn on a string round the neck D X **178**

WOOD-CARVING: DISCUSSION

As previously noted (Part 1 p. 36) wood used to be much more generally available than it is today, and there were varieties of wood suitable for all the objects made. The wood-carver's craft received very little attention in the early literature, however, beyond the mention of some of the articles made. This account is based therefore on fairly recent and modern sources.

Following is a list of some of the trees used to furnish the wood, and the articles which were made from each. Details of the articles themselves will be found in the appropriate chapters. (Such things as fences, or roof frames, which, though constructed of wood, do not strictly belong to wood-carving, are not included.)

<i>inhlongothi</i>	nD		Mpm. head-rests 1955,
<i>umhlongothi</i>	nD		troughs 1955; Bh. milk-pails 1955, 1969, head-rests 1969, spoons 1969
<i>inkanye</i>	nD		gen. wooden spears 1948
<i>intsinde</i>	D	<i>Randia rudis</i> E. Mey.	Mp. snuff-spoons 1955
<i>inyamanzi</i>	McL. D	<i>Acacia caffra</i> Willd.	gen. tobacco pipes 1955,
<i>umnyamanzi</i>	nD		1969
<i>isiduli</i>	D	<i>Brachylaena elliptica</i> Less. bitterblaar	gen. spear-shafts; X. trough 1969
<i>isidunguli</i>	nD		Mp. sticks 1969
<i>isitomboti</i>	nD	<i>Cryptocarya</i> sp.	gen. sticks
<i>isithombothi</i>	D	<i>Acalypha glabrata</i> Müll.	gen. sticks
<i>jabwasile</i>	nD	wattle	Bh. stools 1969
<i>ugqonci</i>	D	<i>Trichocladus ellipticus</i> E. & Z. underbrush	gen. clubs
<i>umbovane</i>	nD	<i>Elaeodendron croceum</i> D.C. saffronwood	gen. sticks
<i>umgxina</i>	D	<i>Curtisia faginea</i> Alton assegaiwood	gen. clubs, spear-shafts
<i>umhlangwe</i>	nD		X. milk-pails
<i>umhlebe</i>	D	<i>Olea laurifolia</i> Lam. black ironwood	gen. spades
	D	<i>Olea foveolata</i> E. Mey. bastard ironwood	
<i>umhleli</i>	D	<i>Ehretia hottentotica</i> Burch. stamperwood	gen. pestles
<i>umhlunguthi</i>	D	soft wooded tree	Mp., Mpm., T. troughs, head-rests 1969
<i>umkhiwane</i>	D	<i>Ficus capensis</i> Thunb. the Bushfig, hence used for fig in general; European fig	Mp. troughs 1969; X. mortar 1969
<i>umkhoba</i>	D	<i>Podocarpus elongata</i> L. Her. bastard yellow-wood	X., Xes. mortars 1969; X. sledges 1969
<i>umlungumabele</i>	nD	<i>Fagara capensis</i> Thunb.	gen. sticks 1969
<i>umnungumabele</i>	D	knobwood	Xes. awl handle 1969;
<i>umnonono</i>	McL. D	<i>Strychnos henningsii</i> Gilg. hard pear	gen. clubs
		<i>Olinea cymosa</i> Thunb. roodebesje; rooibessie	gen. clubs (Makalima)
<i>umngayi</i>		<i>Celastrus peduncularis</i> Sond. blackwood	gen. clubs

	D	<i>Elaeodendron velutinum</i> Harv.	gen. clubs, stick (Makalima)
umnqwane		<i>Erythrina latissima</i> E. Mey.	gen. sticks (Makalima) Mp. milk-pails 1948
umnquma	D	<i>Olea verrucosa</i> Link wild olive	gen. sticks
umqwashube	D	<i>Cunonia capensis</i> L. rooi-els	gen. sticks
umsimbithi	McL. D	<i>Millettia caffra</i> Meisn. kaffir ironwood	gen. clubs, spear-shafts, staffs, wooden spears Mp. spear-shafts 1969
		<i>Millettia grandis</i> Skeels	X. sticks 1955
umsintsi	D	<i>Erythrina caffra</i> Thunb. kaffirboom	gen. sticks Mpm.head-rests 1955
umthathi	D	<i>Ptaeroxylon obliquum</i> Radlk. sneezewood	gen. clubs Xes. hoe handles 1948 gen. spades (Alberti) X. pipe mouthpiece 1969
umthenenende	nD	<i>Cola natalensis</i> Oliver	gen. sticks (Sim)
umnimbithi	D	<i>Ocotea bullata</i> E. Mey. stinkwood	gen. clubs
umthombothi	D	<i>Excoecaria africana</i> Müll. sandalwood	Mp. milk-pails
umtundzi			Mp. sticks 1969
umwele	D	<i>Cliffortia strobilifera</i> L.	Xes. mortars 1969
umzane	D	<i>Toddalia lanceolata</i> Lam. & T. white ironwood	gen. sticks
		<i>Toddalia natalensis</i> Sond.	gen. clubs 1969
umzingati	nD		Mp. clubs 1969
umthentsema	D	<i>Ochna arborea</i> Burch. Cape plane or redwood	gen. sticks, staffs

No wood is mentioned for the making of axe-hafts, bowls, dishes or other vessels, or snuff-boxes.

After the tree had been felled, the bark and the branches were removed, sometimes at the site where it was cut, and the timber put in a hut to dry, away from the sun and wind, so as to avoid cracking. Xhosa pipe-makers said that they preferred old and even dead wood which was already dry. When dry, and before it was worked, the wood was, by some workers at least, anointed with fat and cow-dung as a precaution against splitting during the work. The making was laborious if the article was large, since all the objects made, whatever their size and shape, were carved out of the solid. This was a wasteful method, since one tree might only furnish wood for two or three articles. There was no knowledge of joinery.

The tools used were a hatchet-adze (*izembe*), used as a hatchet for felling and removing the bark and branches, and as an adze for shaping and hollowing out the article; a chisel (*isixholo*) or a gouge (*isibazo*, Xes. Bh.) for further shaping or hollowing; a spear-blade or later a knife (*imela*) for finishing the surface, or for shaping small articles, or for incising a decoration; a drill for boring holes—for example, the channel of a pipe stem; and a branding iron for making branded decoration. Sharp-edged stone tools (*intshengece*) are said also to have been used, but there is no satisfactory information about this. The article being made might be placed on a block (*isibazelo*, Xes., (Hlu. Mz.)) for steadiness. For the larger vessels fire was used to assist in the hollowing out.

According to Nauhaus the method of branding a decoration, or the whole surface if desired, was by smearing fat* on the place in question, over which a hot iron was worked backward and forward until the required brown or black was attained. But from the meagre records it would seem that from early in the twentieth century, at least, carving and incision have been more common means of decoration on wood than branding. It is particularly seen on pipes, of which the wooden variety for tobacco developed only after considerable contact with Europeans, when knife blades too would have become available. These pipes were decorated with raised conventional designs or naturalistic figures. One special method of decorating the pipe-bowl was to carve a design on the surface and inlay it with lead. According to Fleming the way of doing this was to melt the lead and run it into the grooves of the design, but two modern informants said that it was not melted but simply pressed in, which sounds the more likely method.

Wood-carvers are men and it is a specialized craft, in which in fact the craftsman usually specializes in one branch, for example clubs and sticks, or pipes. Modern wood-carvers may sell their work to stores for resale, but usually they take private orders.

All the articles listed are still made in some parts today, with the exception of snuff-boxes, which were never common, spades, bowls and dishes. In some areas, however, no wooden utensils are made now. The reason for the decline must be partly lack of suitable wood for the larger articles, and partly the availability of equally or more satisfactory articles of European origin.

Modern wood-carvers make use of store-bought saws and axes for the preliminary work, as well as knives and sandpaper, and a variety of home-made tools copied from those that are imported (Pl. 25:1 & 2).

CALABASH WORKING: SOURCES

1776 Hallema p. 132

Xhosa: calabash spoon

‘... liet hij een mand met melk halen; die voor hem gezet zijnde, roerde een jonge kaffer de melk om met eene kalbas, in’t midden over lang doorgesneden, dronk een teug en lag de lepel weder in de melk.’

* See note to reference p. 141.

1863-6 Fritsch p. 74

Xhosa: calabash flask

'Schneidet man nur den oberen Theil des Halses ab und befestigt an denselben einen Stöpsel, so erhält man bekanntlich eine natürliche Flasche, und solche benutzen die Eingeborenen sehr vielfach, mit einem Riemen versehen, um sie umhängen oder sonst befestigen zu können, zur Aufnahme von saurer Milch, eventuell auch Bier oder Wasser.'

(1919) McLaren p. 445

Xhosa: preparing calabash

'The calabash-gourd, *uselwa*, with its long neck, was gathered when quite ripe, and was then sunk, *nyiwa*, in the ground for a time, with only the neck sticking out, by which means the rind was hardened, while the contents decayed so that they could be emptied out. The inside was thoroughly cleaned out by rinsing it with water and gravel. It was then fit for use as a milk container, *i-selwa*. The calabash was often tied round, *tandela*, with string or a thong to strengthen it. A mealie-cob, *um-pa*, served as a cork.'

1936 Cornner corresp. 30.7.36

Mpondomise: cleaning

'... method of hollowing out gourds. A small hole is cut in top and with a piece of wire the seed and pith is whittled out then stones inserted—even diminutive stones, inserted into tiny gourd—and water and cleaned as one cleans a furred decanter or bottle.'

1945 Makalima chap. 9, paras. 4, 14, 17, 45, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59

Fingo, Mpondomise, Thembu: calabashes

paras. 56, 57, 59

Nothing more.

para. 4

: objects made

'*Izinto ezenziwe ngeselwa*: ngumcepe wokukha amanzi nejiki, igubu lotywala, iselwa lokugcina intanga, iselwa lokutiyela inkawu.'

[*Things made of calabash*: a ladle for drawing water and beer, the beer calabash, calabash for storing pumpkin seed, and the calabash for trapping monkeys.]

para. 14

: uses of calabashes

'*Umcepe weselwa* usikwa eselweni apa ube ngqukuva, ube necala lokubamba elisicwecwe. *Igubu lotywala* lisikwa nje iselwa apa emlonyeni lifakwe isivingco. *Iselwa lokugcina intanga* lusikwa apa emlonyeni, libenesivingco lifana twa neli lamasi ukwenziwa kwalo. *Iselwa lokutiyela inkawu* lona ukwenziwa kwalo liba nomngxunyana omncinane, owanele nje ukungena isandla esi senkawu.'

[*A calabash ladle* is cut off from the gourd so as to be round with one side flat used as a handle. For a *beer calabash*, the gourd is cut open to make a mouth and a stopper is fitted. For a *gourd for storing pumpkin seed*, a mouth is made by cutting it open and a stopper fitted as for a milk calabash. A *gourd for trapping monkeys* has a small aperture, just large enough for a monkey's paw.]

para. 17

: preparation of calabash

'*Izinto ezenziwa ngeselwa zenziwa* kwa ngemela kukutshwe intanga zakoma.'

Nokuba kuzakwenziwa umcepe nokuba liselwa lamasi, nokuba liselwa lokugcina intanga kwenziwa ngolohlobo.'

[*Things made of gourd.* They are cut with a knife and the seeds are removed when dry. The same method is applied in making a ladle, a calabash for curdled milk or a calabash for storing pumpkin seed.]

para. 45 : preparation of calabash
'Ukwenziwa kwamaselwa: kukutshwa intanga, zigqogqwe ngoluti zikutshwe. Kusuka ke ngoku kutiwe ubisi nokuba yintonina ke efakwa apo eselweni.'

[*When calabashes are made,* the pumpkin seeds are removed. They are scraped out with a stick so that they all come out. Then the milk or whatever else the calabash is intended for is poured in.]

para. 55 : cultivation of calabash
'Iselwa lifunyanwa ngokutyalwa emasimini lize liti ke lakufika ixesha litatyatelwe ekaya.'

[*Calabashes are obtained by planting in the lands,* when ripe they are taken home.]

para. 58 : preparation of calabash
'Iselwa lisetyenzwa ngemela noluti, nohlalutye. Uhlalutye luyagalelwa ludityaniswe namanzi lihlukuhlwe iselwa.'

[*A calabash is made ready for use with a knife, a stick and some gravel.* The gravel is poured into the calabash together with water, and the calabash is then shaken.]

CALABASH WORKING: TERMS

- idliwa* 1 nD. 2 milk calabash Mp Bo 149
ingwetshe 1 nD. 2 half calabash shell used as ladle, Bh. 3 not confirmed 150
iselwa 1 calabash that has been dried and perfectly cleaned out; it is then used for holding *amasi* (curds) D general. Actually also the plant and fruit. 2 not Mp (who use *idliwa*) nor Bh (who use *itshalo* pron. *itjalo*) 151
itshalo (pron. *itjalo*) 1 nD. 2 milk calabash Bh only 152
umcephe half a calabash, used as a ladle, for drawing water, milk, beer D general except Bh 153

CALABASH WORKING: DISCUSSION

Various species of gourd (*Cucurbitaceae*) provide the calabash vessels used by the Cape Nguni for many purposes. *Lagenaria siceraria* Standl., the calabash proper, which has fruits of various shapes, is specially cultivated for this purpose, but pumpkin, marrow and other fruit shells may be used too.

The gourds are gathered when ripe and allowed to dry. McLaren states that the Xhosa then buried them in the ground to harden the rind, but there is no confirmation of this. When the gourd is dry a small hole is cut in the top and the seeds and flesh removed by means of a stick or piece of wire. To clean it

thoroughly, small stones, dry maize grains, or gravel, and water are put in and the shell is shaken well. Some people use warm water for this. A stopper is provided, commonly a mealie cob, but wooden stoppers are made too especially for the smaller fruits, and the calabash is then ready for use as a flask (Pl. 26:3). It is often, however, enclosed in a loose network or sling of thongs or bark, for added strength and as a hanging strap (Pl. 26:4). It may also be decorated by branding or incising patterns on the rind, the latter while it is still green or even on the plant. The small specimens that are used as snuff-boxes or as flasks for medicine or cosmetic fat are more often than not enclosed in beadwork (Pl. 26:1).

If the calabash is to be used as a ladle, scoop, or spoon, it is cut in half lengthwise (Pl. 26:2), if as a resonator for a musical instrument, a piece is cut off leaving a fair-sized mouth (Pl. 26:5).

This is not a specialized craft. Calabashes are grown and prepared by each family and by women or men, and there are no prohibitions attached to them. Nothing is done to shape them and in general the plants grow flat on the ground, though one informant said he had seen them trained over a wall so that the fruit would hang down and become elongated. A pad of grass is sometimes put on the ground under the fruit to prevent it from rotting at that part, or the vine itself may be supported to prevent damage to the fruit.

Calabashes are used especially as milk-vessels, in which the milk is stored to curdle. They may also be used as containers for beer, or as vessels for serving milk or beer, or as containers for storing seed. Cut in half they are used as ladles or dry scoops. Formerly they were used as spoons for individuals, but this is no longer seen. They are attached as resonators to the stave of a musical bow. Small examples, generally of the waisted shape, are converted into snuff-boxes or cosmetic flasks or are used by doctors to hold medicines. Penis-sheaths for boys are made from small, generally spherical, examples. A calabash may also be used as a trap for monkeys. A small hole is made just big enough for the paw to go in, but not to come out when clenched full of seed.

BASKETWORK: SOURCES

1772-6 Sparrman II pp. 34-5

Gonaqua: milking baskets

'... but the vessels they milked it into were baskets of a peculiar kind, composed of roots plaited together so curiously, and in so close a manner, that they would not only hold milk but even water. These vessels would be as neat as they are light, if the Hottentots did not always neglect to wash them. Indeed, most of these baskets had acquired such an appearance from the milk being encrusted upon them, as at first induced us to suppose that they were besmeared with cowdung, in order to make them hold the liquor the better. But I have since tried baskets, that were quite new and clean, particularly one that I had brought home with me,¹ and found, that without any kind of

¹ See Pl. 27:1 of this volume.

daubing, they did not leak in the least. These milk-pails, or baskets, are mostly of the shape of that delineated in plate I. Vol. I fig. I holding from a pint and a half to four gallons; and besides the advantage of being very light, they have likewise that of their rims being sufficiently pliable.'

1776 Hallema pp. 132, 133

Xhosa: baskets

p. 132

Nothing more.

p. 133 'Wij ruilden verscheidene mandjes van hen, waartoe ze zeer gereed waren. De Mandjes zijn kunstig van biezén (:een soort van Cyperus:) gemaakt, en waterdigt: zij gebruiken hier ijzere naalden toe als elzen.'

1777-9 Paterson p. 91

Xhosa: women makers, watertight baskets

'... but the construction of the baskets, which are made by their women, is much more surprising; they are composed of grass, and woven so closely that they are capable of holding any fluid.'

1778 Van Plettenberg p. 49

Xhosa: watertight baskets

Nothing more.

1782 Le Vaillant I p. 364

Gonaqua: baskets traded from Xhosa

'Ces jolis paniers se fabriquent avec des roseaux ou des racines si déliées, et d'une texture si serrée, qu'ils peuvent servir même à porter de l'eau; ils m'ont été, pour cet usage, d'une grande ressource dans la suite. Le chef des Gonaquois m'apprit qu'ils étoient l'ouvrage des Caffres, avec lesquels ils les échangent contre d'autres objets.'

1788 Von Winkelman pp. 84-5

Xhosa: making mats and baskets, size

'Ihre Matten und Körbgen—ihre Assogais, Ohren und Armringe und dergleichen tragen in ihrer Art das Gepräge vieler Geschicklichkeit. Frauen und Mädchen verfertigen gewöhnlich die Matten und Körbchen, die ihre vorzüglichen Hausgeräthe sind. Die erstern bestehen aus dicht neben einander gelegten langen feinen Binsen. Eine dickere Art derselben wird im Lande Mattjesgut genannt. Die Binsen werden denn entweder mittelst feiner Sehnen oder auch wieder mit Binsen oder zerschliztem Mattjesgut an einander befestigt. Die Länge und Breite, richtet sich gewöhnlich nach der Länge und Stärcke des Eigenthümers. Ihre Figur ist bereits bekannt. Oft fehlt diesen Matten nichts mehr, als die Mahlerei, um sie für Chinesische, deren man sich gewöhnlich zu Jalousien innerhalb der Fenster bedient, geltend zu machen. Sie verfertigen aber auch gleich den Hottentotten, gröbere Arten derselben. Ihre Körbgen hingegen sind von besonderer Art, und werden zu Behältnissen aller flüssigen und trocknen Dinge gebraucht. Sie werden aus jenem geschlizten Mattjesgut, sehr künstlich und dicht geflochten. Ich möchte beinahe vermuthen, dass die Erfindung dieses Products des Bedürfnisses den Kaffern allein zugehört. Sie gleichen meistens einen abgestutzten Kegel; oben sind sie weiter als unten. Sie sind von unterschiedlicher Grösse; die grössten, die ich sah, konten etwa einen Schuh hoch-oben 14-16 Zoll und am Boden

ohngefehr 10 Zoll weit seijn. Sie tragen sie gefüllt mit Milch oder Wasser allemal auf der Hand, auf den Arm, oder auch auf dem Kopf, und man kann dergleichen von aller Grösse um eine unbedeutende Kleinigkeit von ihnen erhandeln. Es giebt Kafferinnen, die jedes gegebene Muster von Vasen Arnen, [sic] selbst Hüte, nach ahmen, — und oft noch feiner als ihre Körbgen flechten. Wo sie hingehen, da nehmen sie auch diese Körbgen mit und verhandeln sie nebst ihren Matten ohne alle Bedenklichkeiten an Fremde.'

1797 Barrow pp. 120-1

Xhosa: making of baskets

'In the evening they sent us in return some baskets of milk. These baskets were made from a species of cyperus, a strong reedy grass that grew in the springs of Zuure Veldt. . . . The women informed us that the making of these baskets was one part of their employment. . . . They were all nearly made after one model, which in shape was that of a common beehive.'

1803 Paravicini di Capelli p. 140

Xhosa: baskets

Nothing more.

1802-6 Alberti pp. 36, 58, 62

Xhosa: basket-making, tool

p. 36

'De kringvormige omtrek dezer Korven is bovenaan, doorgaans, tusschen 10 tot 16 Duim middellijn, van onderen naar evenredigheid iets ruimer; de wand is 1 tot 2 Lijnen dik, zelden dikker; naar beneden zijn zij eenigzins kegelvormig. De Vrouwen bereiden die zeer kunstig van Rietgras, en weten ze zoodanig te vlechten, dat zij, vooraf met Talk besmeerd, volkomen waterdigt worden.'

p. 58

Nothing more.

p. 62

Xhosa: awl

'Aan dit hals-sieraad bij de Mannen hangt nog doorgaans op de borst een kleine ijzeren Priem in eenen koker, dienende zoo wel ter vervaardiging van kleederen en melk-korven, als ter uitrukkinge van eenen doorn, dien men in den voet treedt, en tot andere einden meer.'

1802-3 De Mist p. 114

Xhosa: basket smeared fat

Nothing more.

1803-6 Lichtenstein I p. 464

Xhosa: watertight baskets

Nothing more.

1821-4 Thompson p. 361

Xhosa: watertight baskets

Nothing more.

1819-29 Moodie p. 249

Xhosa: watertight baskets

Nothing more.

1824-5 Smith p. 393

general: rope and baskets

'Make cord with the inner bark of trees or with a sort of grass either of which is strong. They also make baskets of the same more especially of the grass. . . .'

- 1825-9 Kay p. 117 Xhosa: rope
 'The thatch . . . is then bound on with the same sort of cordage, or otherwise with *intsontelo*, a small rope made of rushes. . . .'
- 1829 Bain p. 83 Gqunukhwebe: milk baskets
 Nothing more.
- 1834^b Bonatz p. 352 Thembu: women make watertight baskets
 Nothing more.
- 1834-5 Redgrave & Bradlow Pl. 13 Xhosa: basket
 Figure.
- 1833-7 England Xhosa: coiled basket
 Figure.
- (1836) Martin pp. 157-8 Thembu: watertight baskets
 Nothing more.
- 1839 Backhouse p. 225 Xhosa: material used
 Nothing more.
- 1836-44 Döhne pp. 41-2 Xhosa: making of baskets and varieties
 'Eine andere Arbeit der Frauen ist das Korbmachen aus Binsen. Wenn diese geschnitten und trocken sind, so werden die besten herausgesucht, nass gemacht und gespalten. Aus diesen werden wieder die besten ausgesucht, der inwendige Kern abgeschabt und zum Nähen der Körbe gebraucht. Die andern gespaltenen nehmen sie zum Einlegen, welche Einlage wie der Finger eines Kindes dick genommen wird. So wird dann immer an einem Stricke fort eingelegt und eine Reihe durch die andere genäht. Je nach der Grösse der Körbe its auch die Näherei verschieden, aber durchgängig sehr accurat und schön aussehend. Der grösste ist der Itala, welcher ungefähr 2 Scheffel fasst; dann folgen die Amaqindiva, die zum Aufbewahren ihrer Kleinigkeiten gebraucht werden und etwa 2 Eimer enthalten, dann die inzwarzwa, etwa 1 Eimer, dann die Amatunga, worin gemolken wird, $\frac{1}{2}$ Eimer, dann die Izitya, woraus gegessen wird; und noch eine Menge, bis auf das Kleinste, gleich einem Becher, woraus den Säuglingen geschenkt wird. Diese Arbeit verstehen die meisten Weiber.'
- (1853) Kretzschmar p. 241 ? : baskets of porcupine quill
 'So beschäftigen sich die Männer mit Anfertigung allerlei Zierrathen, wie z.B. Körbchen und Teller aus gespaltenen Stachelschweinstacheln, äusserst zierliche Artikel, durch die schwarzen und weissen Flecken der Stacheln geschmackvoll gemustert.'
- (1856) Fleming p. 218 Cape Tribes: watertight baskets
 Nothing more.
- 1863-6 Fritsch pp. 75-6 Xhosa: wide use of basketwork
 'Eine eigenthümliche, durch die besonderen Naturverhältnisse Süd-Afrika's gebotene Technik ist die des Flechtens. Was man in einem anderen Lande zusammen leimt, in einander falzt, mit Nägeln oder eisernen Bändern

vereinigt, wird hier durch Bindwerk zusammengefügt, sei es, dass man es mit Riemchen zusammenflecht oder dazu Bast, Ruthen und ähnliches Material benutzt. In der That erfüllt diese Befestigungsweise ihren Zweck sehr gut, indem sie Festigkeit mit Elasticität vereinigt, und sich unter allen Verhältnissen leicht repariren lässt, während alles Eisenzeug schliesslich durch die Abnutzung schadhafte wird und, einmal in Unordnung, besonders auf der Reise schwer auszubessern ist.

Mannigfache Methoden von Flechten und Knoten sind den Leuten daher gang und gäbe, und es erscheint nicht wunderbar, das auch im alltäglichen Leben eine so starke Anwendung davon gemacht wird.'

p. 76

Xhosa: preparation of material

'Das Material liefert ein hochwachsendes, zähes Cypergras (*Cyperus textilis*), dessen Halme sich zu einem complicirten Flechtwerk vereinigen lassen; die Maschen werden der grösseren Dichtigkeit wegen flach geschlagen, worauf das Ganze für einige Zeit in Wasser eingeweicht wird.'

1845-89 Kropf pp. 116, 148

p. 116

Xhosa: making and varieties of baskets

Nothing more.

p. 148

Xhosa: objects made

'Als Gesamtarbeit aller Frauen und Kinder ist das mannigfaltige künstliche Flechtwerk anzuführen. Aus Grashalmen und Binsen flechten sie Armringe mit zehn bis fünfzig Strähnen; ebenso eine Matte von zwei Quadratfuss mit vielen Stricken so dicht, dass sie ihnen zur Tafel dient auf welche sie das gekochte Fleisch oder den Kornbrei legen, und die schön geflochtenen Wasser- und Milchkörbe.'

(1881) Nauhaus pp. 343-4

general: basketwork, snuff-boxes, store baskets

p. 343

Nothing more.

p. 344

: snuff-boxes, store baskets

Nothing more.

'In derselben Arbeit macht man Schnupftabacksdosen, oft mit den zierlichsten, fest anschliessenden Deckeln. Gewöhnlich in Form von Kalabassen. Auch grössere Truhen werden so gearbeitet, bis zur Grösse von 3 Fuss lang und 20 Zoll breit. Doch ist bei solchen Truhen der Stich nicht so eng, so dass der Grasstrang Stich vor Stich durchschimmert.'

1899 Stanford p. 124

Mpondo: beer-baskets

Nothing more.

(1919) McLaren pp. 445-6

Xhosa: general description, ropes, baskets

Nothing more.

(1926)^a Müller p. 41

Hlubi: basketwork

'... die Matten, auf denen geschlafen wird, oder Matten, die als eine Art Windschutz am Eingang der Hütten aufgestellt werden. Sie werden aus

einem ziemlich langhalmigen Gras, drei- oder viermal in der Länge mit Bindfaden durchflochten, angefertigt. Manchmal wissen sie durchbrochene Muster am Rande solcher Matten anzubringen. . . . Aus einer anderen Art Gras werden die kleinen Matten gearbeitet, die die Kaffern unter den Mahlstein breiten. . . .'

1945 Makalima chap. 9, paras. 7, 8, 14, 17, 19, 46, 48, 54, 55, 56

Fingo, Thembu, Mpondomise: basketwork

paras. 7, 8, 14, 19, 54-6

Nothing more.

para. 17

'*Izinto ezenziwa ngenca*. Yiminqwazi le yenziwa ngamakwenkwe kutungwa umsingizane kwa ngomnye ontlantlatiweyo ukuze utambe kumana kugqozwa ke xa kutungwayo.'

[*Things made of grass*. Straw hats made by boys by sewing *umsingizane* or other grass which is chewed to make it soft. Holes are made when sewing.]

para. 46

: sinew thread

'*Usinga*: Luyobulwa, lukandwe, lufakwe amafuta, lube ke ngoko lulungele ukutunga intsimbi, nengubo yegusha, nezikaka zenkomo. Olwekala usinga lona luyapotwa lusongwe lube luninzi, lube yinkata. Ukuza ke kutungwe ngalo inkuko zabantwana zokwenda intombi ezendayo.'

[*Sinew*: is stripped from the carcass, pounded, and smeared with fat, and is then ready for sewing beads, sheep-skin blankets and skirts of cow-hide. Aloe fibre is twisted after putting a number of threads together and making a coil. People then use it for sewing sleeping-mats for young girls who are going to get married.]

para. 48

: sorts of grass, uses

'*Indlela zokusebenza ngenca*: Umsingizane yenye yenca ezisebenzayo kubantu abamnyama. Amakwenkwe enza ngawo iminqwazi, ngokuti atunge umsingizane ngomnye, ushiyane kangango kuba akuna kungena nemvula kuwo. *Uxonya*: Ke lona luyalukwa ngabafazi, kwenziwa intambo ezintle kunene zokutunga upahla lwendlu, nomsingizane nawo kukwenziwa ngawo intambo yokutunga izindlu.

Inca: Inca yokutunga indlu ekutiwa sisiqungu, umngcele nokuba sisilevu nokuba ngumtala isetyenziswa ngamadoda xa etunga izindlu. Ingca yokutunga irelwa ngabafazi kwanamadoda xa etanda.'

[*The uses of grass*: *Umsingizane* is one of the species of grass much used by the people. Boys make straw hats of it. They sew it together and so closely that no rain can get through.

Uxonya grass is plaited by women into fine rope for binding thatch. *Umsingizane* grass also makes rope for anchoring thatch.

Grass: Grass for thatching a hut called *isiqungu*, *umngcele*, *isilevu*, or *umtala*, is used by men for thatching huts. The grass is cut by women as well as men, if they like.]

(1949) Duggan-Cronin p. 14, Pls. 50, 52, 53, 54, 66, 68, 69, legends to Pls. 52, 53
Mpondo, Mpondomise: baskets

p. 14

'Most kraals . . . made their own huts, and often their own pottery and baskets as well.'

legend Pl. 52

Mpondo: beer-baskets

'Girls carrying beer. Beer . . . traditionally was served in beautifully sewn baskets. These girls are carrying baskets of beer as a present to someone.'

legend Pl. 53

Mpondo: beer-baskets

'Beer-baskets are made by men from the leaves of the *ilala* palm. Other types of baskets, and mats, are made by women.'

(1964) Louw pp. 2, 11

p. 2

Cape Tribes: thread

'The fibre (of the aloe *ingcaca*) is used for beadwork. It makes a very strong thread. . . . When the leaves of the aloe are fully matured, they are cut and taken to a river or pool. They are beaten flat with heavy sticks and the fleshy part is washed off, until only the fibre is left. It is then dried, twisted and wound up for use.'

p. 11

Cape Tribes: maternity belt

'*Ibhanti yomdlezana*. Maternity-belt worn by the wife of a Chief to pull in the stomach-muscles after a confinement. It is the privilege of the first wife to distinguish her from the other wives in the kraal. They are usually four to five inches wide, but are also made wider.'

1949-62 Hammond-Tooke p. 28

Bhaca: grass-work

'Practically all grass-work is done by the women,¹ the techniques being handed down from mother to daughter or, nowadays, often learnt in hand-work classes at school. Mats are made of *imizi* reed or fibre obtained from the American aloe.'

1971 Gitywa pp. 108-10

Xhosa, Mpondo: basketwork

Nothing more.

p. 108 [referring to Alberti p. 36]

Mpondo: making beer-baskets water-tight

'The technique of rendering the baskets watertight seems to have changed, however, because the Mpondo people of today who still make these baskets instead of using tallow, dip the woven basket into a thin fluid of porridge.'

BASKETWORK: TERMS

uzwazwa 1 art of making baskets D. 2 basket of *imizi* for carrying fish Bo

Mp. 3 fish-trap Mp 179

inyatyhoba (cl. 9) awl, D general 180

¹ Unlike the Mpondo, Bhaca men do not make beer-strainers and concentrate on wood- and leatherwork.

- isilanda* 1 needle, 4 to 6 in. eyeless, for making holes for sinew thread, removing thorns, loosening tobacco in pipe D general. 2 (wooden) needle for making hats Mpm Mp, or aloe thorn or iron Mpm. 3 fish-hook bought in store X **181**
- ibhoma* 1 nD. 2 hut for *abakhwetha* Mp T **182**
- ichancasi* 1 nD. 2 grass used to make food-mats T. 2 sp. of short rush used for making small mats Mp **183**
- ikhwane* 1 nD. 2 sedge (*Cyperus latifolius* Poir.) for mats, X Bo Mp Fgo **184**
- umzi*, pl. *imizi* more usual. 1 a rush used for making sleeping-mats, D. 2 actually 'sedge' (*Cyperus textilis* and other spp.) for basket- and mat-making, general **185**
- incaluba* and *incaluka* 1 plant of order Iridaceae, possibly *Hypoxis* sp. with yellow flowers and good for thatching D. 2 yellow-flowered land rush, used for thatching McL D. 3 *incaluka* plant used for making ornaments (Fgo Kawa) **186**
- incema* 1 nD. 2 sp. of short rush c. 30 cm, used for making food-mats T Mp general **187**
- intsema* 1 *Euphorbia pugniformis* Boiss. and *E. bupleurifolia* Jacq. used as purgatives and for ringworm and cancer, D. 2 the esculen euphorbia or vin erpol, McL D. 3 plant with large bulb, not a grass; bulb used for rolling target game (Bh-Tooke). 4 large bulb, edible, purpose not known, T. 5 edible root of *Cussonia*, Mp. 6 sp. of grass, used for making rope, Mpm **188**
- ingca* (old X spelling *incha*) general term for grass D **189**
- inkomfe* 1 (Em.) kind of rush with yellow flowers, = *incaluka* D. 2 plant for making rope T. Bh. 3 not known general **190**
- intsimbane* 1 nD. 2 grass (*Setaria sphacelata* Stapf. & Hub.) X **191**
- inzica* 1 sp. of grass, used for plaiting small mats, D. 2 not confirmed, all say *injica* a sp. of grass, used for bangles **192**
- irashu*, *iratslu* 1 nD. 2 sp. of grass used for making rope and brooms Mp T X Bo. 3 such rope, as used to keep thatch down X Bo **193**
- urasi* 1 nD. 2 sp. of grass, for rope and brooms Xes Bh; a thatching grass Bo (prob. Afr. gars) **194**
- irwantsi* 1 angular fluted water-rush D. 2 sedge (*Cyperus sexangularis* Nees.), used for making food-mats and mats T Mp **195**
- isilevu* 1 small kind of rush (*Ficinia*) that grows in tufts D. 2 grass for thatching (T Mak). 3 sp. of short grass, bitter and not eaten by stock, useless T **196**
- isiphingo* thorny bush (*Scutia commersonii* (indica) Brog.) used for wattling cattle-folds D **197**
- isundu* 1 the wild palm, *Phoenix reclinata* Jacq. whose leaves are used by the abakhwetha for making their kilts, D (X Soga, Sim). 2 *sintu* (Winkelman) **198**
- ithembu* slender-stemmed plant, used for rope T, for tying thatch (F-Kawa). Note: D says *Sparaxis*, but this does not grow in the Eastern Province, so perh. *Diarama* sp. **199**

- ithwebu* fine inside bast of trees D 200
- ixolo* the outer bark of a tree D general 201
- ixonya, ixonye* sp. of tall grass, used for making ropes, D X Mp T general 202
- ubundle* 1 nD. 2 sp. of plant, and string made of its fibre, used for making girl's apron, Xes; for stringing the beads of *inkciyo* apron, Hlu. 3 short skirt, Bh. 4 modesty apron of skin (Fgo Kawa). 5 another name for *umkhwinti* (*Gazania pinnata* Less., a fibrous plant) T. Cf. in Zulu: *ubundle* fringed girdle made of *ububundle* leaves and worn by young uninitiated girls; *ububundle* the shrub *Gazania longiscapa*, *G. longifolia* 203
- ubhijo* pl. *iimbijo* (-*bhija* twist a single stalk of grass, thereby squeezing out the moisture and spiralling the fibre, as in rope, to achieve strength. Hence also several strands in the same way). 1 nD. 2 ring of twisted grass whether on leg, arm, waist or neck, general. 3 armlet or necklet of grass, five strands twisted round a sixth, Bh. 204
- umphica* 1 nD, nor verb. 2 -*phica* make complicated plait, as distinct from -*luka* which is simple, with 3 strands only; no noun known, acc. to panel of teachers. 3 sp. of grass (*Digitaria littoralis* Stent), used for ornaments, T. 4 armlet and necklet of *umphica* grass, T (T-Beukes). 5 not generally known, but some recognize it as what they call *imbica*, also necklet, waistband, anklet, T 205
- uluzi* 1 fine inward bast of trees of genus *Ficus*, used to make baskets, mats and string; the creeper when dry is used as a fire-stick, D. 2 also any other smooth bark that is sufficiently fibrous to make rope and binding, general, whence, 3 such binding material, string, cord 206
- umgwigwi* 1 nD. 2 sp. of grass (*Eragrostis curvula* Nees.) Mp 207
- umkhwinti* 1 the fibrous plant *Gazania pinnata* Less., used for plaiting and as threads, D Mp. 2 baby's waistband, a cord of the leaf skin of *Gazania integrifolia* (X Soga). 3 *inkciyo* for small children, X. 4 sp. of plant T. 5 plant from which fibre is obtained for making fringe skirt T & Hlu Herschel 208
- umqungu* Tambookie-grass (*Andropogon marginatus* Steud.), a long grass used for thatching, D. 209
- umnxeba* 1 generic name for the wild vine, *Vitis*, whose climbing stems form the monkey ropes used for binding the thatch on hut-roofs and for basket-making, D general. 2 any fibrous binding material, Bh 210
- umsingizane* 1 sp. of grass of which boys make straw hats, D. 2 *Sporobolus pyramidalis* Beauv. 3 generally also used for rope-making, baskets 211
- umsuka* no. 2 1 tough bluish grass, *Sporobolus fimbriatus*, D X. 2 makes rope Bom. 3 *Eragrostis plana* Nees. Mp. 4 *Hyparrhenia hirta*, T 212
- umsundulo* 1 the strong tendon which runs along back part of neck, D. 2 tendons under shoulder-blade of ox, used for thread X 213
- umthala* 1 *Erianthus capensis* Nees.; coarse grass growing in swamps; Tambookie grass, D. 2 sp. of grass used to make rough mats (*isicobo*) X. 3 sp. of grass used for thatching only, general 214
- unwele* *Cliffortia strobilifera*, used to make brooms (McL SAJS 16 1918 446) 215

- utyani* 1 pasture, grass, hay D. 2 rushes for sleeping-mats X (Kay) **216**
- ibemba* 1 fibre of *uluzi*, used in making kilts of circumcised boys D. 2 strong fibre (of animal or vegetable tissue) McL. 3 hlon. for 1 Bo. 4 strips of palm-leaf used for 1 Xes. 5 appar. unknown elsewhere **217**
- impingelo* 1 sticks and laths for wattling, D. 2 twined fencing Bo. 3 otherwise unknown **218**
- isisinga* 1 loop or noose of a small thong with which one leg of young calves or goats is fastened; trap, snare D general. 2 of sinew X. 3 thong, grass or monkey rope Mp. 4 rope of *imizi* to catch cattle to be killed Bo. 5 noose, in any form of trap (T-Mak) **219**
- itshoba* 1 bushy end of an animal's tail, tassel D. 2 fly-whisk where as *umtshoba* on animal), whisk for sprinkling medicine, general; 3 ox-tail hair Fingo X. 4 cow-tail hair used as ornament on basketwork Mpm **220**
- ityeba* 1 thin smooth thong; split rush for plaiting baskets D Mp. 2 thong only, Xes. 3 *hlonipha* word for *imizi* rushes Bo. **221**
- usinga* thread made from *umsundulo*, the tendons found on the underside of an ox's shoulder-blade. It is used for sewing karosses; thread, in general, D general **222**
- ilala* 1 (a plaited thing D). 2 strips of leaf of palm (*Hyphaene crinita* Gaertn.) general; an object made from this material X Mp Mpm Bh but also *ulala* Bom. 3 plaited drinking-vessel, or for milking into T. 4 small closely woven sedge basket (Bo Beukes). 5 beer basket (Mp Poto). 6 basket Mp. 7 small *ingobozi* basket or palm-leaf mat Xes. 8 grain basket (McL) **223**
- ingximba* 1 band made of the trailing stems of the wild vine, D. 2 any climbing plant, but esp. *umnxebe* (wild vine); rope for keeping down thatch Bo. 3 otherwise unknown **224**
- intsontelo* (-sonta twist many strands into one thread, rope) rope made of bast (*uluzi*), thong, rope, trace, D general **225**
- intsontelelo* (-sontelela weave, plait, twist rope) 1 that which is twisted or plaited, hence, a bracelet for the wrist, twisted of different coloured grasses, or woven of beads, D. 2 twisted skin, X. 3 not confirmed **226**
- umlala* 1(a) Em. fibrous plant, (b) beer-strainer made from it D but not confirmed. 2 old grass and maize stalks of last year, not grazed T Xes Bh **227**
- photha* twist twine by rolling 2 or 3 strands forward on one's thigh, and back again, letting them twist into one, general **228**

BASKETWORK: DISCUSSION

Basketwork is taken to include all objects that are made by the interlacing of two or more sets of flexible elements. In addition all other fibrework except thatching is included here. There is neither weaving nor barkcloth-making in this area.

As will be seen, a very wide variety of objects is included in this craft, which is probably the most vigorous of the Cape Nguni crafts, and with certain exceptions can have changed very little during the last three centuries. It is

usually practised in the autumn and winter when materials are plentiful, and garden work is slack.

There are two basic techniques of basketwork: woven (Pl. 30:2, 4-6) and sewn (Pl. 28). In woven work the sets of elements are crossed over and under each other, and this includes plaiting (Pl. 32:2, 3, 4) and wattling. In sewn work one set of elements is sewn together by the other to make a fabric, the first being the foundation, which may be either straight or coiled. Coiled sewn work is so much the more common of the two that it is usually spoken of as a technique on its own. Each of these two techniques, woven and sewn, has a number of varieties. In woven work the way in which the elements are interlaced may be chequer, twilled (Pl. 30:4), wrapped (Pl. 32:1), twined (Pl. 29:1, 3, 4) or wicker. In straight sewn work the only distinction is between a single (Pl. 30:8) and a composite (Pl. 28:4; Pl. 30:1, 3) foundation. In coiled sewn work the manner of sewing is the distinguishing factor, and simple (Pl. 27:3; Pl. 28:2) and furcate (Pl. 27:1, 4, 6) sewing are the two most important varieties in this area.

There are only two tools used in this craft—a knife or blade to cut and prepare the material and an awl to pierce the holes in sewn work (Pl. 29:2). In former times a spear blade served the purpose of the knife, which is now obtainable at the stores. An iron awl (*inyalyhoba*), hafted in wood, is commonly used for piercing holes, but a sharp wooden point or a long thorn or the point of an aloe leaf serves as well, and latterly, for making hats, a wooden needle has been used instead of the awl. Tubular sewn beer-strainers may be made on a core of grass to control the shape, and are usually sewn with a wooden needle.

In descriptions of basketwork there is a tendency to describe the material used as 'grass'. This gives no idea of the variety of materials that the craft employs. Those that are used in the Cape are summarized here.

Sedge (Fam. *Cyperaceae*) (Pl. 27:7). The various species of sedge, generally known as *imizi*, are by far the most important of the materials used by all the Cape Nguni for basketwork. Most of the actual baskets, beer-strainers and mats are woven of sedge stems. The sedges grow in streams and rivers and the best varieties are most plentiful near the coast. The plant will, however, grow on dry land, and so important is it for this craft that in many places away from the coast it is cultivated, and some people make a small income by going to the coast to collect *imizi* and bring back a quantity for sale. Furthermore store-keepers, particularly in the west, import it inland in fair quantity. It was seen in stores in Elliotdale, Willowvale, Kentani and Tsolo. The part used is the flowering stem, which is long, tough, and in most species smooth. The material is cut about March, carried home and laid out to dry, sometimes on the roof of a hut. When dry, the unsuitable stems are sorted out, and the remainder, according to the purpose on hand, may be used as they are, or split and depithed. They may be soaked in water before use or left out in the dew at night. For coiled sewn work, the best are used for sewing and the remainder for the foundation.

Grass (Fam. *Graminaceae*). Various species of true grass are used throughout for plaiting rope, as a foundation and sometimes as the sewing element in coiled work, as the warp element in woven baskets where sedge is scarce, for example in districts far from the coast, and throughout for making ornaments. Various species of grass are plentiful everywhere in the autumn, and there is no need for cultivation. Both stem and leaves are used for rope, but for baskets and ornaments only stems; in the latter case smooth, shiny stemmed varieties are chosen. For baskets and rope the material is dried after gathering, and for plaiting it must be soaked before use. According to Makalima, boys chew the grass to soften it for making hats. This is not confirmed. Ornaments are made of the green stems as they are gathered, and they dry to a pale yellow.

Reeds. Some authors mention wicker screens 'made of reeds', but there is no more specific information.

Plant leaves. The most important is the palm-leaf, *Hyphaene crinita* (ilala), which grows and is used only in Pondoland and Griqualand East. The leaves are gathered green, allowed to dry, and the folioles are split into thin strands, either about 1.5 mm wide, for use as the sewing element in fine coiled basketware, or about 6 mm wide at the base and following the natural narrowing of the leaf, for twilled beer-strainers, or among the Mpondo only for dancing anklets. The thin strands left over may be used for coil foundations.

The leaves of another palm, *Phoenix reclinata* Jacq. (*isundu*), which has a general distribution, are gathered green, and the folioles used without further preparation to make the Khwetha costumes—except in Griqualand East and Pondoland, where circumcision ceremonies are no longer held. Thembu informants suggested that this was the material formerly used for milking-baskets, but this was not the case in the few examples seen.

The leaves of the plant *ithembu* are used for rope by Thembu, Fingo and Xesibe. It is identified by Kropf as *Sparaxis* sp., but this is not confirmed. *Sparaxis* does not grow in the area and it has been suggested that the plant might be a *Diarama* species.

The lower epidermis of the leaves of *Gazania pinnata* Less. var. *integrifolia* (*umkhwinti*) is said to be twisted into threads and used for baby's waistbands by the Xhosa. Thembu informants said they did this too.

Bark. Among all the Cape Nguni, both the inner bast and the smooth outer bark of various trees and plants are dried and split into strands for binding purposes, as the weft element in twined woven work, particularly for sleeping-mats, or as a dark decoration on Mpondo basketwork. It is generally called *uluzi*, and the following plants have so far been identified as furnishing it: *Urera tenax* N. E. Br. (west Pondoland), and *Ficus* sp. (general).

Wood. In east Pondoland anklets are made of a two-ply twist of the thin flexible stems of *Tecomaria capensis* Spach.

Creepers, wild vine or monkey rope, may be used for binding.

Otherwise wood is used only for wicker work, in which creeper stems generally form the flexible element, and for wattle work, where saplings and

withies are used. The wood for the flexible element is gathered and worked green, and the bark is seldom removed. Rigid stakes for wattling may be left to dry out first.

Fibre. Since its introduction the fibres from the leaf of the agave (*Agave americana* L.) have, like those of local aloes, been used for making thread for sewing mats or threading beads. The leaves are first boiled or pounded to loosen the fibres, which are then washed, dried, and twisted into thread. Some informants said that this craft was taught in the schools. It is a curious thing that although the *Sansevieria* does grow in the Ciskei, and Ngqika and Gcaleka are quoted by Watt & Breyer-Brandwyk as using the plant medicinally, yet there appears to be no record or knowledge of using the fibres for rope-making, as is done in many parts of South Africa.

Animal sinew. The neck sinew of the larger animals has always been used to make a sewing thread. The sinew is dried, shredded by beating with a stone, rubbed between the hands, soaked and then twisted into fine two-ply thread. It is used mostly for sewing skin clothing and for threading beads. According to Von Winkelman it was used by the Xhosa in mat-making too, where today only bark or agave fibre or strands taken from jute grain-bags are seen.

Animal hair. Ox-tail hair is used as a decorative element on some Mpondo-mise baskets.

The following list will show the great variety of objects made. The articles themselves will be described in their relevant sections. Fritsch, in his comments on the wide use of basketwork, mentions joins and mends. Mends are described below and in a following chapter; joins have not been found.

Baskets. In the literature the most famous baskets of the Xhosa and Thembu, and which have now disappeared from the scene, were the watertight variety which were in general use as milking vessels, and for holding and serving sour milk, water or other liquids. According to some authorities they were smeared inside with fat before use; others deny this. They were made of sedge, which swells when wet and thus tightens the fabric. A Thembu informant said that they were made of *isundu* or *ilala* palm-leaf, but this may be a confusion with the Mpondo beer-baskets. They were sewn in a coiled technique with a fine furcate stitch (Pl. 27:1), shaped like 'an inverted beehive', and they varied in size from about 30 cm high and wide in proportion to quite small. The Hlubi in the Drakensberg area were still using them at the beginning of the twentieth century, and a Thembu informant remembered their use as milk-pails up to about the second decade of the twentieth century, but none are used for that purpose now. According to Le Vaillant and Sparrman these baskets used to be traded to the Gonaqua Hottentots from whom Sparrman obtained the specimen, the fabric of which is illustrated on Pl. 27:1, and which is now preserved in the State Ethnographic Museum, Stockholm. In the Transvaal Museum collection (now in the National Cultural History and Open-Air Museum) there are Thembu and Bomvana baskets collected about 1935, which appear to be of the same technique as Sparrman's, but not as fine, nor are they of the same shape.

Nauhaus describes a small closely coiled basket used as a snuff-box by the 'Kaffirs' but there is no confirmation of this, and as he locates the 'Kaffirs' between the Fish River and Lourenço Marques, he may not be referring to the Cape at all.

The literature further mentions large coiled storage baskets in which household goods, clothing and ornaments were stored. These are no longer seen. In fact, whereas a century ago Döhne was able to list a variety of Xhosa baskets in coiled sewing, today the only one seen in the west is the garden basket (*isirudu*, T., *isiludu*, Fgo.) (Pl. 28:5) of the upper inland area, mostly occupied by Thembu and Fingo, where sedge for making the other type of garden basket is difficult to obtain, whereas grass, which is used for the coil foundation and sometimes for the sewing, is plentiful. Some Bhaca and Hlubi *isiludu* seen in Mt Frere district showed marked South Sotho influence, in that the sewing strand was plaited, or the base covered with hide. Both the article and its name are importations of the South Sotho *seroto* basket, the rolled *r* of *isirudu* being in fact unpronounceable by most speakers of Xhosa.

In Pondoland and Griqualand East tightly coiled palm-leaf baskets are made, in a tall beaker shape for beer, as small drinking-cups and as shallow bowls, flanging almost to the shape of plates, for serving food.

In the furthest inland districts where Fingo influence is strong, large loosely-coiled grain-bins (*isilulu*) are made, but this is a foreign element.

According to Kretzschmar the men made ornamental baskets and plates of porcupine quills, but there is no confirmation of this.

The foremost basket in use over the greater part of the area today is the large flanging garden basket (*ingobozi*; Bh. *unyati*) (Pl. 29:3; Pl. 31:4) of twined weave, which is in general use except in Thembuland as mentioned above and less commonly in the extreme west, for carrying grain and garden produce. Smaller baskets of the same style and with various names according to their size are used for many purposes.

Bags. Long bags of open twined weave are made to hold tobacco in bulk, or sprouted maize, and are used by some coastal people to carry fish or catch shrimps (Pl. 29:1).

Small bags or baskets of a close twine like the *ingobozi*, or an open twine like the long bags, are used by Bomvana for preserving seed (Pl. 29:4).

In the eastern part of Pondoland, towards the Natal border, men and women, and among the Xesibe women only, carry woven palm-leaf pouches for small personal possessions, instead of the skin or cloth bags used elsewhere.

Traps. One group of Mpondo informants at the coast described a conical basket trap for fish, but this has not been confirmed.

Strainers. Loosely woven tubular strainers are made throughout, most frequently of sedge, but in the east of palm-leaf as well. These are most commonly used for straining beer, but also, in smaller sizes, for straining children's porridge.

In Pondoland and Griqualand East a spoon-shaped skimmer is woven for

skimming impurities and scum off beer. If this was ever made in the west it has now disappeared.

Mats. Mats are made in two varieties—furnishing mats and food-mats. The former (Pl. 30:6) are long rectangular mats made of sedge stems laid side by side and joined at intervals by twining with bark fibre, sisal cord or, in former days, sinew thread. The Hottentot technique of sewing through the sedge was also used. It does not appear to be used now but was seen at one Bhaca *umzi* where it was said that both styles were used according to taste. Mats are used primarily for sleeping on, but also for sitting on and as screens in the hut. There is a certain coarse variety of mat in which tobacco is rolled up to sweat.

The food-mats are closely woven of sedge stems, in a twined technique (Pl. 31:2, 3), and are generally four-sided, but sometimes round. In small sizes they are used as plates for serving food; larger mats are made for placing in front of the grinding-stone to catch the ground meal.

A specialized example which appears only to be found in west Pondoland is a wicker meat-tray woven of thick creeper stems.

Wattle-structures. In wattlework and wickerwork the warps are rigid, but in the former they are also fixed in the ground or in a floor of wood.

These include modern hut wall frames, fences, granaries, fowl-coops and sledges. The former have been described in Part I. The sledge is a modern development, used for bringing produce from the lands. It has a triangular base of logs, a wicker floor and sides of wicker- or wattlework normally, but sewn sides also occur.

Doors. The doors of the old huts and many modern huts and some kraal gates are of wickerwork. They have been described in Part I.

Clothing and Costume. Only three items of clothing have been recorded under this head: a penis-sheath from the Bhaca of Mt Frere, which was in a close-twined weave of sedge or grass; a baby's waistband or fringe apron made of *umkhwinti*, the tough epidermis of the underside of the *Gazania* leaf, small strips of which are rolled into single or two-ply cords, and strung on a waistcord to make a thick fringe; and a belt, 10 to 12 cm wide, woven of one of the sedges, and worn as a support round the stomach by women after a confinement.

The costume worn by the newly circumcised boys (*abakhwetha*) for the dances which terminate their period of seclusion is composed of a kilt and a number of fringes for face, head, arms and legs, made of strips of palm-leaf laid side by side and fastened together to the required length by wrapping with bark fibre (Pl. 32:1).

Hats. Hats are made and worn more or less as ornaments by all the Cape Nguni herdboys except the Xhosa. They are made in boater shape by coiling, with *umsingizane* grass stems as both sewing strand and foundation (Pl. 32:2). This is evidently a fairly modern development. Von Winkelman mentioned the women's ability to copy hats, amongst other things, in basketwork, but otherwise they are not mentioned in the early literature.

Thembu dandies used to wear a small-crowned wide-brimmed hat

(*intshinga*) purely as an ornament. It, too, was coiled of grass stems. Hlubi men near the border wear basketwork hats of South Sotho style.

Ornaments. Bangles, necklaces, anklets, bandoliers and belts are made by plaiting shiny grass stems into thin cords or flat bands, and are worn in great quantities during the late summer and autumn, by women, children and young men throughout the area. They turn yellow when dry.

Rope. Apparently the only sort of rope made by the Cape Nguni is the three-strand plait of grass or *ithembu*, about 1 to 2 cm wide, which is used for tying on the thatch and for all other purposes (Pl. 32:3, 4, 5).

Thread. Two-ply thread is made of shredded sinew, or of aloe fibre, and used for various purposes.

Brooms. Brooms consist of thick bundles of coarse grass or thin twigs about 45 to 60 cm long, bound together at the top either simply or in checker weave. The bound part forms the grip.

Repairs. Cracked calabashes may be repaired by boring a series of corresponding holes along the edges of the cracks and binding them together in a chequer darn (see p. 209).

Miscellaneous items. These include muzzles for calves, palm-leaf rattles (Mpondo only), and an ornamental covering for a stick.

Basketwork and fibrework are not exclusively specialists' crafts, and the different branches are divided between the sexes, though women are predominant. It is not everyone who can do the work, but there is usually at least one in a family. Some people make to order or for sale to trading stores, and others buy from them.

Women make all the woven baskets, the coiled garden basket, bags, both sorts of mat, plaited rope, fibre cord, brooms and the sedge-stem strainers. According to the literature they made the old milk baskets too.

Men specialists make the coiled palm-leaf baskets and dishes, the palm-leaf strainers, and sinew thread and, among the Hlubi only, the coiled *isirudu*. Non-specialists make some fibre cord, and do wickerwork and wattlework.

Items of clothing and ornament are made by individuals for themselves. The *Khwetha* costumes are made either by the boys themselves or by their fathers, unless those who can afford it decide to pay a specialist to make them.

The season of work is from March/April, when the material becomes available, to August/September, when the work is interrupted by the beginning of the new agricultural year.

Although some items are no longer made, basketwork is still an extremely vigorous craft. Apart from the coiled baskets of different materials among the Thembu, Hlubi and Mpondo, it is nowadays remarkably homogeneous throughout the area.

South Sotho influence has been mentioned, but during the last two centuries European techniques have also been introduced by teachers, and coiled baskets with open-work patterns, handles and lids have found favour in some areas. In west Pondoland a type of strong, well-shaped wicker basket has

been introduced of the same type as those introduced in the neighbourhood of Zimbabwe in Rhodesia. They are known respectively as 'Pondo baskets' and 'Zimbabwe baskets'.

LEATHERWORK AND SKIN-DRESSING: SOURCES

- 1752 Beutler p. 307 Xhosa: preparation of skins
 '... vel dat so swart en wel bereyd is als camoes leer, 't welk se alleen met haare tandige assagaayen weeten klaar te maaken. . . .'
- 1788 Von Winkelman p. 66 Xhosa: skin-dressing
 'Frauen und Mädchen tragen fast immer eine Rinds- oder wildlederne Müze auf dem Kopf. Sie wissen mit ihren Lanzen und mit scharfen Steinen, die Haare gut weg zu machen, breiten das Fell aus, schmieren es stark mit Fett und rother Erde, wodurch es gelinde und weich wird. Aus diesem wird denn die Müze geschnitten und zusammen geheftet, welches die Frauen selbst thun, sie bedienen sich hiebei einer Art selbst verfertigter eiserner Pfriemen. Damit stechen sie kleine Löcher darein, und ziehen dünne Riemen oder Sehnen durch, und befestigen alles das auf eine geschickte und dauerhafte Art aneinander.'
- 1797 Barrow pp. 161-2 Xhosa: skin-dressing
 'The article that furnishes their dress is prepared and put together with some degree of ingenuity. Calves' skins only are used for this purpose: when first taken from the animal they are fixed to the ground with wooden pegs, extended as far as they will bear, and well scraped, so that no part of the flesh remains upon them. As soon as they are sufficiently dry to have lost the power of contraction, they are beaten with stones till they become soft and pliant. In this state the interior side is scraped with sharp stones, and smeared with red ochre, till a nap, like that on cloth, is raised over the whole surface: they are then cut into proper shapes, and sewed together exactly in the same manner that the shoemakers of Europe stitch together two pieces of leather. Their bodkin is a piece of polished iron, and the thread is the fibres of the tendons of the long dorsal muscle taken from various animals; those in a wild state are preferred, as furnishing a much stronger thread than such as are domesticated. The Hottentots sew together their sheep-skins with the same material; and the colonists, following the example of the natives, have recourse to the same article as a substitute for flaxen thread, which, when the English took possession of the settlement, bore a profit on the prime cost of a thousand per cent.'
- 1802-6 Alberti pp. 53, 60 Xhosa: skin-dressing
 p. 53
 'De bereiding der Huiden geschiedt op de navolgende wijze. Men spant dezelve met de vleesch-zijde buitenwaarts aan kleine palen op de grond en laatze alzoo goed uitdroogen. Daarna worden zij tusschen twee recht

opstaande palen vast gemaakt; zoo veel mogelijk in de hoogte uitgerekt; de vleeschige zijde met water genoegzaam bevochtigd; voorts, met behulp van eene hand-bijl, waarvan de steel tot dit bepaald gebruik wordt afgenomen, zoo lang geschraapt, dat de huid tot de dikte van eenen matig fijnen doek verdund worde, en eindelijk, wederom, volgens de eerst gemelde manier, op den grond ter drooginge uitgespannen. Alsdan wordt de huid, in denzelfden toestand, met aloë-bladen, en vooral met de haken of punten, die aan dezelve gemeen zijn, onder herhaalde bevochtiging, in de rondte gekaard, zoodanig dat de gladde zijde ruw en scherp worde. Voor de Manskleederen geschiedt zulks slechts in geringe mate; meer daarentegen ten behoeve der Vrouwen, met dat gevolg, dat deze raauwheid nabij komt aan den zoogenoemden Bever-doek. Vervolgens, laat men deze huid nogmaals droogen, bestrijkt die met gesmolten Ossen-merg en Niervet, of ook wel met eene soort van Boter, en geeft haar, op deze wijze, door aanhoudend wrijven tusschen de handen, de grootst-mogelijke buigzaamheid. Eindelijk, wordt ook de Buitenzijde met de reeds gemelde vetstoffen en de Binnenzijde met een mengsel van roode aarde en water bestreken, waardoor alsdan deze verw zich met de door-gedrongene vettigheid duurzaam vereenigt.'

p. 60

Xhosa: makers of clothing, threads used

'De vervaardiging der kleederen voor beide Sekse behoort tot den arbeid der Vrouwen, die deze stukken zoo net weten zamen te naaijen, dat een Euro-peesch Zadelmaker zich dit werk niet zoude behoeven te schamen. Het garen bestaat in pezen, uit den rug der dieren genomen. Deze worden eerst gedroogd, daarna met eenen gladden steen dermate gebeukt, dat zij zich in draden verdeelen, alsdan tusschen de handen gewreven, en wel zoo lang, totdat zich de eene draad van den ander geheel afzondert.'

1803-6 Lichtenstein pp. 440, 452

Xhosa: skin-dressing

Nothing more.

1813 Campbell p. 269

Xhosa: skin-dressing

'They prepare the hides of cows and oxen, with which they make their cloaks, by first rubbing off all the flesh and blood from the inside by a certain kind of stone; after which they rub the hairy side with the juice of what is well known in the Colony by the name of Hottentot's fig, then with cowdung, after which it feels smooth and soft, and has much the appearance of our cloth.'

1824 Ross p. 215

Xhosa: skin-dressing

'The men generally are tall and strong and as generally lazy. Their manner and habits dispose them to be so. They look after the cows and milk them and hunt; make their assegais, shields and ornaments, scrape their skins or hides for the karosses and milk sacks. They make fences about their gardens and cattle kraal. They cut the corn.

The women sow the corn and beat it out and make the houses and sew everything. They make the karosses and bring firewood and water. After the

karosses or hides are scraped, not of the hair, and all fibres of flesh removed the women stretch out the hide again tightly, and rub them with the jagged edges of the aloe leaf. When doing this they often throw milk on the hide in which ashes have been infused. This makes the hide soft and pliant.'

1824-5 Smith pp. 259, 271, 273, 355

'Kaffir': skin-dressing

pp. 259, 273, 355

Nothing more.

p. 271

'Kaffir': material for sheath

'... [the penis sheath] is the pericardium of a cow or ox. They remove it let it dry then rub it with the hand stretch it and make it soft. They cut them into a proper shape then sew them [the] proper size. . . . The men cut it and the women sew it. . . .'

1825-9 Kay pp. 111, 132, 342

p. 111

Xhosa: preparation of skins

'Their apparel, like that of the ancient Britons in the days of Julius Caesar, consists wholly of beasts' skins, curried and prepared in such a manner as to render them perfectly soft and pliable. The inner side is then coloured with a kind of dark ochre, or charcoal. These leathern garments, which are generally long enough to reach to the feet, are merely suspended from the shoulders. . . .'

p. 132. 'The latter, [children's clothing] indeed, seldom consist of anything more than roughly-dressed calves' skins. This work is almost always performed in the winter season. Hence, between the months of May and July, or August, there is generally a great show of new cloaks, which are made quite as black as the skins they cover. [The hide intended for an *ingubo* is first stretched out and fixed to the ground with wooden pegs, by which it is distended as much as possible; it is then well scraped, and every particle of flesh entirely removed. When sufficiently dry, and wholly deprived of the power of contraction, it is beaten with smooth stones until perfectly soft and flexible. The inner side is then again curried with a sharp serrated instrument till a nap, resembling that of cloth, is raised over the whole surface;]¹ and having rubbed it well with a mixture of grease and ochre, the garment is considered complete. When this general renewal of mantles takes place, it is, of course, an occasion of considerable slaughter throughout the land; and the economy manifest in the selection of winter for this business, is worthy of notice.'

p. 342

Mpondo: currying skin

'Here we found the people busily employed in preparing new mantles. Around a beast's hide that had been stretched out and fastened to the ground, sat five or six stout young women, lazily scraping the inner side with the serrated edge of an aloe leaf. This was done to raise a sort of nap; after which the skin is well dried and saturated with grease, in order to render it soft and ductile.'

¹ The passage enclosed in square brackets is taken practically directly from Barrow's description. It is left in here because of what goes before and after.

Before it came into their hands, however, all fleshy and mucilaginous matter had been completely taken off by the men, who are generally very particular about this part of the operation.

1829 Bain p. 116

Xesibe: skin-working

'They then made a number of frivolous excuses saying that they could not go as they . . . had karosses to make for their wives.'

1829 Holman p. 262

Xhosa: women make cloaks

Nothing more.

c. 1831-2 Smith p. 203

Mpondo: leopard skin for chief

'When they kill a tyger they carry the skin and the tail to Facu. He makes a kaross of them.'

(1833) Morgan p. 35

Xhosa: women make all clothing

Nothing more.

1820-56 Shaw pp. 406, 414

Xhosa: time for slaughtering

p. 406

Nothing more.

p. 414 'The oxen which had fattened during the summer and autumn were slaughtered at the commencement of the winter. The reason assigned for this arrangement was, that about that period the supply of milk begins to be scanty, and the green crops are finished; while the oxen are in fine order for slaughter, and the hair on their hides—which by a remarkable natural provision becomes much longer to protect them during the cold of winter—renders them more suitable for making warm cloaks for day and night covering for the women.'

(1839) Adams p. 131

Xhosa: skin-dressing

'The mode used by the Caffres, in tanning and dressing tiger and other skins, is thus described: they spread them on the grass, covering them with sheeps fat, and strewing a kind of chalk over them, then with a sandstone, by a circular motion of the hand, they rub them till the skin becomes as soft and pliable as wash leather. The hair remains undisturbed; and any laceration by shot, or other violence, they contrive to mend with great neatness so as scarcely to be perceived.'

1836-44 Döhne pp. 38, 39-40, 41

Xhosa: process of dressing and making up skins

'Eine dritte Art sind die Gerber, welche die Ochsenhäute zu Kleidern bereiten. Es wird eine Vorrichtung, ähnlich den Schlichtbäumen der Gerber Deutschlands, aus 4 Pfählen gemacht. Die zwei Seitenpfähle werden mit dem unteren Ende in die Erde gesteckt und an den Zaun des Viehkraals angelehnt; an den oberen Enden haben sie Zacken, auf welche ein dritter Pfahl querüber gelegt wird; der vierte Pfahl wird auf der Erde mit hölzernen Haken an die Enden der Seitenpfähle befestigt. Hierauf wird die Haarseite der Haut nass gemacht und mit Kuhmist bestrichen; die Aasseite wird mit warmem Wasser

gut angefeuchtet und durch die Löcher, die beim ersten Aufschlagen entstehen, mit Riemen auf die 4 Pfähle ausgespannt. Dann wird die Aasseite mit Beilen, nach Art des Schlichtens bei unseren Gerbern, so lange geschabt, bis die Poren der Haare zum Vorschein kommen. Was an diesem Verfahren etwa auszusetzen wäre, ist das, dass zwei Männer angestrengt arbeiten müssen, um in einem Tage die Haut fertig zu machen, und dies ist nicht eben sehr zu verwundern, da die Haut unter keiner weiteren Vorarbeit war und das Beil ihr einziges Werkzeug ist. Allein die Haut ist überall so gleichmässig bearbeitet, wie sie kaum ein Gerber in Europa mit seinem Falz zu Stande bringt. Was abgeschabt und bei uns zu Leimleder verbraucht wird, das kochen sich die Kaffern und essen es als Delicatesse.

Eine vierte Art Handwerker sind die Schuhmacher. Die Stirnhaut des Ochsen wird einfach ausgespannt und getrocknet und dient dann zu den Sohlen; die Haarseite der Ochsenhaut wird nach Aussen getragen.'

p. 39 'Die zweite Abtheilung von Handwerkern der ersten Haupt-classe bilden die Weiber, unter denen die Schneiderinnen obenanstehen. Sie verfertigen die Karosse für beiderlei Geschlecht und die Mützen für die Weiber. Aus folgender Beschreibung wird man sehen, dass ein Kaross nicht ein so wunderlich Ding ist, wie man sich gewöhnlich vorzustellen pflegt.—Sobald die Ochsenhaut ausgeschlachtet ist, wird sie mit hölzernen Nägeln auf der Erde ausgespannt und, wenn sie getrocknet ist, zum Gerber gebracht. Kommt sie von diesem zurück und ist sie trocken, so wird sie wieder nass gemacht und mit einem groben Granitstein gerieben, wieder ausgespannt und mit trocknen Aloeblättern gerieben, die sehr scharfe Zähne haben, wodurch sie wollig und faserig wird. Dann wird sie im Hause an einem warmen Flecke aufgehängt, damit sie trockne. Den Tag darauf wird sie mit alter saurer Milch angefeuchtet und, wenn sie erweicht ist, wieder mit jenen Aloeblättern gerieben, wobei alle Weiber des Platzes helfen. Ist sie wieder trocken, so wird sie getreten und mit den Händen weich gerieben, auf der Haarseite mit Fett bestrichen, zusammengerollt und gebunden. Des andern Tags reibt sie die Eigenthümerin wieder, damit das Fett einziehe; dann wird sie wieder mit warmem Wasser angefeuchtet und zum dritten Male mit Aloeblättern gerieben. Wenn sie zu trocknen anfängt, wird sie wieder aufgeschlagen und zum vierten Male mit Aloeblättern gerieben, bis sie recht wollig und weich ist. Darnach werden die Ränder abgeschnitten, und sie wird wieder getreten und mit den Händen gerieben, und so kommt sie zur Schneiderin. Je nachdem die Haut gross ist, werden 3 bis 4 Blätter daraus geschnitten, die an einem Ende schmal, am andern breit sind; die schmalen kommen nach den Schultern, die breiten nach dem untern Ende. Nun wird sie wieder zusammengenäht. Den Zwirn dazu machen sie aus den Sehnen an den Vorder- und Hinterblättern des Viehes. Beim Nähen stechen sie mit der oben beschriebenen Nadel vor. Ist sie fertig genäht, so wird sie wieder nass gemacht und ausgespannt, damit die Nähte gerade gezogen werden. Dann wird sie wieder mit den Händen gerieben, mit Fett bestrichen und mit saurer

Milch eingesprengt. Darauf werden Kohlen von weichem Holz zu Staub gerieben und auf das Kleid gestreut und eingerieben, damit es eine schwarze Farbe bekomme. Am Rumpf ist eine 9 Zoll breite Klappe angebracht, die auf dem Rücken bis an die Erde herunterhängt und mit 4 bis 6 Reihen gelber Knöpfe besetzt ist. Wer es kann, besetzt die äussere Reihe mit platten und die innere mit kleinen runden Knöpfen. Wenn es gut geht, wird ein solch Kleid in 3 bis 4 Wochen fertig.'

p. 41

Xhosa: women's cap

'Die Mützen der Weiber bestehen aus 4 Buschbockfellen, auf denen ebenfalls die Haare bleiben. Drei solcher Felle werden, wenn sie gehörig zubereitet sind, wie ein Rock, der oben und unten offen steht, zusammengenäht; dieser Sack wird in der Mitte eingebogen, und die eine Hälfte wird umgelegt und bildet eine Klappe, die vorn herunter hängt, wie von einer Zipfelmütze der Zipfel. Aus dem 4ten Felle wird eine lange, 4 Zoll breite Schärpe geschnitten und an einer Seite der Mütze befestigt. So wird sie in die Erde eingegraben, dass sie zähe wird, wieder herausgenommen und mit süsser Milch besprengt. In die Klappen werden etliche Hölzchen gesteckt, damit sie die rechte viereckige Form bekommt. Dann wird sie nochmals in die Erde gesteckt, wieder herausgenommen, ausgereckt und, wenn sie trocken ist, weich gerieben und beschnitten. Die etwa 14 Zoll lange und breite Klappe wird dicht mit weissen und blauen Perlen in Streifen besetzt.'

1842 Baines pp. 39-40

'Kaffir' (Fort Beaufort): dressing hide

'A female, bending beneath the burden of her years and glittering ornaments, but covered only with a scanty piece of blanket, sat at the door of one of the huts with a dish of grease beside her, rubbing a bullock's hide with a large stone to render it sufficiently pliant for an article of dress, and facilitating the process by smearing upon it, ever and anon, a handful of the unctuous mixture.'

[c. 1835-55] Ayliff p. 12

? Xhosa: skin-dressing

'The hides of the animals are carefully pegged out and when sufficiently stretched are placed upon a rude frame, curried and an artificial nap raised by the action of the spiked edges of Aloe leaves, and when sufficiently pliant are cut into the required shape and handed to the women to stitch.'

c. 1850 C.B. (?Charles Bell)
Figure.

'Kaffir': skin-dressing frame

c. 1850 I'Ons
Sketch.

? Xhosa: skin-dressing

1850 Anon. p. 242
Nothing more.

Xhosa: ox-hide drum

(1856) Fleming p. 223
Nothing more.

general: making of sheaths

- (1919) McLaren pp. 446, 447-8 Xhosa: dressing and making up skins
pp. 446-7 'Great use was made in manufacture of the hides of cattle, *izi-*
kumba, and the skins of sheep and goats, *in-gāga*.

The hide, now called *um-palane*, 'the scraped' was next taken in hand by the women, who acted as fullers or curriers, *aba-suki*. Receiving it from the hands of the scrapers dry and ready, they moistened it, trampled it with their feet, *nxasha*, rubbed it with a rough boulder of granite or dolerite *i-nyengane*, then stretched it out on the ground and scratched *rwerwa*, and rubbed, *kuhla*,

it with the dry leaves of a species of aloe, *um-hlaba*, which are furnished with sharp little teeth, so as to bring the surface to a woolly or fibrous condition. It was then hung up in a warm place in the hut to dry. . . . When dry, the surface was saturated with old sour milk and again scratched and brayed with aloe leaves, in doing which the whole female population of the place would help. When dry, it was again trampled and rubbed till it was soft and smooth, then smeared with fat on the hair-side rolled together, and tied into a tight bundle. The next day it was again rubbed so that the fat might penetrate, again moistened with warm water, and again rubbed with aloe leaves. When it began to dry, it was for the fourth time treated with the aloe leaves till it was quite woolly and soft. This smooth, woolly surface was called the nap, *um-hlapo*. The edges, *ing-qoto*, were now cut away, the hide once more trodden and rubbed, and it was now ready for sewing.

According to the size of the hide three or four pieces were cut out of it. These were narrower at one end than at the other, as the robe was made narrow at the shoulders and gradually increased in width towards the bottom. The pieces were sewn together with thread, *um-sonto*, made of the tendons, *um-sundulo*, of the ox's shoulder-blade, with the help of the bodkin or needle already described. When the sewing was finished the robe was damped and spread out so that the seams might be drawn tight. It was then rubbed with the hands, smeared with fat, and dyed to a black colour, *gcaba*, with a dye, which was made by burning the rotten heartwood, *i-biba*, of certain trees to a powder. The finished robe was now called *igcabe*. The robe took altogether two to three weeks hard work to make. The hair-side was worn next to the skin.

Women's hats, *imi-ngwazi* were made of four pieces of the skin of the bushbuck, *im-babala*. After being duly fulled or curried, three of the skins were sewn together into a form of sack, open above and below. This sack was folded in the middle, so that one-half formed a flap hanging down the back of the head. Out of the fourth skin a long sash, four inches broad, was cut and fastened to the side of the hat. After sewing, the hat was buried in the ground to make it tough, then taken out and sprinkled with sweet milk. Pieces of wood were fixed in the flap to give it the proper shape. It was again buried, taken out, stretched, rubbed smooth and trimmed, when it was ready to put on.

The making of shoes, *izi-hlangu*, shields, *ama-kaka*, and cases or quivers for assegais, *imi-palane*, was the work of the shoe-maker. For making soles of shoes the skin of an ox's forehead was spread out and dried. The soles were cut out so as to stand out a finger-breadth all round the foot. A flap two inches broad attached to each side and a broader piece behind formed the uppers. These three pieces were knotted together with a piece of thong. Shoes were little used except in war and on a long journey. The hard, dry hide, *in-tlonze*, of ox or bull that was to form a shield was first pounded with a stone, *sizila*, to make it tough and strong. It was made of an oval shape, rather

pointed at the ends, and ornamented with strips of leather in various colours. A shield, or buckler, made to protect the face was *in-gweletshe*. This craftsman also made the war head-dress of crane's feather, which was attached to the head by a leather band, so arranged that the black wing feathers stood up perpendicularly.'

(1926) Müller p. 29
Nothing more.

Hlubi: dressing skin

(1927) Poto Ndamase p. 119
Nothing more.

Mpondo: skin garments

1932b Hunter pp. 101, 119
p. 101

Mpondo: thong making, men dress skins

'Hides are cut into strips, which are tied on to a branch and twisted and retwisted to make supple 'reims' for yoking.'

'Skin dressing is the work of the older men. A hide is pegged out on the ground until dry, scraped and roughed with a sharp stone or aloe leaf, buried in the kraal, in manure, for a night or more, and worked in the hands for two days, after which it is soft.

Shields were made of untanned hide. Each man tanned and sewed with sinew his own dress and that of his sisters and daughters, but a specialist was called in to cut a skirt or a shield.'

p. 119

Mpondo: men made clothing

'A man tanned and sewed skins for his own clothing and for his sisters and daughters. Now he has to supply money to provide them with clothing.'

(1937) Soga pp. 46-7

Xhosa: special skins

'Qonda ke ukuba amaphuthi nezingwe, nengonyama, newula ezidabaneni yabe izinyamakazi zamanene nenkosi zaseluhlangeni. Ingwe ibide yadlula nengonyama ngokuthandwa kwayo. . . .'

[Note however that wearing the skins (*isidabane*) of blue duiker, leopards, lions and the oribi antelope was the privilege of men of rank and the chiefs of the nation. The leopard skin was even more sought after than that of the lion.]

1945 Makalima chap. 6, para. 3; chap. 9, paras. 9, 14, 49, 71;

chap. 10, paras. 1, 3, 4, 5, 9, 10, 11

Fingo, Mpondomise, Thembu: various skins used

chap. 6, para. 3

'Isikumba seputi nesembabala kwenziwa ngazo utwatwa. . . . Isikumba sengwe sitwalwa ngamagqira. Kwenziwe izidlokolo nengubo. Isikumba somhlangala senza iminqwazi yamagqira esintu. Esempunzi isikumba senza umnweba wenkosikazi. . . . Esenywagi senza ingxowa yokutshayela. Isikumba segqwalashu senza ingxowa namanquma kumakwenkwe. Isikumba zenkawu nemfene kwenziwa ngazo ingxowa yokutshayela. Umnqwazi wesanuse

wenziwa kwangesikumba semfene esisukiweyo kwane senkawu ngokunjalo nesika dyakalashe. Esencuka senziwa ingubo. Isikumba sentini sinolusu kakulu, sitengiswa kubelungu. Esebadi isikumba senza entle kunene ingubo yabanumzana.'

[. . . The skin of blue duiker and bushbuck is dressed for whipcord (*uthwa-thwa*). . . . Leopard skin is worn by doctors as caps and wraps. The skin of the grey mungoose makes caps for doctors. Duiker skin is used for making the cloak (*umnweba*) of a chief's wife. . . . The skin of the large spotted genet makes a tobacco pouch. Marten skin makes pouches and head ornaments for boys. Skins of monkeys and baboons are used for making tobacco pouches. A diviner's fur cap is made of dressed skin of baboon, monkey, and jackal. Hyena skin makes karosses. Otter skin has very thick fur, it is sold to Europeans. Springbok skin makes a beautiful kaross for men of rank.]

chap. 9, paras. 9, 14, 71

Nothing more.

chap. 9, para. 49 Fingo, Mpondomise, Thembu: thongs for stitching
'*Indlela yokusebenza ngotwatwa*: Utwatwa lusetyenziswa ukutunga izihlangu ezenziwa ngofele lwenkomo. Imvaba ezi zamasi zitungwa ngotwatwa kumana kugqojozwa apa kulento itungwayo ngenyatyoba kuze ke kutungwe ngotwatwa luyintambo.'

[*Dressed hide*. It is used for making thongs for sewing sandals of ox-hide. Leather milk sacks are sewn with the thongs. Holes are made in the leather with an awl and the thong is used for sewing.]

chap. 10, paras. 1, 9, 10, 11

Nothing more.

chap. 10, para 3

Thembu: calf skin

'*Izambato zabantwana*: Ezabo izambato zingaga zamatole. Inkwenkwe ibisukelwa lona, kanti ke eyesikulu inkwenkwe, ibonwa ngokuti ibe nengubo efana nekayise, kanti nentombi yesikulu ifaniselana nonina ngesikhakha senkomo.'

[*Children's garments*: Their garments are the skins of calves. The skin of a calf was dressed to make a boy's garment, but the garment of a great man's son was the same as that of his father and the daughter of a man of rank also had a skirt of ox-hide like her mother's.]

chap. 10, para. 4

Thembu: specialists

'*Iminweba yamadoda ibitungwa ngamacule angamadoda aziwayo ngokubanzi, emveni kokuba ite yasukwa yatamba. Izikaka zabafazi nazo bezisenziwa kwangamacule, zisenziwa kwangaba bhinqileyo. Ugaga lenkwenkwe ibisukelwa nguyise.*'

[*Karosses* for men were sewn by male experts who were generally known. They were sewn after they had been dressed and made soft. Women's skirts were also made by experts who were females. *A boy's goat skin* was dressed for him by his father.]

chap. 10, para. 5

Thembu: skin-dressing

'... Xa kwenziwa umnweba kutatwa ufele olo lweputi okanye olwengwe, lusukwe ngelitye elinkum-nkum. Luti lwakutamba ke lusikwe ngamacule, lwenziwe ingubo ke ngoku ingubo okanye kusikwe isikaka situngwe ngosinga lwenkomo. *Ugaga* lwetole lona lwenziwa kwa nje ngoku komnweba wenyamakazi. Kusukwa ufele olu, kuze kusikwe imilenze nemikono, lube yingutyana entlana elingana umntu wayo. *Ingubo* yegusha yenziwa kwangolo hlobonayo.'

[... The patchwork kaross is made of the skin of a blue duiker or a leopard. It is dressed with brittle stone and when it has become soft it is dressed by experts and made into a garment or skirt which is sewn with the sinew of an ox. *Calf skin* is treated in the same way as the garment which is made of wild animal skins. The skin is dressed and the front and hind legs are cut off in order to make a nice little cloak to fit its owner. *A cloak of sheepskin* is made in the same manner.]

1948 Anon. (*Cape Times* 17.10.48)

Xhosa: cow-tail binding

'... sentenced ... for cutting off the tails of five live cows. ... They used the tails to provide their sticks with the protective and decorative sheath of hide known in Xhosa as *ncilati*. It is made by cleaning out the inside of the tail and drawing the tube of hide on to a stick.'

1949-60 Hammond-Tooke p. 28

Bhaca: skin-working

'Formerly skins and beadwork were extensively used for dress, and the preparation and tanning of skins by the men was an important industry.⁴ ('⁴ Men still tan skins for karosses and, among the pagans, for their wives, who wear fat-smeared goat skins.')

1971 Gitywa pp. 112-16

p. 112

Xhosa: women's part in skin-dressing

'The initial scraping having been done by the men, the hide is passed on to the women who treat it as follows:

- (a) The hide is again moistened and rubbed with a granite stone on the flesh side. This done, the hide is stretched on a wooden frame, as by the men, and scraped with dried aloe leaves which have sharp and fine spines along both edges. The scraping raises a woolly and fibrous pile. In this condition it is hung in a warm part of the hut to dry.
- (b) The next day, the hide is moistened with old sour milk, *amasi*, after which it is again scraped with the dried aloe leaves. All the women of the home help in this.
- (c) When the hide is dry, it is trampled under the feet and rubbed with both hands (as when washing clothes) to render it soft and pliable; at the end of this the hairy side is smeared with fat, rolled, tied up and put away.
- (d) On the following day the hide is again rubbed with the hands to rid it of superfluous grease. It is then moistened with warm water and scraped with aloe leaves for the third time. It is again rolled up and put away.

- (e) On drying, it is opened up and scratched with the aloe leaves a fourth time until it is properly woolly and soft. The pouring of tepid water on the flesh side of the hide when it is to be scraped with aloe leaves to raise a nap is called *ukugcaba* and the resultant fibrous nap *umhlapho*. At this stage, the edges of the hide are removed, the hide trampled and rubbed. It is now ready for the making of a cloak or a kaross.'

pp. 113-15

Nothing more.

p. 116

Xhosa: modern times

'The manufacture of skin garments has virtually disappeared among the Xhosa, yielding place to garments of European manufacture. Of the two sexes, the men were first to discard their traditional costume, the skin blanket (*umnweba*, *ingubo*), for European made blankets, shirts, jackets and trousers.'

'Women have shown a different tendency. Those of them not converted to Christianity, adapted materials of European manufacture to suit their traditional tastes. Excepting for the materials used, there is no drastic departure from the traditional patterns. Their "modern" traditional costume still consists of the skirt (*umbhaco*), bodice (*incebetha*), shoulder wrap (*ibhayi*) and headdress (*iqhiya*), with beads, buttons and black braiding as the most common forms of decoration. The material most favoured for the costume has come to be known as 'kaffir-sheeting', (*ibhayi*), by the traders. It is a soft, white, flannel-like material which, after the desired garments have been made, is "dipped" into an infusion of red ochre, *ucumse*, to give it the traditional stamp.'

LEATHERWORK AND SKIN-DRESSING: TERMS

- igcabhe* 1 a hide garment finished and powdered, as described under the verb *-gcabha* (see below); a brand new garment of good quality, D. 2 a new blanket, X. 3 Mp T not known 229
- intsilathi* 1 nD. 2 wet tail skin drawn over shaft, Mp. Der. from *umsila* 'tail' and root *-thi* 'stick' 230
- ityenisi* 1 leopard skin, D. 2 not confirmed 231
- ithwathwa* 1 dressed hide for making thongs or whipcords, D. 2 also *uthwathwa*, thin dressed goat-skin, without fur, Mp X. 3 whipcord of goat-skin, (T-Mak). 4 dressed skin, X-Ck 232
- isikhumba* formerly used for the skin or hide of a large animal (horse or ox) but now used for any hide D general 233
- ugaga* dried skin D X 234
- impalane* (der. from *-phala* scrape). 1 the new garment made from a hide, without fat or red clay, which a widow gets as a present of honour after the death of her husband, when the old garment has to be cast away D X T. 2 not Mp Xes Bh 235
- amanyama* scrapings of fresh hide D X Bo Xes Bh general 236

- ikhutha* 1 parings from animal's skin; D. crust of bread; boiled meat which is afterwards dried D. 2 leavings of meat Bo Mp. 3 maize gone musty through contact with side of grain-pit, much liked for special taste (if whole grain-pit infected: *ihasa*) T. 4 not known elsewhere, not T nor Mp **237**
- imbumba yamanyama* lump of scrapings from inside of hide from which snuff-boxes are made D X T Bo Xes. (From *-bumba* 'mould, shape, form') **238**
- impalo* (from *-phala* scrape) scrapings of a hide D; not generally known, or has other meanings **239**
- ingqotho* rough edge or skirt of a dried skin with pegging holes, D general except Mp **240**
- umhlapho* soft fibrous plushy side of a woman's kaross D T **241**
- intambo* thong, rope, riem, D general, also twine **242**
- ulutya* 1 long thong, D X Bh Bo. 2 girdle, Mp. bead belt Mp-CT probably the same thing. 3 grass band round back and over breast, or girdle, Bh **243**
- umtya* 1 something to bind with, as a small band, thong, cord D. 2 thong to tie cow's hind legs for milking; anything used similarly, X, general. 3 bow-string (Licht. 1.656.3 *ummuhtja* 'Bogensehne') (a widely distributed Bantu root, for 'leather strap') **244**
- umsundulo* 1 the strong tendon which runs along back part of neck, D. 2 tendons under shoulder-blade of ox, used for thread X **245**
- usinga* thread made from *umsundulo*, the tendons found on the underside of an ox's shoulder-blade. It is used for sewing karosses; thread, in general, D general **246**
- imiqonga* 1 nD. 2 frame for scraping skins Bh. 3 no general name for this, only for parts Bo. 4 not generally known **247**
- inyatyhoba* (cl. 9) awl, D general **248**
- inyangane, isinyangane, inyengane* 1 nD. 2 quartz, granite, marble, general. 3 sort of hard stone used for making knives and cleavers Xes (T-Mak). 4 granite or dolerite stone for currying (X McL) **249**
- isikhonkwane* wooden pin or peg for fastening down an expanded skin D; any peg, general **250**
- isilanda* 1 needle, 4 to 6 inches eyeless, for making holes for sinew thread, removing thorns, loosening tobacco in pipe D general. 2 (wooden) needle for making hats Mpm Mp, or aloe thorn or iron Mpm. 3 fish-hook bought in store X **251**
- isiqobo* 1 stick about an inch thick for fastening door of hut D X Bo only; this is only part of the wider meaning: 2 short thick stick or leg, block, as to sit on, for head-rest, door-bar, cross-bar of skin-dressing frame **252**
- isixengxe* 1 small axe D. 2 for cutting meat X. 3 men's axe Xes. 4 with narrow blade Bh. 5 not known Mp. 6 modern weapon clandestinely made on the mines **253**
- ixhayi* 1 short jutting branch (on hut pillar) left for use as peg to hang things on D X Mp Xes. 2 rack made of wood for suspending a gun D. 3 upright poles of skin-dressing frame Bo Bh. 4 stirrer for medicines, twirled between palms

- of hands, to stir medicines or for boys to stir up beestings Bo X Mp 254
umhlaba 1 *Aloe supralaevis* Haw. D. 2 aloe leaf for currying X 255
ibiba 1 black dye for skins (rotten heart wood burnt and powdered) D. 2 not confirmed (Bo say: a spinach) 256
iqina generic term for various mesembrianthemums, ashes of which are used in making soap D general 257
-gcabha 1 pour tepid water on a hide when it is scraped with aloe leaves to raise the nap; pour infusion of *iqina* on the same hide when it is to be worked soft; powder the same with a powder made by burning and pounding *ibika* (a black substance) D. 2 prepare, tan, curry a hide McL 258
umthinto sweet milk put aside to form cream. Cream is used for smearing thongs D 259
umgxam 1 *Schotia latifolia* Jacq. the rough bark of which is used for dyeing red D X Mp. 2 tree, infusion of which used for dressing skin (Bh Tooke) X-Cisk 260

LEATHERWORK AND SKIN-DRESSING: DISCUSSION

Skin-dressing was a very important craft in the old days because, until the introduction of cloth, animal skins supplied the entire clothing of the people, and many other useful articles besides. Domestic animals were the most important source for ordinary clothing but wild animal skins were used too. Reptile skins were not used.

The following is a list of skins specially mentioned in the literature, or by modern informants, for certain objects.

Cattle—cloaks and clothing generally, sandals, milk-sacks, spear-quivers, shields, drums.

Calf—according to Barrow, only calf skin was used for clothing, but most do not agree. Some say it was used for the clothing of children of commoners only. Bhaca men's ceremonial loin-dress is of calf skin.

Goat—milk-sacks, bellows, baby-slings, bags, tobacco bags, and some clothing, especially in the east.

Kid—used whole for bags.

Sheep—boys' cloaks, Khwetha boys' cloaks, saddles.

Leopard: *ingwe*—for chiefs and their families only, either for whole cloaks or as trimming for garments.

Springbok: *ibhadi*—cloaks for upper classes.

Blue Buck (*Cephalophus monticola*): *iphuthi*—for the caps of women of upper classes, tobacco bags, whipcords.

Lion: *ingonyama*—capes (*izidabane*) of men of upper classes.

Bush Buck (*Tragelaphus scriptus sylvaticus*): *imbabala*—caps of ordinary women, whipcords.

Oribi (*Ourebia scoparia*): *iwula*—chief's clothing and capes (*izidabane*).

Duiker (*Cephalophus grimmi*): *impunzi*—*isidabane* cape, *umnweba* of a chief's wife.

Large Buck—sometimes used for girls' and women's clothing.

Jackal, Wild Cat, Mongoose and other small skins: *udyakalashe/ihlosi/ingada*—bags, doctors' caps, and the tails for penis-sheaths.

Baboon and Monkey: *imfene/inkawu*—doctors' caps, bags, tobacco bags.

The Mpondo are said to use the tail as a sleeve to strengthen wooden shafts, but this is not confirmed.

Hyaena: *ingcuka*—cloaks (Makalima only).

Special parts

omasum (i.e. third stomach) of ruminants—breast-cloth

pericardium of cattle—penis-sheath

scrotum of goat—small bags (*inxili*)

Cattle were slaughtered at the beginning of winter when the hair was long and better for cloaks. Moreover, from the women's point of view, that would be the best time for the work involved, as it is the agricultural off-season. A modern informant stated too that a fat beast was preferred, as the skin would wear better than that of a thin one.

A frame was required for dressing the larger skins. It consisted of two upright forked poles with a horizontal beam across the forks. According to Döhne the upright poles leant against the kraal fence, but I'Ons' sketch (Pl. 33:1) shows them standing free, as was the case in an example seen in 1971. The Xhosa had a fourth beam placed on the ground and fixed to the side poles with wooden fastenings. In the Xhosa example seen in 1971 wooden hooks were used to fix the skin at the bottom of the frame. Thembu, Bomvana and Bhaca used pegs to fix the skin. A set of wooden pegs (*isikhonkwane*) (Pl. 33:2) was also needed for pegging the skin to the ground if it was spread to dry in the first instance. An adze, adze-blade, axe-blade or spear-blade was used for scraping the fleshy side, a spear-head or sharp stone to remove the hair if this was done, thorny leaves of aloe or a friable stone for currying and raising of a pile, a spear-head for cutting the dressed skin and an awl and sinew thread or fine thongs for sewing. Some authors speak of a needle, but there is nothing to show that the awl referred to had an eye.

The best description that we have of the process of dressing skin is that of Döhne for the Xhosa (quoted above in full), which has been quoted by several authors, generally without acknowledgement. This was probably the method used by all the Cape tribes, with slight local variations, and it is still used when skin is dressed today. The fresh skin was first stretched and pegged out on the ground, flesh side up, cleaned of the remains of flesh by scraping with a spear or sharp stone, and left to dry. Large skins were then stretched on the frame, attached either by thongs through the peg holes to the frame, or by thongs to the top of the frame, and pegged at a slant to the ground, or were hung over the beam and pegged on each side. Small skins were pegged on the ground. Thembu and Hlubi informants stated that the skins were first soaked and softened in hot water before hanging on the frame. In the literature it would appear that the soaking was the first process after hanging on the frame and that

it applied to the flesh side only, while the hairy side was merely wetted and covered with fresh dung. When wet the skin was stretched taut. The flesh side was then scraped and pared evenly with an adze or axe blade until the roots of the hairs began to show. For smaller, thinner skins this process was replaced by pounding with stones on the ground until soft. The skin was taken down and pegged out to dry and then went twice through a process of alternate wetting, stretching and rubbing of the flesh side with a circular motion, first with a rough stone and then with aloe leaves, the thorns of which raised a nap. A slight nap sufficed for men, but women preferred a thick one. The skin was again dried, and the process of wetting, rubbing between the hands and scraping with aloe leaves was repeated. The liquid used for this wetting seems to have varied according to the recipe of the specialist—some of those mentioned are sour milk, hot water, or an infusion of milk and ashes, of mesembrianthemum juice, of brains soaked in hot water or of the bark and leaves of *Schotia latifolia* Jacq., which is a red dye. Bhaca informants in 1969 described a slightly different method of dressing goat-skin, in that after the initial drying of the skin dregs of beer were wrapped up in it to produce heat to soften it. Then the brains were spread on the skin and the rubbing and scraping were carried out. In this case the hair was to be left only round the edges, so the softening agents were put on the hairy side. In addition the skin was greased with fat, and again specialists had different views as to which was the best fat, or with butter, and, according to Von Winkelman, with red ochre, and kneaded with the hands and feet. The whole process was repeated on several successive days until the skin was considered fit for use, when the edges were trimmed before a final rubbing, holes were invisibly patched and the skin was ready for cutting.

According to Hunter, before the last greasing and kneading process the Mpondo buried the skin in manure in the kraal for one or two days. The skins for clothing were generally dyed on the flesh side, either red, with ochre, or black, with charcoal, sprinkled on and rubbed in, or mimosa bark. The charcoal was obtained by burning rotten heart-wood and grinding it to a powder. Authors differ as to the stage at which the dyeing was done, but according to Döhne it was at the very end, which seems the most likely.

This process of dressing was not completed in one day but took several as, apart from the time involved in the actual working, it was necessary, particularly in the final stages, to leave the skin overnight or longer to dry or to absorb grease or manure.

For small bags and bellows the whole skin was used, inside out with the neck opening sewn up, and the legs often used as handles. Informants stated that the skin after cleaning was wetted, greased, rubbed, beaten against a pole, and turned in and out again and again, and each time packed tightly with manure to dry in shape. When dry the flesh side was rubbed with soft stone.

For shields, sandals, spear-quivers, and the ox-hide drum, the hide was not dressed. It was merely pegged out to be cleaned and to dry hard. After drying the hide was cut to shape. For sandals the forehead skin of an ox was preferred.

The skin for a shield, after drying, was well pounded with a stone to toughen it and, according to Döhne, rubbed with a round stone from the outside towards the centre to make it slightly concave on the flesh side.

When inner skin such as the pericardium was used it was simply cleaned, dried and softened by rubbing with the hands.

The tail skin of slaughtered cattle and buck was and is still used as a decorative strengthening for sticks or the top of spear-shafts. A section of tail was cut, the inside cleaned out, and the wet hide tube drawn on to the shaft. It might be bound while drying with cord or grass, which left a pattern when removed.

Thongs may be made of a raw hide, first buried, preferably in the kraal, 'to ferment' and to loosen the hair. Some people prefer to dry the skin first and then wet it, as they maintain that a fresh skin makes the thongs too thin. It is then cut circularly from the outside to the centre of the skin into a long strip, 7 to 10 cm wide, according to the thickness of the skin. The strip is hung over a strong tree branch, or the cross-bar of the skin-dressing frame, and fastened at the ends to a large flattish stone with a stick attached to it (Pl. 33:3). The strip is twisted by putting another strong stick between stone and stick and walking round until the stone end of the thong is twisted almost up to the cross-bar (Pl. 33:4). The loose stick is then removed and the thong allowed to unwind. The flapping during the unwinding helps to remove the remaining hairs. This is repeated in alternate directions for one to three days, as judged necessary, after which the thong is smeared with fat, and twisted for another two or three days. It is then, according to an informant, put in a bag and hung from the roof (to keep the mice off) and pieces are cut off as required. Small thong cords are made of dressed skin, often of goat, cut into thin strips and twisted together.

Thread for sewing, particularly for sewing skins, was made from the neck and back sinews of animals. According to Alberti, these were first dried, then beaten with a stone to loosen the fibres, which were finally separated by rubbing between the hands. They were often used without further twisting, but might also be twisted into a two-ply thread.

Only two by-products of skin-dressing are recorded. The most important was the paste that was made from the scrapings of flesh and blood from the inside of the skin, mixed with more blood and a little clay, or red ochre. This was spread over a previously prepared clay model of the shape desired for a snuff-box and allowed to dry. When nearly dry the surface was picked with an awl to form a rough nap. When quite dry a small hole was cut and the clay model picked out, leaving a container of dry paste.

Secondly it is recorded that what was scraped off the inside of the skin was cooked and eaten as a delicacy.

The objects made of dressed skin were for the most part articles of clothing, cloaks (ox, calf, sheep, especially for boys and initiates, leopard, or antelope), skirts (ox or antelope), aprons (now goat, Bh.; cattle, Hlu.) women's caps (blue-buck, bushbuck or ox), penis-sheaths (pericardium or any soft skin), breast-

cloths (ox omasum), baby-slings (goat), Khwetha bandages (goat), dancing capes (*izidabane*) (oribi or blesbok, now goat), loin-dresses (Mp.—? cat tails), milk-sacks (ox, goat), bags and purses (jackal and other small skins, goat scrotum), bellows (goat), floor skins (Mp.—ox, goat, sheep) and saddles (sheep, Mp.; ox, X).

Objects made from rawhide were shields, sandals, spear-quivers, heavy thongs, bridles, and the folded hide used as a drum.

From the paste only snuff-boxes were made.

Skin-dressing and leatherwork seem to have been and are still partly a specialist and partly a non-specialist craft. The working with rawhide was, throughout the area, done by men and, with the exception of thongs, by specialists. Even in making thongs a specialist might be called on to cut the hide. The same man made shields, sandals, and spear-quivers and in addition the crane-feather head-dresses of Xhosa and Thembu warriors.

For dressed skin, however, the position seems to have been different. It would appear that among the Xhosa the owner skinned the beast and pegged the skin out for its first drying. It was then taken to a man specialist to be dressed, and it is recorded that two men working hard would take a day to dress an ox-skin on a frame. Thereafter it was returned and the raising of the nap and softening process, which extended over several days, was completed by the women of the homestead, who also made the skins into clothing.

According to a Thembu informant, after the specialists' work the women carried on only until the nap was raised, then the men continued with the greasing and kneading and, according to Makalima, Thembu men made their own and their sons' clothing. Among the Mpondo, however, the whole dressing was the work of men and there were no specialists. Women would help to soften the skin and raise the nap. Each man was expected to dress skins for his own, his sisters' and his daughters' clothing. They also made the clothing, but might call in a specialist, also a man, to cut a skirt. This was evidently Xesibe and Bhaca custom too. Amongst Xhosa and Thembu, on the other hand, cutting and sewing were women's work, though again a woman specialist might be called to cut a skirt or cloak, and men usually cut their own penis-sheaths. There were, however, men specialists at the Thembu chiefs' homesteads to make the chief's leopard-skin cloak (*umnweba*).

Sewing was done by means of an awl and sinew thread, or, for coarser, stronger articles, fine thongs. Corresponding holes were made with the awl in each of the two edges to be joined together and a continuous thread passed through in an oversewing stitch.

Unfortunately a proper description is available for the making of only two articles—Xhosa women's cloaks and caps.

For the Xhosa women's cloaks, three or four strips, narrow at the shoulder end and wide at the other, which would be the bottom of the cloak, were cut from the skin and sewn together. According to one account they were then wetted and stretched out to draw the seams tight. The cloak was then anointed

and rubbed with sour milk and fat and finally rubbed with charcoal. A wide flap of skin, decorated with brass buttons, was sewn on to the cloak to hang down the whole length of the back as an ornament. Döhne estimated that from the slaughtering of the beast a cloak might with luck be completed in three to four weeks. Other cloaks, particularly those of men, were made of smaller square pieces of skin sewn together to make a straight cloak.

For the Xhosa women's caps four pieces of skin were cut, three of them narrowing to one end, and these three were sewn together like a bag. According to Döhne and those who copied his account, both ends were left open, but in the examples seen the narrow end is sewn up. The fourth piece of skin was attached to one side, to make a long sash 10 cm wide for binding round the head. The cap was then buried in the ground to toughen it, after which it was dampened with sweet milk, folded in half across the width, and a piece of wood was fixed into the lower half or flap to shape it. It was buried again and finally the wood was removed and the cap stretched, rubbed and trimmed. In the nineteenth century the majority of these caps were profusely decorated with beads.

Skin-dressing is a craft that has been disappearing rapidly since the introduction of cloth early in the last century. Only a few individuals practise it nowadays and the objects made of dressed skin are skirts, which women wear usually only on festive occasions, but in some places for ordinary clothing; Hlubi men's dancing tails; penis-sheaths, which are still worn but by no means commonly; boys' sheepskin cloaks; very occasionally a milk-sack; and the tobacco bags and pouches. Of rawhide only thongs, shields of the ornamental and ceremonial size and the dried, rawhide skin used as a drum are still made.

HORN, TORTOISE-SHELL, BONE AND IVORY: SOURCES

- 1788 Von Winkelman p. 86 Xhosa: ivory armbands
 'Ihren elphenbeinernen Ringen, bei denen ihnen die Natur schon vorge-
 arbeitet hat, geben sie die gehörige Weite, Dicke, und Politur mittelst ihrer
 als Sägen geformter Assogais und mit Steinen. Sie reiben und schleifen sie
 so lange, bis sie ihre Absicht ganz entsprechen.'
- 1797 Barrow p. 169 Xhosa: bone whistle
 'They have . . . a small whistle made of the bone of some animal. . . .'
- c. 1824-5 Smith pp. 281, 398
 p. 281 'Kaffir': tortoise-shells
 'Some or indeed the greater part of the caffers particularly women have
 suspended from their necks or karosses one or more young tortoise shells which
 have been cleared from the animal, and in those they have generally some
 aromatic vegetable variously prepared which they carry about with them for
 smelling. They often use the leaves of the shrub denominated Buchu, a species
 of *Diosma*. Though this is used and selected for the purpose of a smelling
 bottle yet they are very particular in cleaning and polishing them and also
 pay considerable attention to the selection of the animals. Upon finding one

which they think is a good one they cut off the head of the tortoise and then cut and separate all the parts which adhere to the inside of the shell they then wash and scrape it well and afterwards dry it.'

p. 398

Mpondo: ivory snuff-spoon

'Stick ivory snuff-spoon in hair and reed snuff-box in ear.'

1820-31 Steedman p. 252

other than Mpondo: tortoise-shell snuff-box

'Amapondas form their snuff-boxes out of a reed. . . . The other nations usually carry their snuff in a small tortoise-shell, with a spoon attached, which they suspend to their kaross.'

1825-29 Kay pp. 134, 290

p. 134

Xhosa: ivory snuff-spoon

'To this [the snuff-box] is attached a small ivory spoon, with which they serve up the contents. . . .'

p. 290

Thembu: ivory snuff-spoon

They generally take it [snuff] in small ivory or horn spoons made for the purpose. . . .'

(1829) Rose p. 80

Xhosa: horn spoons

'There are few arts among savages, for there are few wants: with the Kaffers, the assegai and kirri, a small club, suffice for war and the chase; baskets, beautifully made, to hold milk; a small rough earthen vessel for the fire, with wooden and horn spoons. . . .'

c. 1831-2 Smith p. 203

Mpondo: elephant tusk

'When they kill an elephant [they] must give the one tusk to Facu.'

1844 Backhouse p. 269

Mpondo: snuff-boxes

'Some of their snuff-boxes are . . . of horn. . . .'

1851-2 King pp. 170-71

Xhosa: rhino-horn club

'Game they often kill with the knob-keerie, a short club . . . generally made out of an olive stick . . . or shaped out of rhinoceros' horn. . . .'

(1853) Kretzschmar p. 239

general: ivory snuff-spoons

'Der zierlichste Artikel, welchen sie mit besonderer Sorgfalt fertigen, ist der Schnupftabakslöffel, gewöhnlich von Elfenbein, dessen Griff einer Gabel ähnlich ist. . . .'

(1856) Fleming p. 204

general: ivory snuff-spoon

Nothing more.

1863-66 Fritsch pp. 66, 68

p. 66

Xhosa: rhino-horn club

'Seltener findet man im eigentlichen Kafferlande *Kiri's* aus dem Horn des Rinozerosses, welches Tier in diesen Gegenden beinahe schon gänzlich ausgerottet ist.'

p. 68

general: horn snuff-boxes, ivory snuff-spoons

Nothing more.

1845-89 Kropf pp. 101, 103

p. 101

Xhosa: horn spoons

'Sie essen das Korn mit den Händen oder wenn es hoch kommt mit aus Holz oder Horn geschnitzten Löffeln. . . .'

p. 103

Xhosa: horn snuff-box, ivory snuff-spoon

Nothing more.

(1874) Körner p. 174

Xhosa: decoration of armbands

'An Arme und Füsse streift er sich Elfenbeinringe, die er mühsam mit der Lanzenspitze, seinem einzigen Schneidewerkzeug, aus einem Zahne des Elephanten ausschneidete, ausarbeitete, glättete und darauf Zickzacklinien, Dreiecke, und Vierecke einzeichnete.'

1932 Hunter p. 102

Mpondo: bone snuff-spoons

'Wooden pipes and bone snuff-spoons are carved by men specialists.'

1945 Makalima chap. 9, paras. 14, 42

para. 14

Fingo, Mpondomise, Thembu: horn spoons

'*Amacepe* enziwa ngabantu abamnyama ngala enziwa ngomti, neselwa, nopondo lwenkunzi yegusha nolwenkomo.'

[Spoons are made of wood, calabash, ram's horn or horns of cattle.]

para. 42

Fingo, Mpondomise, Thembu: ivory armband

'*Umxaka*: Umxaka xa wenziwayo uyalolwa ngezitshetshe zokuxhola, ekutiwa zintshengeca.'

[An ivory arm-ring is carved with gouges specially made for carving, sharp-edged stones called *intshengeca*.]

HORN, TORTOISE-SHELL, BONE, IVORY: TERMS

ibamba eyetooth, tusk of animal. (From *-bamba* 'seize') general 261

isigodlo 1 the horn of an animal when severed from the head (used as a powder-flask or trumpet) D Mp T general. 2 also used as part of hemp pipe X Mp.

3 bowl of hemp pipe (Bo Beukes). 4 whole hemp pipe (CT Univ) Mp.

5 also medicine flask X 262

ithambo 1 bone, D. 2 a small white bead generally worn by Kafirs, and so named because it resembles bone in its substance, D. 3 *tambo*, the most valuable bead (Steedman). 4 pl. *amathambo* divining bones (modern) 263

uphondo 1 horn, tusk of elephant, D general. 2 horn as trumpet, Mp (Licht. *phôndo*). 3 *uphondo lokucima* (-*cima* give an enema) enema horn, Mp. 4 *uphondo lweyeza* medicine horn, Bh general 264

HORN, TORTOISE-SHELL, BONE AND IVORY: DISCUSSION

The carving of horn, bone and ivory, which may be considered a single craft, is scarcely mentioned in the literature, except in so far as the objects made are mentioned. It is not possible therefore to say whether, when many were

available, the horn or bone of any particular animal was preferred for any particular object, except that the ivory arm-rings had to be made from elephant tusk. Makalima does, however, state that spoons were made of ram- or ox-horn, as they still are today.

In 1948 a Xesibe informant gave as the tools that were used for this craft in her youth an axe (*izembe*) for splitting the bone or horn, a stick for shaping horn articles after first heating the horn to make it pliable, a gouge (*isibazo*) for scraping out hollowed portions (e.g. the bowl of a spoon) and a spear-head for carving and shaping the article and incising a decoration. Nowadays a pen-knife or other adapted blade, for example a shorn-off table-knife or sheep-shear, is used for carving, a saw may be used for splitting the horn and a file for smoothing the surface of the finished article. A spoon may be heated again during making and a stone used to bend the angle between bowl and handle. Cross-hatched decoration is rubbed with soot or some other substance to make it show up.

The only records of how the elephant tusks were divided into rings are Von Winkelman's, Körner's and Makalima's statements that they were cut to the required width and thickness with a spear or the stone knife (*intshengeca*), which latter was used too for clearing and enlarging the inner hollow, and paring and smoothing the outside. Körner recorded that the arm-rings, like the snuff-spoons, were decorated with incised zigzags, triangles and rectangles, but this is not confirmed by old museum specimens.

Besides the arm-rings only snuff-spoons were said to be made out of ivory.

Bone snuff-spoons, whistles and awls are recorded, and a Xesibe informant stated that porridge spoons were made too. For ornamental use, pieces of bone were carved into the shape of teeth or claws with a hole bored at the root end, and strung with beads as a necklace, in imitation of the real teeth and claws that were so strung.

Of horn, quite a variety of objects were made, either carved out of the solid, or using the horn as such. The full length of a large horn was used as a water vessel for dagga pipes or as a nozzle for bellows, and a small size was used as a medicine horn. With the tip cut off to give an opening at each end, large horns were used as signalling horns, powder-horns during the later frontier wars, or for enemas, and small horns as cupping horns. Small horns were used as snuff-boxes, with the open end filled in with a base of horn or other material cut to fit, and a hole cut near or at the point. Sometimes the snuff-boxes were ornamentally carved. Porridge or sour-milk spoons were quite commonly carved from the solid horn, snuff-spoons less commonly. The long horn of a rhinoceros was sometimes carved into a club. The Bhaca of Natal carved horn ear-studs.

Tortoise-shells were, as far as is recorded, used whole. After the animal had been cleaned out, and the shell cleaned and polished, the back hole was stopped up with a mixture of clay and resin and the shell was used as a toilet-box or, according to Steedman only, a snuff-box.

Work in bone, horn and ivory was men's work and usually done by

specialists, as it is today.

Today ivory is no longer available. Powder-horns are no longer needed, and other store-bought receptacles have replaced tortoise-shells as toilet- or snuff-boxes. Other horn instruments are occasionally used.

The carving of horn porridge-spoons, despite the fact that others are so easily bought, and of horn snuff-spoons, continues in the east of the area among the Mpondo and immigrant peoples. Horn is also used in the west for the rear half of the stem and for the mouthpiece of a certain shape of pipe.

Bone seems to be little used, but bone snuff-spoons are occasionally to be seen.

STONE-WORKING: SOURCES

(1919) McLaren p. 441

Xhosa: use of stone

'They used stone, *ili-tye*, for millstones, but these were selected rather than wrought. An egg-shaped boulder or cobble from the shore or the river-bed formed the grinding stone, *im-bokotwe*; a flattish or slightly hollowed hard stone of oblong shape formed the under stone or bed, on which the grinding was done, *ilitye lokusila*. To pick or sharpen a stone is *xola*, and the pointed cold chisel with which this is done *in-xola*. A stone with a round hole bored through it used for weighting the digging stick, *ulu-gxa*, for digging up roots and sometimes for breaking up ground, was known, though borrowed from the Bushmen.'

(1934) Anon. p. 150

Xhosa: sharpening hoe with stone

Figure.

1945 Makalima chap. 9, paras. 10, 14, 50

para. 10

Fingo, Mpondomise, Thembu: things made of stone

'*Izinto ezenziwa ngelitye*: Nazi izinto ezenziwa ngelitye, sisingqusho, nelitye lokusilela, iziseko zezindlu (foundations), izinyuko (steps), imbokoto ukwaka izindlu nezitali, ipali zocingo, amatye okulola amazembe, ibakana, amazembe, iziqandulo, amatye egwada.'

[*Things made of stone*: Mortar, grinding-stone, foundations for houses, steps, oval stones for building houses and stables, fencing posts, stones for whetting axes, beacons, axes, stones for burring grinding-stones and snuff-stones.]

para. 14

Fingo, Mpondomise, Thembu: things made of stone

'... *Izingqusho zenziwa ngomti noba kungelitye*. Zingqukuva kuba kaloku kuxotyulwa isiqu esi somti. Kumbiwe ngentla kulendawo yokugalela umbona, xa kungqushwayo. ... *Izinto ezenziwa ngelitye*: Isingqusho kumbiwa ilitye libazwe libe ngqukuva, kuxolwe indawo engumlomo wokugalela umbona xa uzakungqushwa. *Ilitye lokusila* kutatwa ilitye lenyangane elisicaba, liqandulwe, kufunwe elinye elifunyanwa emlanjeni (ulucwe) leyo ke yimbokotwe yokusila kweli litye. *Ukwaka izindlu neziseko zezindlu* kuketwa amatye amahle axolwe, abe mahle afane nezitena ezi. *Isando siyenziwa ngelitye* le nyangane elilukuni. *Ipali zocingo ezenziwa ngelitye*, kuxozwa ilitye lide libe

yipali eti inciliselwe pantsi xa kubiywa ucingo. *Amatye okulola amazembe* kuketwa ilitye elinkum-nkum, ingabi ngawo la enyangane, ibe lititye eliti xa kulolwayo linkumke. *Ibakani* lilitye elide elibupali elimiliselwa kulondawo kufuneka ibakani kuyo. *Amazembe amatye* ayeko kudala ngetuba lelitye (stone age) bekutatwa ilitye elibukali lifakwe emtini osisipato (handle) ekubanjwa kuso xa kucandwayo. Bekuhlinzwa ngawo xa kuhlinzwa inkomo nokuba yinyamakazi ebuleweyo. *Iziqandulo* zenziwa ngelitye lenyangane elingqukuva. *Amatye egwada* ilitye lokusila igwada. Liyabazwa libengqukuva libe nembo-kotwa yalo yokusila.'

[*Mortars* are made of tree trunks and stone. They are round because the bark is peeled off. A cavity is made on top to pour in the maize for stamping *Things made of stone*: A stone is dug up and chiselled to a round shape, and a cavity made at the top to pour in the maize for pounding. *Grinding-stone*. For this, people take a slab of granite (*inyangane*) and dress it, then they search for another flat stone (*ulucwe*) found in rivers, this now is the hand millstone for grinding upon the other one. To build huts and foundations, fine stones are selected and trimmed to brick shape. A *hammer* is made of granite, which is very hard. *Fencing posts* are made of stone trimmed to the shape of a pillar, and planted in the ground to make wire fences. *Stones for sharpening axes*. Friable stone was selected for this; not hard stone like granite, but a stone that crumbled when used for grinding tools. A *beacon* is a tall stone pillar, planted where required. *Stone axes* were used long ago in the stone age. A sharp stone was fixed to a handle for chopping wood. Such stones were also used for skinning a slaughtered beast or game. *Burring stones* for sharpening grinding-stones were of granite, round in shape. *Snuff-grinding-stone*. This was trimmed into a round shape and had a hand stone to grind with.]

para. 50 Fingo, Mpondomise, Thembu: stone tool
'*Indlela zokusebenza ngelitye*: Iilitye kudala bekusenziwa ngalo izembe, ibe lilitye lenyangane ke kodwa. Lisebenze ukuxhola zonke izinto ezi ke elilitye. Xa kwenziwa isingqusho selitye, sixholwa ngetshizili yentsimbi, ilitye lide libe yilonto yenziwayo.'

[*The use of stone*: In olden times stone was used for axes, and only granite (*inyangane*) was used. It served every purpose. When a stone mortar was to be made, a big stone was taken and an iron cold chisel used to gouge out the cavity.]

STONE-WORKING: TERMS

- ilitye* 1 stone (lower) grinding-stone, D general. 2 flat stone, as used for grain-pit cover, general 265
inyangane, isinyangane, inyengane 1 nD. 2 quartz, granite marble, general.
3 sort of hard stone used for making knives and cleavers Xes (T Mak).
4 granite or dolerite stone for currying (X McL) 266
uhlalutye iron-stone, gravel D X T used e.g. for cleaning milk calabash T.

From roots *-kalu* and *-vwe*, therefore lit. 'bead-stone', i.e. glass-like stone **267**
intshengece (pron. *intjengece*) 1 sharp-pointed stone, flint for cutting with, D X
 Mp Xes. 2 sharp-edged (not pointed) knife or sword X Bo. 3 sharp stone
 for gouging out wooden utensils (T-Mak) **268**
inkxola (*-xhola* chisel out or off; carve roughly; pick a millstone, i.e. burr
 grinding-stone to sharpen it) chisel, gouge D McL but hardly known **269**
isixholo chisel, gouge (from *-xhola*) but, like *inkxola*, not much used **270**
ingqandulo (*-qandula* peck, dress stone for grinding) hard stone or iron bar used
 for trimming the grinding-stone D general **271**

STONE-WORKING: DISCUSSION

(The building of huts, kraals and fences in stone is not included here.)

This is another craft about which early information is negligible. It is doubtful, however, whether there was much actual working with stone, though stones were used for working other materials. It seems likely that stones were more often chosen for their suitable shape rather than shaped by hand. With the exception of granite, there is little mention of the actual type of stone used, except in so far as it is either hard or friable.

Stones chosen for their shape are: round water-worn pebbles, preferably of granite, used as upper grinding-stones for grain, ochre or snuff, as hammers for smithing or for other uses including that of hammering modern chisels; flat stones to close the mouths of grain-pits or as the principal part of a fall-trap; round hearthstones for pots to stand on; hard flat stones (? granite) to serve as anvils for working iron; hard stones for trimming grinding-stones; and pointed stones, natural or trimmed, used for pecking a rough surface on grinding-stones.

Stones chosen for their shape and trimmed to perfect it are used as lower grinding-stones for grain, trimmed to an oblong shape and then pecked on the upper surface to make it rough for grinding; lower grinding-stones for snuff or red ochre; stone mortars for pounding grain, trimmed to a round shape and then hollowed out at the top by pecking. The latter are relatively common today in areas where there are no trees suitable for making mortars.

Friable stones (? sandstone or ironstone gravel pebbles) were used for their abrasive qualities, as whetstones for sharpening iron tools and weapons, for the currying process in skin-dressing, or for cleaning out new or furred calabashes.

Of shaped stone tools the only ones specifically mentioned are sharpened stone knives for cutting ivory armbands; 'sharp-edged' stones for trimming or gouging out wood or for flaying animals, in default of iron tools; and 'in olden times' stone axes, hafted in wood. All of these were described as used by the Thembu, but a Xesibe informant also spoke of stone axes.

According to McLaren bored stones were used by the Xhosa in the Khoisan manner to weight digging-sticks, but whether the actual stones were taken over from the Khoisan as well as the idea, or whether they were bored by the Xhosa,

is not clear. Nor is it anywhere confirmed.

Nowadays some of the Thembu, Hlubi, and other tribes, where wood is scarce, dress stone to build hut foundations, hut walls, kraal walls, or for fencing-posts.

There is no record of the tools that were formerly used for working stone, but they must presumably have been made of stone, since iron was too scarce. Latterly iron crowbars, hammers and chisels have been used, as well as stone hammers.

Such stonework as is done is the work of men.

BEADS AND BEADWORK: SOURCES

1593 Lavanha pp. 243, 270

p. 243

Umzimvubu: red clay beads

'São os trajes destes negros como os de Tizombe, e de mais que elles trazem humas continhas vermelhas nas orelhas: as quaes perguntando Nuno Velho ao Cafre, (a quem dera a cobertura) donde vinhaõ, entendeo pelas confrontaçoens, que as traziaõ da terra de Inhaca, que he o Rey, que povoa o rio de Lourenço Marques. São estas contas de barro, de todas as cores, da grandeza de coentro, e fazem-se na India, Negapataõ, donde se levaõ a Moçambique, e dalli pelas mãos dos Portuguezes se communicão a estes negros, resgatando-as com elles por Marfim.'

[p. 303 'The dress of these negroes is similar to that of the negroes of Tizombe, but they wear red beads in their ears, which the others do not. Nuno Velho asked the Kaffir to whom he gave the lid where these were obtained, and he saw from their appearance that they came from the land of the Inhaca, who is king of the people living by the river of Lourenço Marques. These beads are made of clay of all colours, of the size of a coriander seed. They are made in India at Negapatam, whence they are brought to Mozambique, and thence they reach these negroes through the Portuguese who exchange them for ivory.']

p. 270

Natal: beads

'... (para onde diziaõ os negros, que estava o Povoado em que se vendiaõ as suas contas vermelhas, que são as que vem ao rio de Lourenço Marques) ...'

[p. 333 '... in which direction, these negroes said, lay the village where their red beads were sold, which are those which come from the river of Lourenço Marques. ...']

1686 (Stavenisse) p. 61

Xhosa: bead trade

'Middelzerwyl dat sij dus gerustelijck leevden wierd haar bekend gemaakt dat alle jaaren op gewisse tijd en plaats een dag reisens van haar gelegen, somtijds 50 ook wel 100 Hottentots met wijf en kind kwaamen tegen koralen en kopere ringetjes dagha (zijnde de bladeren van dien de hennep gelijk) te verhandelen. ...'

- 1772-6 Sparrman II, p. 8 mixed Hottentot-Xhosa: beads
 'With respect to beads, which, speaking of in a general way, they call *sintela*, the small red ones are much more coveted than the rest: these are called *lenkitenka*.'
- 1776 Hallema fig. 28, p. 133 Xhosa: beadwork girdle, necklet
 fig. 28 Xhosa: bead ornaments, trade
 p. 133 'Onder den buik droegen zij eene bandelier van verscheidene snoeren korallen . . . om den hals eenige snoeren korallen. . . .'
 ' . . . Wij ruilden verscheidene mandjes van hen. . . . Zij bedelden zeer om korallen en koper. . . .'
- 1776 Swellengrebel p. 12 Xhosa: red bead
 'De mans zowel als de vrouwen schynen zig met al hetgeen zij krijgen kunnen en op allerley manier op te schikken, dog 't meest houden zij van geel koper en roode, kleyne coralen. Hunne carossen zijn wel bereyd.'
- 1778 Van Plettenberg p. 48 Xhosa: red beads
 ' . . . en coralen, voornamentlijk roode om de hals en copere en andere gecoleurde om 't middellijf: de vrouwen hebben haare tabeljés met coralen belegd, coralen om de hals en 't middellijf, kopere hangzels die ook wel uyt pypendoppen bestaan, aan de ooren. . . .'
- 1788 Von Winkelman p. 67 Xhosa: white beads favoured
 'Unter allen Gütern lieben sie keine so sehr, als weisse Korallen; alle andern haben unter ihnen keinen so hohen werth. Wenn man aber indessen in ehemaligen Zeiten gegen ein Pfund solcher Korallen einen Ochsen oder eine Kuh erhandeln konte, so hätte man deren jetzt mehr als 2-3 nöthig, und müste noch oben drein eine kleine Zugabe beilegen. Der Grund davon liegt in dem starken Verkehr der angrenzenden Bauern mit den Kaffern, wodurch theils der werth jener Guter vermindert, theils der steigende werth ihres viehes vergrössert wird.'
- 1797 Barrow I p. 161 Xhosa: metal beads
 'Every man is his own artist. A piece of stone serves for his hammer, and another for the anvil, and with these alone he will finish a spear, or a chain, or a metallic bead that would not disgrace the town of Birmingham.'
- 1800 Van der Kemp pp. 439, 440 Xhosa: metal and other beads
 p. 439 'Their heads are always uncovered, but ornamented either with a chain of hemispherical brass, or copper grains, of about a quarter of an inch diameter, in the form of a diadem, or with a ribbon of an inch broad, composed of small beads of two or three different colours, put close together.'
 p. 440 'Their loins are encircled by a single string of iron or copper beads, which are cylindrical, about one-third of an inch thick, and one-eighth high.
 They are very fond of many strings of beads, or metal chains, hanging round their necks, the lowest of which hang down to the stomach.'

- 1802-6 Alberti p. 30 Xhosa: prefer red beads
Nothing more.
- 1803-6 Lichtenstein pp. 453-4 Xhosa: glass beads, fashions
'Glaskorallen lieben sie besonders: doch herrscht darin bei ihnen auch die Mode und nicht zu allen Zeiten sind dieselben Farben und Sorten bei ihnen beliebt.—Besonders hoch schätzten sie zu dieser Zeit eine kleine Art von Korallen, die sie von dem Stamme der *Imbo* bekommen und die einen solchen Werth haben, dass sie für zwei kleine Stränge eine Kuh und ein Kalb bezahlten. Sie wollen wissen, dass diese Korallen, gleich Würmern aus der Erde kriechen und von den *Imbos* mit Hassagayen abgemäht werden. Nach van der Kamps Beschreibung sind es aber wirkliche Glaskorallen oder Pater-nosterkügelchen, die von den Portugiesen in jene nördlichere Gegend eingeführt sein mögen und von dort hiehergekommen sind.'
- c. 1824-5 Smith pp. 201, 397 'Kaffir': fashions, trading
Nothing more.
- 1820-31 Steedman I, pp. 9, 17
p. 9 Xhosa: most valuable beads
'The hour had nearly arrived for concluding the fair. . . . Gaika, in consequence, soon appeared for his accustomed tribute, and evinced both his rapacity and discrimination in selecting the choicest beads, without appearing to have the slightest interest in the transaction, and without uttering a word to the mortified assemblage. . . . as each string of tamboos (the beads most valuable in their estimation) disappeared successively beneath his covetous grasp, the contortions of their features clearly bespoke their secret rage. . . .'
p. 17 Xhosa: eagerness for beads
'... [they] importune those who visit their *umzis* or villages, for presents of beads, and so great is the value attached by them to these articles, which answer, in fact, all the purposes of a metallic currency in civilized nations, that a traveller must never fail to provide himself with a considerable quantity....'
- 1825-9 Kay pp. 115-6 Xhosa: fashions
Nothing more.
- 1827 Shrewsbury p. 269 : beads given in church
'We had . . . this morning our first public collection, which amounted to one hundred strings of beads, thirteen ear-beads and two buttons. . . .'
- 1835 Alexander I p. 386 Thembu: fashion
'In one ear a few beads are commonly worn, of which the fashionable colour of 1835 was white with a narrow pink stripe. The Tambookies, the French of South Africa, set the fashions. . . .'
- 1839 Backhouse p. 269 Mpondo: glass beads
'Some of them have also copper rings about their necks, and wear numerous strings of small beads, of British manufacture.'

1849 Baines p. 142

Xhosa: beads

'... and as my guide extended his hand to take leave of me I put into it some tobacco and half a dozen large blue and white beads, thus rendering him for the time being the happiest fellow. . . .'

(1853) Fleming p. 110

Kaffraria: favourite colours

'The principal of these [ornaments] are the frontlet, (generally a string of cowry-shells,) the armlet, anklet, earring, and necklace. The four last they form of beads—black, white, and dark crimson, being their three favourite colours.'

1845-89 Kropf p. 104

Xhosa: beads on clothing

Nothing more.

1877 Cripps p. 330

Xesibe: beads as currency

'As money we knew would be useless we had brought with us a small collection of clasp-knives, beads, brass wire, and handkerchiefs for the purpose of exchanging for milk, fire-wood, or Indian corn. The greatest value was attached to small black and white beads, brass wire and black or red handkerchiefs.'

(1919) Kingon p. 518

Cape Tribes: bead trade

'It is almost incredible, but absolutely true, that many traders have been ruined, or at any rate very considerably embarrassed, by the bead. . . .

Through all the succeeding years the bead has retained a not unimportant place in the Kaffir trade, though of course many other articles share that place in these days. The one great disadvantage remains now, as ever, that the fashion in beads is constantly and capriciously changing to suit a passing whim. . . .

Enough, however, has been said to indicate that even if unrealised, then, as now, this factor has played some part in the development of the intercourse and trade between white and black. Speaking broadly, some £17,000 worth of beads are still imported into the Union annually.'

1932b Hunter pp. 102, 223

p. 102

Mpondo: beadwork

'Women and girls make bead ornaments for themselves and their lovers. "Only a very stupid girl does not learn to make her own bead head ring". In return men twist trade brass wire into bangles and waist bands. The blending of colours and designs are always pleasing. The artistic development in beadwork and embroidery resulting from first acquisition of European goods, contrasts with later stages of contact, when all artistic sense seems to be smothered by European influences.'

p. 223

Mpondo: scented beads

'Leaves of *imphepha* are ground up and made, with a sticky substance, into sweet-smelling beads. Wooden beads of *umthombothi* (*Spirostachys africanus*) are also worn for their scent.'

- 1934 Laidler p. 1-28 Southern Africa: bead trade
Nothing more.
- 1936 Cornner (Corresp. 3.11.36) Mpondomise: beadwork
'... beadwork is not smeared with red ochre after it is made. It simply becomes discoloured through wear, from contact with red ochre on the body, which, in winter time in particular, is never washed. Then in wrapping the red ochred blanket over the chest it again takes on some of the ochre.'
- (1945) Makalima chap. 10, paras. 20, 21
para. 20 Thembu: beadwork squares
Nothing more.
para. 21 Thembu: women make beads
'*Umenzi wamaso*: Amaso enziwa nanguwufuna umfazi.'
(*The maker of beads*: Any woman may make the round white beads. . . .)
- (1952) Weir p. 275 Cape Tribes: ochre, beads, bangles
'The face of the "red" Native is often smeared with yellow or red clay or ochre and around the neck is a necklace of beads. The Xhosa are renowned for their beadwork and are most particular about shades. They are so particular that while a European might hold a sample of beads in either hand and declare them to be identical, there is in fact a slight variation which will cause one to sell easily and make the other unsaleable at any price.
Beads are of two main types, Venetian and Empress. The former are sold in light turquoise, dark turquoise, black, navy, pink, white and red. In a few areas green and yellow are also used. There are five main sizes. The Empress bead is used in only two sizes but in a much wider range of colours.
Beads are used not only in necklaces but also in bracelets and anklets. While the Fingo tribe use them for decorating blankets, the Xhosa never use them for this purpose.'
- 1956 Skead (Corresp.) Xhosa: *impepho* beads
'... they are made of clay and the *impepho* plant, *Helichrysum*. They are worn by women in general but when a nursing mother is wearing one of these necklaces she paints it white with clay.'
- (1956) Van der Sleen p. 28 East Africa: trade beads
'II. *Indian-red opaque glass beads*. These are the most numerous of the Trade-wind beads. Under the microscope, small chips of these beads show that the glass is greyish and transparent, but contains innumerable small copper crystals, which give it the opaque red colour. The beads are very variable in form and size, ranging in shape from cylinders to oblates and rings, and in length from 4 centimetres to 2 millimetres and in diameter from 1 centimetre to 2 millimetres. . . .
We may summarize our knowledge of the Arab, Portuguese and Dutch bead trade in a few words: "beads of Cambay, red coral and clay beads and green, yellow and blue glass beads from Negapatam." Now the real red coral

beads from the Mediterranean are very scarce along the African coast. The clay beads (*barros miudas*) of the Portuguese writers can have been none other than our Indian-red glass beads, that were described by many modern authors as "paste", because it looks so unlike glass. They are found in great quantities in all East African Arab and pre-Portuguese sites and even much further inland, in the Rhodesias and the Transvaal (see, e.g., the Bavenda heirloom beads). When the Portuguese first arrived at the East African ports, the natives would not accept the beads brought from Europe, so that one of the Portuguese kings had to write to his Governor in Negapatam, to ensure that his ships could be provided there with the beads wanted by the natives on the African coast. . . .'

1949-60 Hammond-Tooke p. 28

Bhaca: beadwork

'Beadwork, made by the women, flourishes among the pagans. At the annual feast of the first fruits the pagans deck themselves out in all the finery of their beadwork and the effect is often extremely striking and colourful.'

1964 Louw p. 2

Cape Tribes: thread

'The fibre (of the aloe *ingcaca*) is used for beadwork. It makes a very strong thread. . . . When the leaves of the aloe are fully matured, they are cut and taken to a river or pool. They are beaten flat with heavy sticks and the fleshy part is washed off, until only the fibre is left. It is then dried, twisted and wound up for use.'

1971 Gitywa pp. 117-29
p. 117

Xhosa: beadwork

Xhosa: social significance

'Beadwork is a fairly general craft among the Xhosa. It is a female craft which is passed on from elder sister to younger sister, and in some cases from mother to daughter. The post-pubescent age groups are, however, the best "school" for beadwork as this is done within the age group and among its members. It is the age group that preserves the traditional patterns and colours, and yet again it is this very age group which is responsible for new ideas, innovations and changes in beadwork. This is so because the whole activity of beadwork is largely under their control, the beadwork itself being made for boy friends of the corresponding age group. Thus, although beads and beadwork are originally foreign elements in Xhosa culture, it has become so accepted and adapted that beadwork is today universally accepted as a traditional craft not only of the Xhosa, but also of all the Bantu in South Africa. It features prominently in the life of the tribe, regulating, for example, the love life of the sexes. It is also of ritual importance, finding its best expression, in this regard, with diviners. It also features at the installation of chiefs, etc.'

'Ornamental beadwork normally passes from the woman to the man as a love token, but unlike among the Zulu and the Swazi, the beadwork exchanged in the love life of the Xhosa has no coded messages, the interpretation of which is based on colour combinations which have to be decoded by the recipient. The entire bead ornament is the love token, with tradition-

ally blended colours for the specific age groups. The various colours are only used because the colours do not "swear" at one another (*imibala ayithukani*). They are used individually or in combination to indicate a particular status or ritual condition. Each sex and age group has its formal bead ensemble to wear on social occasions.'

pp. 124-5

Xhosa: designs

'Bantu beadwork is noted for its beautiful applied geometric designs. The beauty comes from the colour and texture of the beads, since the same patterns worked out on paper with water colours would not appear nearly so interesting.

No preliminary designs are made for the beadwork; the patterns are worked out directly on to the bead ornament. This gives the craftswoman more feeling for harmony between the material and the design she has in mind. Within the limits of traditional acceptance, the woman expresses herself in the pattern, form and colour of the beadwork which must be pleasing to her to make it a worthy present to pass on to a loved one.

The designs worked on to the bead ornaments are based on the principle of rhythm which involves:

- (i) the repetition of a single motif, especially the chevron with its many variations and the triangle; the straight line; and superimposed colour bands. The line and/or band design occur in both the horizontal and vertical context
- (ii) the alternation of two or more motifs and
- (iii) the alternation of two or more sizes of the same pattern or colours.

Colours that contrast well give the designs a bold relief.

Three words referring to form and shape are always used in the description of bead ornaments. These are:

- (a) *Isiqeqwe*: A band or flap densely strung together with the rows closely superimposed on one another.
- (b) *Amabanga*: Separate bead strings joining two or more bands or flaps together.
- (c) *Imingqi*: Pendant strings of beads which are attached to a band or flap at one end.

The mixing of the various colours is called *ukuvanga*.'

pp. 127-9

Xhosa: design

Figures.

BEADS AND BEADWORK: TERMS

amatyhantya 1 beads, D. 2 not confirmed 272

iyila 1 kind of sea-shell, D. 2 ancient bead, Nqamakwe Fgo. 3 necklace of Nerita (prob. *Albicilia*) shells strung on string (formerly goat-skin riem) worn by brides, the newly initiated, and old men X. 4 two shells are strung together and worn by men (T-Mak). 5 sing. not used, have only heard of *amayila*, but unknown what it is, various informants 273

- igalaka* 1 nD. 2 beads (Licht. 'Korallen') not confirmed 274
- igalawe* white bead, D not confirmed 275
- iliso*, pl. *amaso* (as distinct from *iliso*, *amehlo* 'eye') 1 large round white bead, so named from resembling the eyeball, D. 2 Job's Tears (seed of *Coix lachryma-jobi* L.) Mp. 3 all large round beads, not only white ones T Mp X Bo prob. general 276
- impepho* 1 generic term for the everlasting flowers, which are used for making a bed for expectant mothers D. 2 sp. of *Helichrysum*, green leaves of which are pounded and mixed with white clay (*ingceke*) and set to a hard mass which is made into beads which are strung, with others of glass, etc. to make necklace, Bo. 3 shrub which is powdered and mixed with white clay to make beads worn by nursing mothers, X. 4 the same, mixed with red clay, Bh. 5 *Helichrysum stenopterum* DC. Watt-Breyer-Br 277
- inkethe* 1 kind of bead, D. 2 blanket with beadwork on it, T. 3 not confirmed by others 278
- inkithi-nkithi* 1 beads D. 2 cf. *lenkitenka* small red beads (X-Sparrman 1774). 3 not confirmed 279
- inkuluko* 1 species of white beads, D. 2 not confirmed 280
- intshephe* 1 white beads, D 425. 2 not confirmed 281
- intsimbi* iron; articles made of iron; beads, D general. From the common Bantu root for 'iron'. In the absence of knowledge of other metals, frequently used for copper 282
- iqanda* 1 egg; kind of large bead, D. 2 not confirmed 283
- sintela* beads (X-Sparrman) 284
- ithambo* 1 bone, D. 2 a small white bead generally worn by Kafirs, and so named because it resembles bone in its substance, D. 3 *tambo*, the most valuable bead (Steedman). 4 pl. *amathambo* divining bones (modern) 285
- ubuhlalu* generic term for beads, esp. red ones, which are considered the finest beads; hence necklace composed of large reddish beads worn by principal chiefs as a sign of royalty D Xes Bh (Hlu). From general Bantu root *-kalu* 'bead' Zu. idem, Tsonga *vuhlalu*, but not found in the Sotho-Tswana and Venda languages of the interior 286
- umgazi* (*igazi* blood) blood red bead, D not confirmed, but the name of the bead, though not the bead itself, is still known to old people in the northern Transvaal, as a trade bead of the early days (Venda: *mungazi*) 287
- umswi* a kind of blue bead, D 288
- unongeshana* (cf. *ungeshe* ear pendant) grizzly dappled bead D not confirmed 289
- unyiwa* 1 kind of small red bead, D. 2 ancient beads, Fgo. 3 not confirmed elsewhere 290
- utetuma* 1 kind of bead, D. 2 not confirmed 291
- inxaxhazo* 9 1 beads, beadwork, D. 2 but cf. *uxhahxazo* 'ornament for the ankles', D 292
- iphoco* 1 small ornamental square of beadwork worn in front of the neck and attached to the *ingqosha* D X Fingo T. 2 worn by young men Mpm 293

BEADS AND BEADWORK: DISCUSSION

Under this heading are included all the various uses to which beads are put, in addition to the actual fabric into which they can be threaded.

From time immemorial the Cape Nguni must have threaded as beads prettily shaped and coloured seeds of suitable size, and made beads of clay and wood.

As far as is known, the Cape Nguni did not fire the clay beads that they made. With the exception of some examples in the Kaffrarian Museum, of uncertain origin but thought to be local, all the clay beads seen appear to be sun-dried. One variety has the same name (*impepho*) throughout the area, but the beads are differently shaped, round or oval, of different sizes, and sometimes made of red clay or mixed with ochre, and sometimes of white clay. The name comes from the shrub *Helichrysum odoratissimum* Less., the leaves of which are ground and mixed with the clay. Among the Xhosa and Fingo this shrub has magical value and the beads are worn by nursing mothers. Mpondo women wear them for their scent. They are made by women, but not necessarily by the wearer herself.

A Xhosa boy at Bojeni was seen wearing a necklace of small round wooden beads that he said he had made himself out of *umzane* wood (*Vepris lanceolata* Don. or *Toddalia lanceolata* Lam., white ironwood). Hunter speaks of wooden beads of *umthombothi* (*Spirostachys africana* Sond.), worn by the Mpondo for their scent, but elsewhere *umthombothi* necklaces are made of thin strips of wood not beads.

Barrow alone mentions the making of small metal beads and Van der Kemp mentions their use. There are some ornaments in the South African Museum in which iron beads are used alone or interspersed with others.

The coloured glass beads, with which the Cape Nguni have developed such a vigorous and artistic craft of beadwork, came to them, slowly at first, by intertribal trade, perhaps from the Arabs and certainly from the Portuguese on the east coast of Africa. When the Portuguese started trading there, one of their main items of barter for gold and ivory was beads which they imported from Negapatam in India. Contemporary accounts describe these beads as being of clay, but Van der Sleen has suggested that they were all of glass, but that the firing was so poor that, particularly in the case of the red, they looked like clay. Internal barter took these beads far from the place of introduction, and the survivors of the wreck of *Santo Alberto* (1593) noted a few small red beads being worn as ear-ornaments by the people on the Umzimvubu River (Port St Johns). When the wrecked people reached Natal they learnt that the beads were imported through Lourenço Marques, and traded from a village in north Natal. After 1660 when the Dutch took Negapatam, the Indian beads ceased to be available and glass beads from Europe were traded on the coast.

For some time intertribal barter and occasional wrecks on the coast were the only sources of beads for the Cape Nguni, but after the establishment of the Dutch settlement at the Cape a small quantity of beads started to filter through by trade with the Hottentots, and when travellers started entering the area from

the Cape, more beads became available, to the extent that Von Winkelmann remarks that whereas formerly one pound of beads would purchase a head of cattle, by 1788 the price per head had gone up to 2-3 pounds. By now the beads used were for the most part directly from European sources, though Lichtenstein reported that in 1803 the Xhosa were still trading very precious beads from the Mbo, at the rate of a cow and a calf for two small strings, and suggests that these were still part of the Portuguese east coast trade. Throughout the early part of the nineteenth century, and particularly at the Fort Willshire fairs, beads and buttons were the principal items of barter for ivory and skins, of payment for food and commodities, or of gifts to chiefs and headmen by travellers, and some missionaries used them for hiring labour. By the same token strings of beads were deposited in the collection plate by members of the congregation at religious services. At first any beads were valued, though red appear to have been for a long time the favourites, and a necklace of red beads was worn by chiefs as a sign of rank. At the end of the eighteenth century white, and particularly large white, were most favoured, and were taken by the chief as tribute. But as early as 1803 beads were sufficiently numerous for Lichtenstein to mention the changeable fashions, a fact which from then onwards embarrassed many travellers and traders who found themselves with out-of-date stock on their hands. Beads continued to be imported in great quantity, only checked by the cutting off of the sources of supply during and after the two world wars. The demand continues strongly, and plenty are available today (1971). In the 1950s one firm of importers alone imported four hundred cases of beads a year, mostly from Venice, some from Czechoslovakia and some from Germany.

Beads became an important item of internal and intertribal barter, at one stage amounting almost to a currency. Cattle could be bought with them, they formed part of the bride price, and they were given as formal presents. They also had a part in certain ceremonies (*iinkozo*). But apart from their trading and gift value, beads were of course primarily used for ornament.

In the early days just a few were worn strung together or interspersed with other things to form an ornament, or tied in the hair. Then as they became more plentiful they were threaded into strings, considerable numbers of which were worn round the neck or waist. Finally they were sewn into a fabric of beadwork at first for headbands, anklets, and armbands and then for necklaces, belts and bandoliers. They were also attached to clothing, either isolated as edgings, in patterns, or as fringes. Later there was somewhat of a return to single strings of larger beads, but the beadwork fabric, of smaller beads, appears still to be used for best wear.

It is not known where the method of stringing into a fabric originated or was learnt. The earliest mentions of it in the Cape are by Van der Kemp in 1800 and Janssens in 1803, both of whom saw headmen wearing headbands of a narrow strip of beadwork, worked in a pattern of alternating triangles of white and black or blue. Armbands and anklets of white and black or blue were being made about the middle of the nineteenth century, but the great wealth of bead-

work, necklaces, belts and bandoliers seems to have been a feature of the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries.

There appear to have been two methods of stringing into a fabric. They are best understood from the diagrams. The method of Fig. 14*a* is only found in the older fabrics, while that of Fig. 14*b* is the one in universal use today and permits of any number of variations on the basic method, since designs can be made by threading one or more beads between the beads that hold the fabric together. The beaded strands may even be crossed to form a thick ridged fabric, Fig. 14*c*, (from which the beads on the crossing strands have been left out to allow the method to be seen). The nature of the threading also makes possible a great variety of pattern by alternating colours in continuous bands or stripes or diamonds, triangles, zigzags or chevrons. They must, however, be linear—it is not possible to make curves. Since the introduction of cloth, coil ornaments have been made by binding a continuous string of beads round a foundation of cloth.

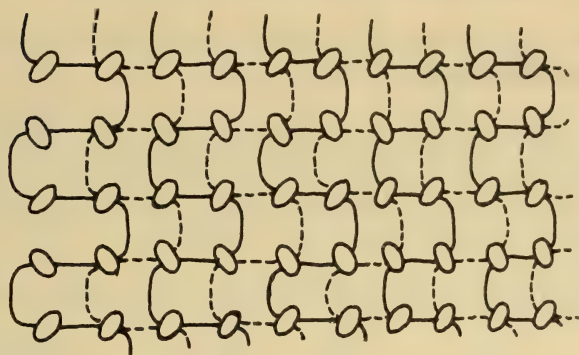
Beads are threaded and worked with a thin twisted thread of sinew or aloe fibre. Nowadays cotton is sometimes used, but it is not as durable nor does it give as firm a texture to the work. No tool is needed except an awl to make the holes if beads are to be sewn on to skin or cloth.

All work with beads is done by women, who make their own bead ornaments and those of their boy friends. Married men in the west do not wear beads or beadwork in ordinary dress, but for social occasions they wear a great deal of beadwork. In the east they have clothing ornamented with beads, but do not wear them as ornaments. Medicine men, however, wear a great deal of mainly white beadwork, though nowadays other colours are worn.

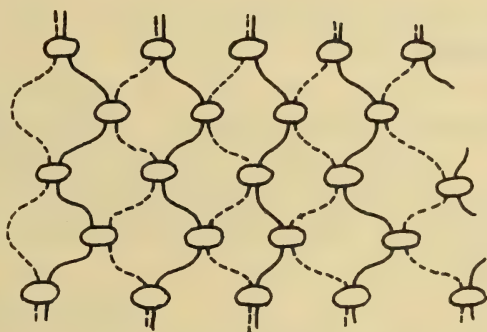
The changing fashion both in style and patterns of beadwork and in the colours used is ephemeral and not relevant to this account.

ABRASIVES, GLUES, DYES, REPAIRS: SOURCES

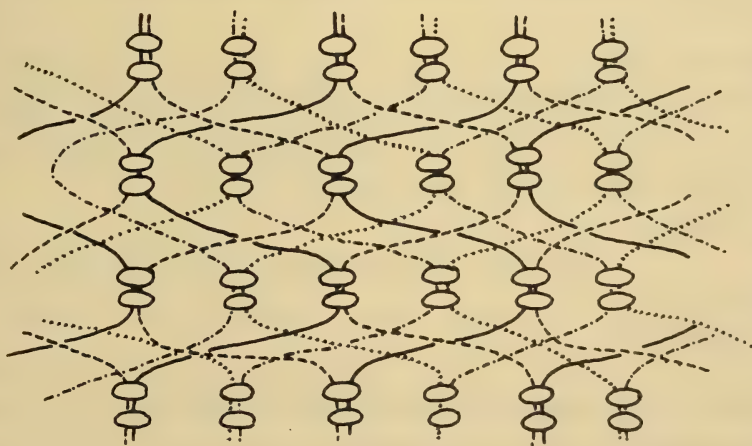
- 1802–6 Alberti pp. 31–2 Xhosa: red colour
 ‘Alles, wat zij ter dekinge gebruiken, wordt rood geverwd.’
- c. 1813 Campbell p. 269 Xhosa: stone to clean skin
 ‘They prepare the hides of cows and oxen, with which they make their cloaks by first rubbing off all the flesh and blood from the inside by a certain kind of stone. . . .’
- (1839) Adams p. 131 Xhosa: stone to curry skin
 ‘The mode used by the Caffres, in tanning and dressing tiger and other skins, is thus described; they spread them on the grass, covering them with sheeps fat, and strewing a kind of chalk over them, then with a sandstone, by a circular motion of the hand, they rub them till the skin becomes as soft and pliable as wash leather.’
- 1836–44 Döhne p. 40 Xhosa: black dye
 ‘Dann wird sie wieder mit den Händen gerieben, mit Fett bestrichen und mit saurer Milch eingesprengt. Darauf werden Kohlen von weichem Holz zu



a



b



c

Fig. 14

Staub gerieben und auf das Kleid gestreut und eingerieben, damit es eine schwarze Farbe bekomme.'

1851-2 King p. 265

Xhosa: black dye

'The women, like those before taken, had their woolly hair entwined with the claws and teeth of wild beasts, and wore karosses of hide, finely dressed, and dyed black with mimosa bark, of which all the larger trees had been stripped.'

(1853) Fleming p. 30

Xhosa: tan dye

'This shrub [*Mimosa*] is also useful as well as ornamental, the bark being used by the natives as a tan-coloured dye for their blankets and carosses, (or skins); and it has lately been similarly employed by our soldiers, to render their clothes less discernible by their enemies in the bush.'

1863-6 Fritsch p. 75

Xhosa: joins

'Was man in einem anderen Lande zusammen leimt . . . wird hier durch Bindwerk zusammengefügt. . . .'

(1895) Smith p. 175

'Kaffir': gum for spears

'*Pterocelastrus variabilis*, Sond.—Kaffir, *i-Tywina*. . . . In fastening the assegai head to the handle. . . . A hole was burnt in the shaft with the lower part of the head made red-hot. Into this was put the resin from the root of *i-Tywina* which oozes from it when it is heated. The head was then put in, and it was found to hold very firmly.'

1936 Cornner Corresp.

Mpondomise: red ochre

'White blankets, after purchase at the stores, are taken to the river and red ochre is washed into them, not so much I think to colour them or to keep them from looking dirty but to close up the pores of the blanket and so give warmth. Our natives use crimson red ochre, not the sickly orange colour, which I think is very little used.'

1937 Dyer p. 124

general: gum

'Such species [of Celastraceae] as . . . *Pterocelastrus tricuspidatus* Sond. (cherry wood) yield a small amount of timber; the leaves and bark of the latter have also been used to some extent as a tanning agent, and the gum from the roots is used by natives to repair their earthenware.'

1945 Makalima chap. 9, paras. 6, 14

Mpondomise, Fingo, Thembu: tree bark dye, stone abrasives

para. 6

: dye

Nothing more.

para. 14

: dye

'*Izinto ezenziwe ngexolo lomti*: ukujika ibala lempahla nge dayi yinto yabe lungu, ayiko kuti bantu abamnyama.'

[*What is done with the bark of trees*: to change the colour of clothes with dye is something done by Europeans, not by us.]

para. 14

: abrasive

'*Amatye okulola amazembe kuketwa ilitye elinkum-nkum, ingabi ngawo la enyangane, ibe lilitye eliti xa kulolwayo linkumke.*'

[*Stones for sharpening axes*: Friable stone was selected for this, not hard stone like granite, but a stone that crumbled when used for grinding tools.]

(1949) Duggan-Cronin Pl. LXXII and legend

Mpondomise: dye

legend Pl. LXXII 'Mpondomise women dye the white sheeting and blankets they buy at traders' stores an exquisite terra-cotta shade with red ochre. Unfortunately the dye is not fast, and the cloth stains any surface it touches.'

(1952) Weir p. 273

Xhosa: ochre

'There are several reasons for the use of ochre: the Native loves bright colours and the use of ochre makes frequent washing unnecessary, besides acting as a vermin repellent. The wide use of DDT is now obviating this latter reason for using ochre and it may have a marked effect on custom.

Ochre is used in three shades: the "kaffir ochre", which is the bright red most commonly seen; the "Fingo ochre", which is a much darker red, used by the Fingo tribes; and a yellow ochre which has become fashionable in certain areas during the past ten or fifteen years.

The Bantu are discriminating buyers always, but when it comes to ochre they are, if anything, more particular than European women selecting lipstick or powder. The ochre must be of an exact shade and texture and its quality of adherence to the blanket or sheeting must conform to precise requirements or the Native will have nothing to do with it. Let a trader buy a wrong quality and his custom will disappear in no time. A strange thing is that South Africa has up to the present not been able to produce a red ochre that is acceptable to the Native and all supplies of the correct quality have to be imported. In yellow ochre, however, the South African product has proved satisfactory.'

1956 Skead (Corresp.)

Xhosa, Ciskei: ochre

'The position here is that *icumse* is dug out of the ground by natives, sold to stores and trading stations who resell it to other natives who are not within easy access of a deposit of this stuff.'

'... the local natives do use locally dug ochre for their blankets even to-day. They state that they use local clays depending upon the shades they want to get in their blankets.'

1956 Hammond-Tooke (Corresp.)

general: ochre

'According to a large wholesaler here practically all the ochre sold in the Transkei is the powdered red variety. If any yellow is sold at all the quantity is infinitesimal, and apparently no white ochre is stocked by traders at all. The red ochre sold at the stores is called *ucumse* (Thembu), *ucumsa* (Ntinde), *ucumshe* (Ndlambe). Red ochre appears to be a by-product of certain industries, particularly the iron-and-steel and paint industries, and imported red ochre from Britain has always been the most popular. During the war this

was unobtainable and the Natives were forced to use the local product—which previously they had refused to buy. To-day a certain amount of local ochre is sold and the Thembu mix it with the imported variety to make it go further. Most of the stuff used in the area between Butterworth and Mount Frere is manufactured . . . [in] East London. A certain amount is also obtained from Rhodesia. Traders get their stock via a wholesaler. The ochre is used on blankets and body and is mixed with a little water and beaten into the former. Body ochre is probably smeared with fat. Store-bought red ochre is also known by the Natives as *imbola* but this name seems to apply more particularly to the natural ochre.

As far as naturally-occurring ochre is concerned my information is a bit conflicting. Ndlambe informants in King mention a yellow clay called *umakhabha* and a white stone (*ingxwala*) found in streams. They also know the red clay *imbola*. Ntinde informants (King) seem to call the white stone *igadudu*. In the Transkei (Tsolo) the yellow stuff is called *umdiki* “a type of stone” and is smeared on the face while *inceke* is the white clay, found in the rivers, with which the *abakhwetha* smear their bodies.’

(1963) De Lange

Xhosa: ochre

p. 85 ‘The traditional cosmetic arts practised by the Xhosa include the use of colour on bodies and clothes. . . .’

p. 86 ‘Although certain colouring substances used on the face are supposed to have medicinal properties, others are admitted to be harmful to the complexion and are preferred as dyes for clothing.’

‘The majority of cosmetics consist of various types of ochre. These are readily procurable in trading stores, where the red types especially are a stock-in-trade and are constantly in demand as a dye for the kaffir-sheeting clothing (*ibayi*). These ready-ground ochres are often imported. . . .’

‘There is no standard colour which is favoured universally, and fashions change so rapidly that suppliers to the traders find it impossible to keep them supplied with the exact shade in demand. Preferences alter from district to district within the same tribal group, but in general the Transkeian Bantu prefer the bluer reds and the Ciskeians the yellower reds. In a general way a comparative chronology regarding the history of colour preferences can be devised from the age of buyers, the youngest age-group preferring the latest colours. Informants attest that these ochres are properly dyes, and unpleasant to wear on the face, being harsh and drying. They are nevertheless frequently used for facial decoration. . . .’

‘*Ucumse*: This is the name given to magenta iron oxide. Always popular, it can be bought in the trading stations in a granulated form, ready for use. The traders sell an ochre imported from Winford, England, but *ucumse* is also quarried at various places by the Xhosa themselves, for example around Mazeppa Bay. A piece of metal which has been flattened and sharpened, called *ulugxa*, is used to dig the ochre out of the ground, after which it is carried home in sacks. The women then grind it to powder

between two millstones. This ochre is used as a dye, and for this purpose a quantity is added to a basin of water and the clothing kneaded in this mixture. The article is laid out to dry on the grass, upon which it becomes stiff. The garment is then rolled in a sack and beaten with sticks by a couple of women. It is unrolled, shaken out and hung up to air. Several dippings are required before the garment acquires the desired shade. Old blankets, which when bought were dyed a brighter colour, are eventually dyed with *ucumse* and worn when working in the fields, as its dark hue disguises the dirt. For full-dress occasions it is not popular, although still worn by the older women. Xhosa informants considered dark red clothing typical of the Mfengu, who use fat together with ochre in dyeing.'

p. 87 '*Umakaba*: This is a name given to the lighter-toned oxides or clays which are found in a natural state at various localities, and does not seem to refer to any particular colouring. One product called by this name is a light red clay which can be collected around Komgha. It is moistened and shaped into a ball by the hands and dried for storage. Dyes of a similar bright red shade which were collected from sites in the Willowvale and Tsolo districts were merely referred to by local users as *imbola*. *Umakaba* is the name given by local informants to a pale yellow ochre which is a heterogeneous compound of white and yellow oxides quarried at Black Rock, near Haga-Haga. These ochres are sometimes sold to the trading stations, where they can be bought by people from other areas. The vermillion ochre which is so popular, and which is stated in many neighbourhoods to be available only at the trading station, appears to be either this same *umakaba* or an imported product which closely resembles it. A rust-red variety is quarried and prepared commercially in Natal. At Willowvale this shade was called *inewlook*, which suggests that the fashion is of fairly recent adoption there. One sees clothing dyed to different intensities of red, but I was not able to ascertain satisfactorily whether different types of *imbola* were responsible for this difference in hue. All the *umakaba* oxides are procurable from South African quarries, and vary greatly in hue. . . . They are usually mixed with water and used as a dye in the same way as *ucumse*. New blankets are usually dyed with *umakaba*, the bright reds or pale yellows being generally considered the most fashionable. It is used by the younger married folk as well as the youngsters.'

'*Umtoba*: . . . The yellowish red ochre popular as a dye in the districts of King William's Town and Peddie, which appears to be burnt yellow ochre bought at trading stations, is called by the users *umtoba*.'

p. 88 'Such colouring matter as is produced from vegetable sources is used on the face, and there are no vegetable dyes produced for the dyeing of clothing.'

p. 95 'Red is the colour beloved of the Xhosa. It expresses their vanity and show of good spirits. Red is used on the faces and clothes of those who are normal and ritually sound; the significance of red lies in its normality. When its use is suspended, something abnormal and supernatural is involved. People resuming their normal life in the tribe after a period of seclusion, such

as the *abakhwetha* and the *intonjane*, by resuming the use of red on body and clothes, indicate that they have passed the testing time and are back to normal.'

1971 Gitywa pp. 141, 142

Xhosa: fixing head, adhesive for spears

p. 141 'An informant of the amaBamba clan, Dikidikana Location, Middle-drift, described a similar method whereby he, as a practising assegai maker, fixed the assegai heads to their shafts. He used the roots of the *itywina* tree (*Pterocelastrus variabilis* Sond.) which were burned and ground to a powder. The bore previously made in the wooden shaft is filled three quarters with this powder, and the heated tang of the assegai head is inserted into the powder-filled bore. The powder smoulders, and before it burns out, it is quenched with water. In the absence of *itywina* soot, *umle*, from the roof of the hut could be used in a similar manner. Another alternative is the use of sulphur. The joint is then reinforced with sinew thread tightly wound round it.'

p. 142 'It was pointed out that as an alternative to using *itywina* for fixing the assegai head to the shaft, aloe juice mixed with finely ground soot, *umle*, was used. This was probably the more traditional method since informants who know this method stated that they learned it from their fathers. The assegai shafts were made from *isiduli*, *Eugenia zeyheri* Harv., *umnqabaza*, *Grewia occidentalis* and *umlungumabele*, Knobwood.

ABRASIVES, GLUES, DYES, REPAIRS: TERMS

itywina 1 gum from roots of Candlewood (*Pterocelastrus variabilis* Sond.) heated and used for fixing spear into shaft; a seal D. 2 cement of dung or beeswax

Xes 295

utywino 1 nD. 2 sinew binding round top of shaft Bo 296

umthwebeba propolis, D general. Used e.g. to seal bottom of wooden milk-pail 297

iciyane kind of red clay D McL, but not confirmed 298

imbola clay of red colour, which was burnt and then pounded and made into a paste and painted on the body D general, now also imported ochre bought in stores 299

iqumra 1 red clay finely ground, D. 2 not known Tk 300

ucumse 1 crushed ground red clay; red ochre D general. This is the imported ochre bought in the shops, slightly darker than *imbola*. Deriv. and origin unknown. It comes in barrels, and as these were then used as vats for beer brewing, the second meaning now is: 2 large wooden vat or barrel for beer-brewing; by extension even large pottery vessel and modern steel drum 301

ikhebenga 1 nD. 2 paint, Xes. 3 not confirmed 302

iqabo (-qaba paint, colour, smear the body or face only with *imbola*, ochre)

1 paint, D. 2 primarily for anointing McL. 3 not confirmed 303

umqabo (from -qaba paint, colour, smear the body, or the face only, with

- imbola* . . . D) 1 paint D. 2 any substance used to paint or colour, as blankets or face and body, general **304**
- isigqabo* 1 nD. 2 paint, prob. made from ground stone, Mp only **305**
- igqabo* 1 nD. 2 grey stone that powders when rubbed, the powder being called *umgqabo* or *imigqabo*, Xes. 3 soft white stone, used by *izanuse* to daub on their faces Mp **306**
- umgqabo* 1 nD. 2 white or greyish stone which is ground to powder and used as paint, Mp Xes **307**
- amalahle* charcoal D general (lit. 'what is to be thrown away') **308**
- umnga* *Acacia horrida* Willd. **309**
- umphambo* 1 anything circular and binding; handle attached to both sides of a vessel, D; as of bucket, jug X, Mp. 2 repair or binding of a pot Mp **310**
- iphamba* (-*phamba* tie round, encompass) 1 parcel or bundle of things which can be carried in the hand, D. 2 repair or binding of a pot, Mp. 3 thought possible, but not confirmed as a word in use **311**
- uqelezane* 1 the small patch which keeps the larger patches of the leather kaross together, D. 2 not confirmed **312**

ABRASIVES, DYES, GLUES, REPAIRS: DISCUSSION

(a) *Abrasives*

Only two instances have been recorded or observed in the field of the use of an abrasive. In each case the abrasive is a piece of friable stone, generally sandstone, and it is used to sharpen the edge of an iron weapon or tool, and to clean surplus fibres from the inner surface of a skin that is being prepared.

(b) *Glues and Sealers*

Adhesives are unknown to the Cape Nguni, who, as Fritsch pointed out, tied or sewed but never glued anything together. On the other hand several substances were used for caulking and cementing:

Propolis—according to all informants it is used for sealing the bottom of milk-pails. Though they are not recorded, it doubtless had other similar uses, for example sealing the end of tortoise-shell toilet-boxes.

Gum—extracted from the roots of trees—*Pterocelastrus* and *Acacia* have been named. It was heated for use and amongst its uses was fixing a spear-head into the hole in the top of the shaft.

Dung—fresh cow-dung is used as a seal to keep the air from a join—for example it is put under the stone over the hole of a grain-pit.

Clay—fine clay or clay from anthills is still used when obtainable as a plaster for walls, and is mixed with dung for floors. There was no occasion for the use of cement until stone or box-bricks began to be used for building. Cement is not however used and the walls are held together by the clay plaster.

(c) *Colouring Media*

The colouring media mentioned in the literature, and still used today, are charcoal, mimosa bark and ochre. Ochre is by far the most important and widely used and is an important cultural characteristic of the western Cape Nguni. In addition, the Mpondo have for many years used washing-blue.

Powdered charcoal was used by the Xhosa to blacken skin clothing, particularly cloaks, by rubbing in the powder. Modern Mpondomise informants stated that the charcoal powder is mixed with fat, and used for colouring blankets.

Mimosa bark was used by the Xhosa to dye clothing. According to Ross-King, the colour achieved was black, and according to Fleming, tan colour. Makalima considers this a European technique.

Powdered ochre was and is used to colour clothing by all except those in the extreme east of the area. Originally the ochre was dug out of the ground. There are ochre deposits in clay form in many localities of the Ciskei and Transkei. Some of the larger deposits, such as the 'Clay Pits' near Grahamstown, were visited by people from a considerable distance, and a huge quantity was mined. It is still the practice for those who live near a natural deposit to dig more than their own requirements and sell the surplus to the traders, who then sell it to others who do not live near a deposit. When brought home it is ground to a powder between small grinding-stones. According to De Lange some people then moisten it and form it into balls for storing. A great deal of ochre, however, is now imported into the area by the traders, some of it South African and some imported into South Africa by wholesale firms, who put it up into small packets for sale in the trading stores. According to a member of one of these firms, all the red ochre used on clothing is imported from Britain, but for the smaller quantity of yellow ochre used the South African variety is acceptable. In times of scarcity, however, during the last war for example, people have had to be satisfied with general South African or locally mined ochre. A certain amount of excavating is still done by individuals, particularly of the yellow ochres.

There are local fashions in the shade of red used and latterly yellow has become fashionable in some areas.

Powdered ochre is said to have been beaten into clothing, but more commonly, especially for colouring cotton clothing, the ochre is dissolved in water and used as a liquid. According to De Lange a garment needed to be dipped several times, and was dried between dippings, until the required shade was obtained. It was stiff when it dried and was softened by rolling in a sack and the roll was beaten with sticks. A method of proceeding seen in the Kentani District in 1971 was that a new white skirt was first dipped in a solution of pale yellow ochre, dug locally. When dry it was given a second dipping in a solution of a dark golden shade of ochre bought at the store. It was then to be worn for some time, but later on it would be coloured dark red with *ucumse*, also bought at the store. De Lange suggests that this is done when the garment has become shabby. Red is, nevertheless, an important colour particularly to the Xhosa and Thembu.

At the end of the nineteenth century the Mpondo east of the Umzimvubu River went into white clothing in mourning for the death of the chief. Subsequently, when washing it, they used washing-blue and used it in an over-strong solution. The resultant colour was found pleasing and blue became the established colour among them for clothing.

The only instance of painting that has been or is found is the decoration of hut walls. The colours used were mainly ochres, but whitewash is widely used now for the white, and is sometimes treated to a greater or lesser degree with washing-blue. Today, more and more oxide paints are used.

(d) *Repairs*

Large pots or calabashes may be bound with a network of grass rope, bark or thongs, to strengthen them against cracking and to repair them if they do crack. Cracks in pottery might be mended with gum.

Cracks in calabashes may be mended by boring a series of corresponding holes on each side of the crack, threading thin cords or sedge stems through the holes in an oversewing stitch, and sometimes, for added strength, darning through these in the opposite direction. Museum specimens have been seen on which the mend has been covered with sticky paste. Another museum specimen has a new round of calabash rind sewn into the broken calabash in the same way.

Skins were patched by cutting a piece of skin in a round to fit the area to be patched, cutting that portion right out and replacing it with the new piece. In skin garments with the hair on, a piece with the same colour hair as on the garment was chosen if possible, and it was then so neatly inserted that it was hard to see the patch from the hairy side.

SUMMARY

The Cape Nguni technology comprised metal-working, pottery, skin-dressing, basketwork, the carving of wood, horn, bone and ivory, the preparation of calabashes and tortoise-shells, beadwork and very simple stonework. They made use of abrasives, caulking cements and pigments in the practice of the crafts and made skilful repairs.

Such evidence as there is suggests that neither Xhosa nor Thembu mined or smelted iron ore before the arrival of the Fingo. This cannot have been due entirely to lack of ore because some was quarried by the Fingo. Major deposits are absent but lateritic ironstone is present in many parts of the area. Neither did the Xhosa mine or smelt copper, but the Thembu may have done so at the Insizwa Mountains. Mpondo, Bhaca and Xesibe, on the other hand, claim to have dug and smelted iron ore, but as the records in this case are post-Fingo, the evidence is inconclusive. The basic fact remains, that it is clear from the earliest records that metals were highly prized throughout the area and practically unobtainable except from outside sources. This is unlikely to have been the case if the art of smelting had been known.

All the Cape Nguni groups, however, had specialist smiths who worked metal obtained by trade from the north, and later from the west, and, from the sixteenth century onwards, from wrecks on the coast. The early accounts state that iron was scarce and in great demand, and this evidence is supported by the fact that beyond its main use for making spear-heads, it was used to a lesser extent only for domestic axe/adze-heads, awls and a few rather precious ornaments. Copper and brass were used exclusively for ornaments. Brass was obtained from European sources. Metal-working was a man's craft. It has not been possible to establish any differences in the iron objects made, nor in smithing practice, between the various groups, except that whereas such records as there are of the fuel used indicate that it was charcoal everywhere, the Xhosa are said to have used dung as well.

An anthill or a built-up clay forge was used by the western groups, but there is no description of the forge used by any of the others. A pair of separate skin bellows was used and suitable stones were used as the other tools.

Metal-working activities today are confined to the making of a few objects from scrap or store-bought metal, and mainly, though not entirely, for personal use.

Pottery was made by all the Cape Nguni, by women, who are likely to have been specialists as are those who practise today. The Xhosa, Thembu and Bomvana built the walls of the pot by adding separate pieces and produced a coarse, brown and little decorated ware. Mpondo and Bhaca built the walls by coiling a continuous thin roll of clay, and produced a hard, thinner reddish ware, decorated with incised or raised patterns. The Bhaca also made a finer ware, which they blackened in the Natal manner. A third method of building, that of adding rings, seems to have been adopted from the South Sotho. Clay from river banks or special deposits was used and, by the Xhosa, anthill clay as well. Only for the Xhosa is the boiling of corn-meal in a new pot in order to seal it recorded.

The continued preference for pottery for the making and holding of beer has kept the craft alive, if reduced in practice, but among Xhosa and Thembu it seems to have declined a long time ago and finally disappeared. Mpondo, Xesibe, Bhaca and some Hlubi still make pottery and groups of South Sotho potters are now established in the Mt Ayliff, Matatiele and Herschel areas and supply customers at a considerable distance.

Very little is recorded in the literature about wood-carving, as distinct from the use of wood for hut frames, fences and many ordinary purposes. Inquiries in the field have however shown the use of many trees and shrubs for specific purposes. Sticks, troughs, spoons, tobacco pipes, clubs, spear-shafts, mortars and, in the east, milk-pails have been or are still made of wood. Sticks, spoons and especially tobacco pipes show most care in the choice of wood, and many were carved in decorative shapes or decorated with carved conventional designs. It was a man's craft and it is likely that many men made their own wooden articles. Today those who practise the craft are specialists.

Calabashes were and still are grown by most families where the soil is suitable, for use mainly as containers for liquids, snuff or medicines, but also as resonators for musical bows or as boys' penis-sheaths. Formerly the snuff-boxes, particularly, were often decorated with branding or with beadwork. This is not a specialist craft and men or women may prepare the calabashes.

The two basic techniques of basketwork, woven and sewn, are both represented among the Cape Nguni and for many different purposes. A wide variety of materials is used, the most important of which are sedge, grass and palm-leaf, in that order. Objects differing as much as sledges and personal ornaments are made. For actual baskets Xhosa and Thembu and probably Bomvana formerly used sedge in a fine coiled technique with furcate sewing, which was impervious to liquid, and baskets of a certain size were used as milk vessels. This style has long disappeared, possibly because of the early availability to the people in the west of the area of imported containers, though the Bomvana used the technique, but in coarser style, up to at least the 1930s. Thembu and Hlubi in the north use grass in a coiled technique for garden baskets, but the sewing is different and both style and name seem to be borrowed from South Sotho. The Mpondo and Mpondomise use palm-leaf in a coiled technique, again with different sewing, for beer-beakers and small dishes or plates. The garden basket that is most widespread today is made of sedge in a twined woven technique. It seems to have been characteristic of the eastern groups and to have spread westward to all except, as far as could be established, the Xhosa. There are also two different sorts of beer-strainer—the one made by women of sedge, straight-sewn with a multiple foundation, the other made by men of palm-leaf, in twilled weave. But the two sorts are also found together in other societies and the palm-leaf variety can only be made where the *Hyphaene* palm grows. The Mpondo, who use it chiefly, have the leaf available, and also use it for their beer-beakers. There are two techniques used in making sleeping-mats of sedge and cord—the latter may be sewn through the sedge stems or woven together by twining.

Basketwork is predominantly a woman's craft and is practised in the winter season when agricultural work is slack. Despite the varieties taught in schools it has shown strong resistance to change and is still an active craft.

Skin-dressing was an important craft when all clothing and in addition war-shields, bags and many other useful articles were made of the skins of cattle or game. The equipment used was a frame and pegs for stretching the skin, a spear-blade, an adze, stones and the thorny edge of an aloe leaf, for cutting, cleaning, pounding and currying it, a variety of fats, liquids and infusions for softening and preserving it, ochre or charcoal for colouring and sinew thread for sewing the articles made. The preliminary cleaning and scraping were men's work, and Mpondo and Bhaca men seem to have done the whole work. Elsewhere, however, women took over the skin for the softening and currying process and the making-up of the garments from it. Apart from this there are no records of differences in technique between the groups. Skin-dressing is still

practised to a limited extent, especially for the making of bags out of small skins and of sheepskin cloaks and blankets.

The small craft of carving horn, bone and ivory, or making them and also tortoise-shells into useful or ornamental objects, is not mentioned in the literature, and its existence is only known from records of the objects made—arm-rings and snuff-spoons of ivory; snuff-spoons, ornaments and whistles of bone; snuff-boxes, snuff- and other spoons, and vessels for pipes and medical purposes of horn; and toilet-boxes of tortoise-shell. The latter are only recorded with certainty from the Xhosa and may be a borrowing from the Hottentots. This is men's work, and to the small extent to which horn and bone carving survive today (there is no ivory available for carving) it is done by specialists. Snuff- and porridge-spoons are still made occasionally.

Except for the trimming of suitably shaped stones for such things as grinding-stones, whetstones, mortars, hammers or fencing-posts, stonework is confined to the foundations of modern huts, for which pieces of stone are dressed, or where wood is scarce, for the building of cattle-kraal walls, when they may be dressed if not the right shape. There is continued reference to the former use of a stone knife, but no definite confirmation of this was obtained.

The threading of beads, whether natural objects or made of clay or glass, is an ancient practice which grew into a flourishing craft among the Cape Nguni when glass beads from European sources became available in increasing quantities from the end of the eighteenth century. The origin of the making of beads into a fabric, as distinct from threading them in single strands, is not known. It is a woman's craft and very much practised today.

A friable stone as an abrasive, propolis, gum, cow-dung and clay as adhesives, and charcoal, mimosa bark and ochre as dyes, have been used as long as there are records and are still used today. Skins and even calabashes may be patched by inserting a new piece instead of placing it over the tear or break. Calabashes, however, like pots, more often have the crack drawn together by threads through holes down each side and the whole mend covered with gum.

The difficulty of distinguishing former differences in technological methods and in the finished objects is enhanced by the fact that the majority of the accounts for the nineteenth century, when outside contacts were recent, and almost the only full ones for that period or just before it, are for the Xhosa, and it is rare to find museum specimens older than the second half of that century. Certain characteristics in tribal or group techniques stand out, however, and may indicate historical associations.

There are the two techniques of building pottery, by adding separate pieces as was done in the west, or by adding a continuous coil as was done by the Mpondo and others in the east. The only other people so far recorded in southern Africa who build by coiling are the Swazi (Lawton 1967: 71), and this is in accord with Mpondo traditions of origin (Wilson 1969: 93). There is a third technique now practised, that of adding rings of clay, but it is used mainly by people under fairly recent South Sotho influence (Lawton 1967: 42-3). There

were the two techniques for making baskets—the old coiled basketwork with furcate sewing, of the Xhosa, Thembu and Bomvana, and which, incidentally, has not so far been recorded elsewhere in southern Africa, and the split-warp twine (Pl. 27:5), which may have spread westward from the Mpondo and others in the east, and which has so far only been recorded elsewhere among the Ndzundza in the Transvaal. The Mpondo beer-beaker, of coiled technique with simple oversewing, and the woven beer-strainers of the same palm-leaf are not found in the west. On the other hand the former use of baskets to hold liquid seems to have been characteristic of the Cape Nguni in general. These slight indications do no more than confirm the relationships known from other sources—the Xhosa, Thembu and Bomvana; the Mpondo, Mpondomise, Xesibe and Bhaca (the Mbo of early records) and the various Fingo tribes who arrived later.

None of the crafts has remained unaffected by outside influences.

Neighbouring peoples from the north brought iron and copper to trade in early times, and latterly have introduced a different coiled basketwork technique among the Thembu and coiled basket grain-bins among the Hlubi and perhaps Bhaca.

The Hottentots in the west may have introduced the sewn sleeping-mat, which way of making mats, though for roofing, is a Hottentot technique but is used in many parts of southern Africa. The Hottentots also, after the arrival of Europeans at Table Bay, brought copper and beads.

The Fingo peoples brought in iron-smelting.

European contact, first through the wrecks on the coast and later through the spread of the colony, caused a decline in many techniques by making manufactured goods available, but it brought greater availability of metal, and was responsible for the great flourishing of beadwork. It does not appear to have brought about changes in technique, except in some basketwork and the availability of a variety of tools, especially for woodwork.

The men, as the pastoralists, could practise their crafts of metal-working, wood, horn, bone and ivory carving and stonework at any season, and there is no record that any season was preferred. For skin-working, which in many groups they shared with women, winter is said, among Xhosa at least, to have been preferred because of the more suitable condition of the skins. Women as the gardeners only had enough time in the agricultural off-season, again the winter, to practise their crafts of pottery, basketwork and beadwork, but it should be added that the materials for basketwork only become available in the autumn.

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PLATE 1. 1891. 1892.

PLATES

PLATE 18

1. Potter moulding base of pot, Mpondo, Zibungu, Libode 1958.
2. Making roll to coil around flat base on left.
3. Shaping coils into wall of vessel.
4. Making longer coil to build up wall of vessel.
5. Coil builds up wall further.
6. Fragment of calabash used as smoother by potters, 83 mm, Mpondo, Umvume Springs, Port St Johns 1939 (SAM 6063).

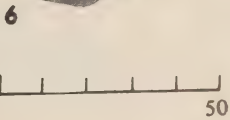
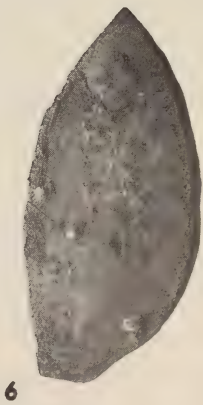
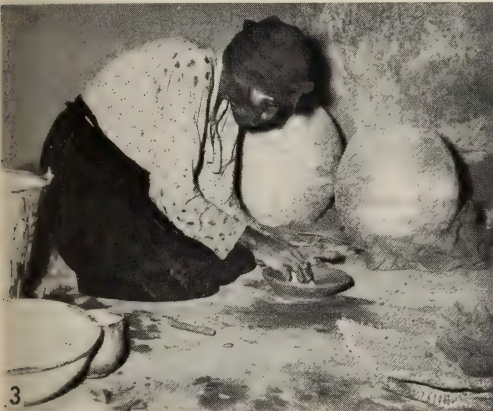


PLATE 19

- 1-7. Firing pottery, Mpondo, Mthombe, Libode 1968:
1. *umphanda*, unfired, is brought to firing site.
 2. Firing site, with bricks from collapsed hut, sacks filled with cattle dung for fuel, grass to bed pots and ignite fire.
 3. Furnace built of old bricks (only because available).
 4. Pots filled with dung and covered entirely.
 5. Fire lit and burning well; bricks stacked up and arranged to control draught and heat.
 6. Fire burnt out, furnace is dismantled. Older woman watches her daughter, whom she taught the art.
 7. Pot, still hot, is removed with help of sack.
8. *imfutho* (bellows) used by smiths, 864 mm, Bomvana, Elliotdale 1935 (TM 35/409).



PLATE 20

1. *umphanda*, diam. mouth 400 mm, Bomvana, Nkanya, Elliotdale 1948.
2. Pot, height 255 mm, 'Thongefäss der Kaffern', c. 1880. Nauhaus, Ethnographische Gegenstände . . ., 1881 (Z. Ethn. 13 Verh. pl. 9(4)).
3. *umphanda*, diam. 365 mm, Bomvana, Guse Loc., Elliotdale, 1935 (TM 35/380).
4. *umphanda*, diam. 375 mm, Bomvana, Elliotdale, 1935 (TM 35/359).
5. *ingcayi*, diam. 120 mm, Bomvana, Elliotdale 1935 (TM 35/382).
6. *ingcayi*, diam. 265 mm, Bomvana, Elliotdale (TM 35/381).
7. *ingcayi*, diam. 228 mm, Bomvana, Nkanya, Elliotdale 1948.
8. *ingcayi*, diam. 223 mm, Bomvana, Nkanya, Elliotdale 1948.
9. *ingcayi*, diam. 160 mm, Bomvana, Elliotdale 1935 (TM 35/440).

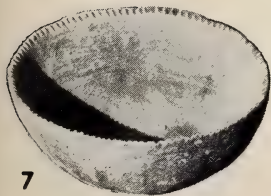
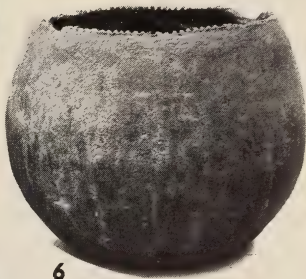
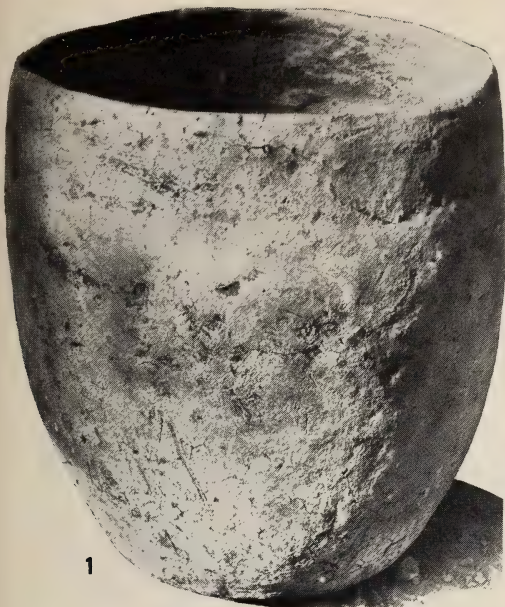


PLATE 21

1. *ingqayi*, black burnish, diam. 175 mm, Mpondo, Luqhoqhweni, Lusikisiki 1948.
2. *ingqayi*, diam. 198 mm, Mpondo, Lusikisiki 1935 (TM 35/412).
3. *ingqayi*, diam. 190 mm, Mpondo, Lusikisiki 1935 (TM 35/402).
4. *ingcayi*, diam. 180 mm, Mpondo, Lusikisiki 1935 (TM 35/423).
5. Pot, diam. 180 mm, Mpondo (EL 732).
6. *inkongo*, diam. 318 mm, Mpondo (EL 748).
7. *ingcayi*, diam. 190 mm, Mpondo, Lusikisiki 1935 (TM 35/439).
8. *ingcayi*, diam. 200 mm, Mpondo, Lusikisiki 1935 (TM 35/443).
9. *inkongo*, diam. 200 mm, Mpondo, Umvume Springs, Port St Johns 1939 (SAM 6051).
10. *ingcayi*, diam. 160 mm, Mpondo, Flagstaff 1932 (University of Cape Town, 32/37).
11. *inkongo*, diam. 300 mm, Mpondo, Lusikisiki 1948.

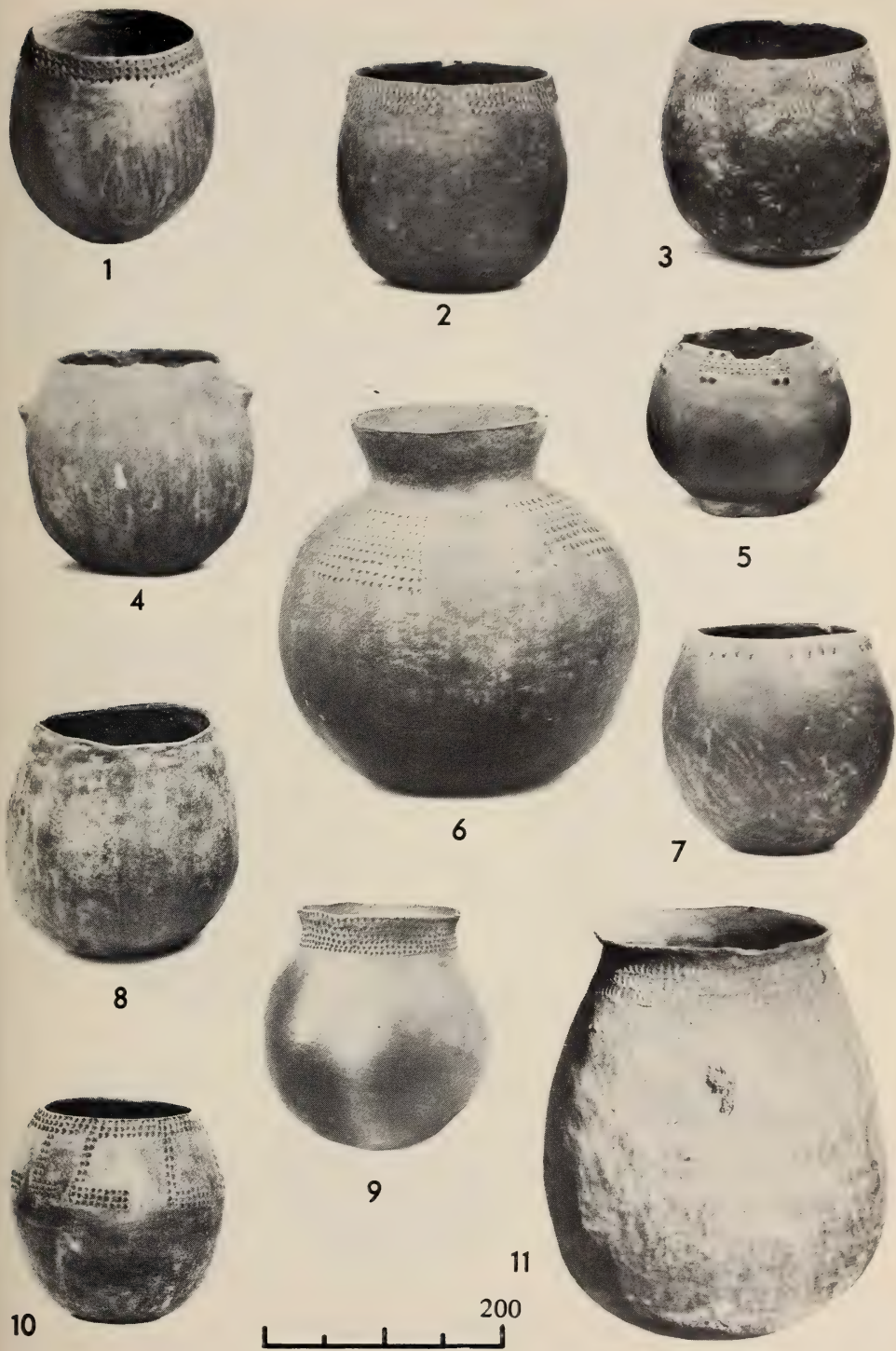


PLATE 22

1. *imbiza*, diam. mouth 540 mm, Mpondo, Qawukeni, Lusikisiki 1948.
2. *imbiza*, diam. mouth 490 mm, Mpondo, Luqhoqhweni, Lusikisiki 1948.
3. *ikhanzi*, diam. mouth 350 mm, Mpondo, Luqhoqhweni, Lusikisiki 1948.
4. *imbiza*, c. 720 mm, Mpondo, Luqhoqhweni, Lusikisiki 1948.
5. *inkongo*, diam. 333 mm, Mpondo (EL 739).
6. *umphanda*, diam. mouth 280 mm, Mpondo, Qawukeni, Lusikisiki 1948.
7. *ingcaza*, height 230 mm, diam. mouth 145 mm, Xesibe, Elubaleko, Mt Ayliff 1948.

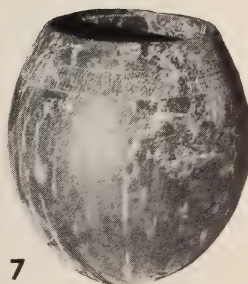
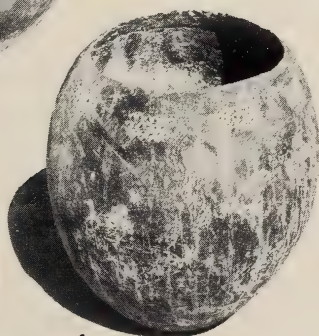


PLATE 23

1. Pot with lugs, diam. mouth 180 mm, presumed made by Xhosa because of locality where found buried, viz. farm Orlando, Addo, *c.* 1930-40 (EL 255).
2. Pot with lugs, diam. mouth 200 mm, presumed of Xhosa make because of locality where found buried, viz. farm Umslateni, above Debe Nek, *c.* 1930-50 (EL 300).



PLATE 24

1. *ukhamba*, diam. 300 mm, Xesibe, Elubaleko, Mt Ayliff 1948.
2. *ingcaza*, diam. mouth 130 mm, Bhaca, Lugangeni, Mt Frere 1948.
3. *ingcaza*, diam. 260 mm, Xesibe, Elubaleko, Mt Ayliff 1948.
4. *umphanda*, diam. mouth 250 mm, Xesibe, Elubaleko, Mt Ayliff 1948.
5. Pot, diam. 256 mm, Xesibe (EL 981).
6. *ingcaza*, diam. mouth 105 mm, Bhaca, Lugangeni, Mt Frere 1948.
7. *ingcaza*, diam. 215 mm, Xesibe, Elubaleko, Mt Ayliff 1948.
8. *umphanda*, diam. mouth 245 mm, Bhaca, Lugangeni, Mt Frere 1948.

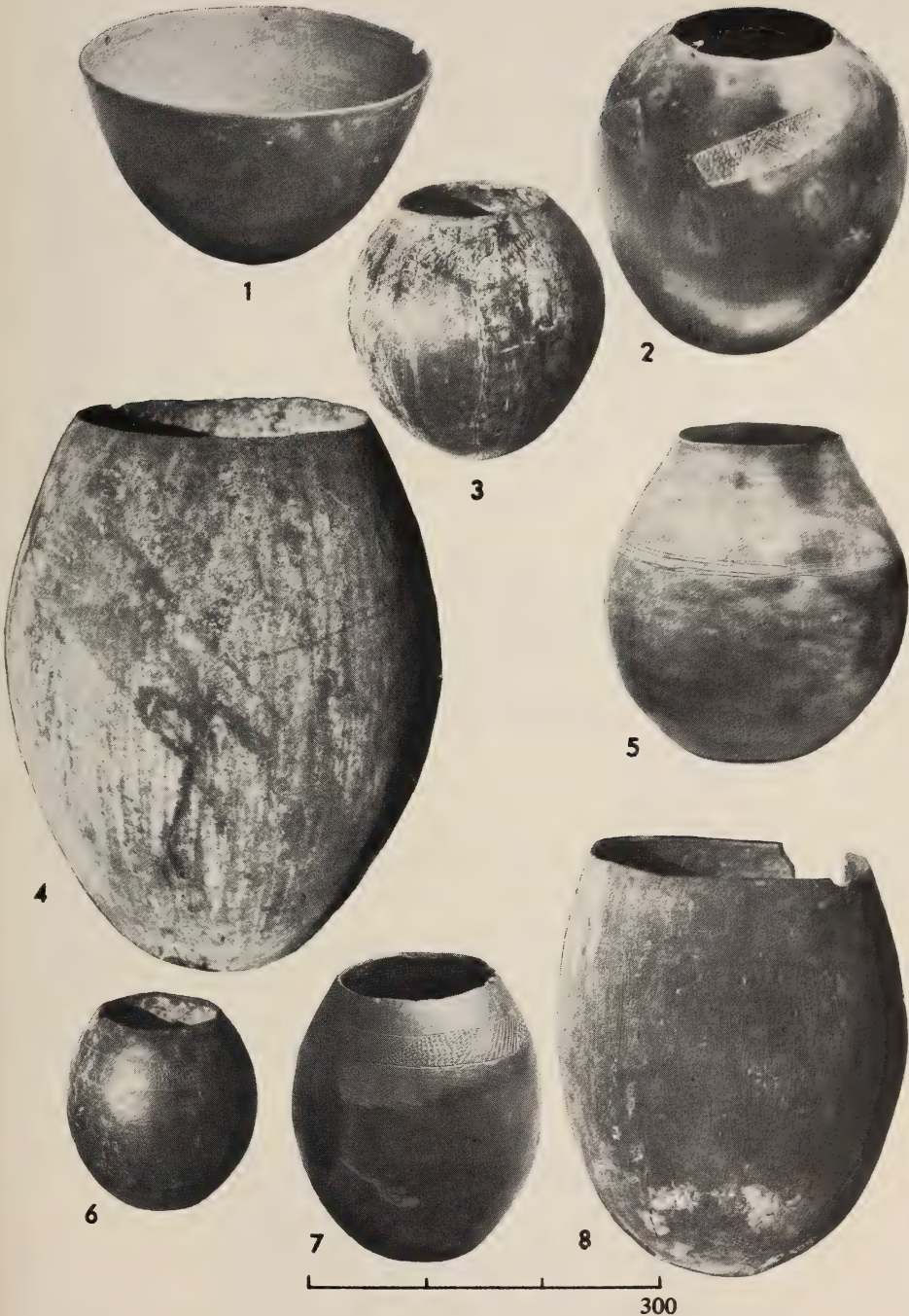


PLATE 25

1. Pipe maker at work, shaping pipe with hatchet, Ndlambe, Soto, Komga 1965 (Photo G. Velcich).
2. The same, boring through the stem with red-hot awl.
3. Sledge with frame for transport of maize, Xhosa, Willowvale 1948.

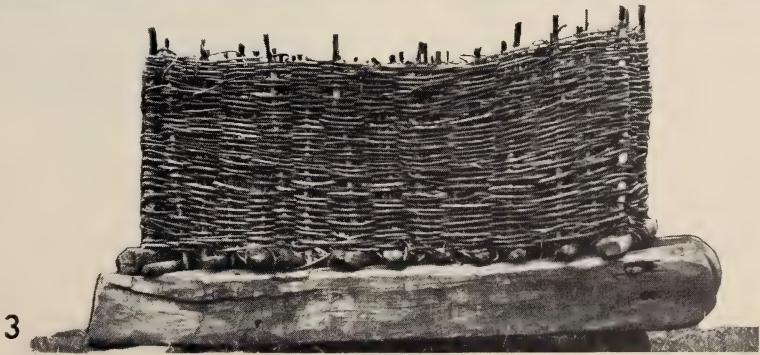


PLATE 26

1. Snuff-box, diam. 105 mm, Fingo, Peddie *c.* 1910 (TM 4725).
2. *umcephe* (calabash scoop), 227 mm, Mpondo (Albany Museum C1307).
3. Calabash for curdled milk (*idliwa*), 340 mm, Mpondo, Maqhingeni, Libode 1968.
4. Milk calabash, diam. 235 mm, 'Kaffern' (Ratzel, 2, 1895:98).
5. *ugumfu*, 1 150 mm tip to tip in straight line, Mpondo, Luqhoqhweni, Lusikisiki 1948.



PLATE 27

1. Fabric of milk basket obtained by Sparrman in *c.* 1775 from Gonaqua Hottentots, who traded such baskets from the Xhosa (Statens Etnografiska Museum, Stockholm 1799.2.8). See 37:3.
2. Woven basketwork, Bhaca, Lugangeni, Mt Frere 1948.
3. Coiled sewn basketwork: *isiludu*, made by Hlubi-Sotho long integrated in Bhaca tribe, Mt Frere 1948.
4. Fabric of coiled *ingobozi* basket, Thembu, Xalanga 1935 (TM 35/482).
5. Woven basketwork, *ingobozi*, Bomvana, Elliotdale 1935 (TM 35/504).
6. Fabric of coiled basket, Bomvana, Elliotdale 1935 (TM 35/354).
7. *imizi* sedge, *Cyperus textilis* Thunb. (Photo E. M. Shaw, SAM).
8. Coils of dried *uluzi* plant fibre, for making sleeping-mats, Mpondo, Zibungu, Libode 1958.

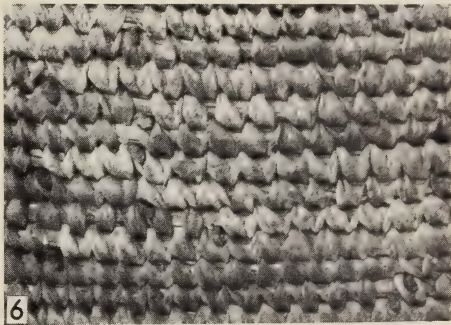
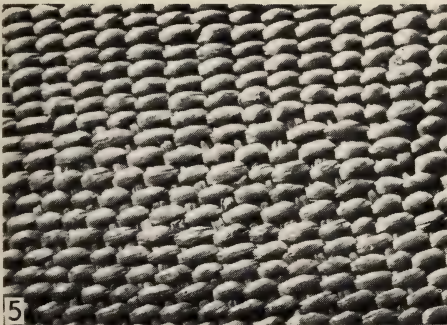
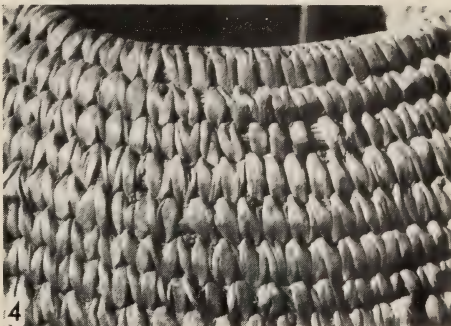
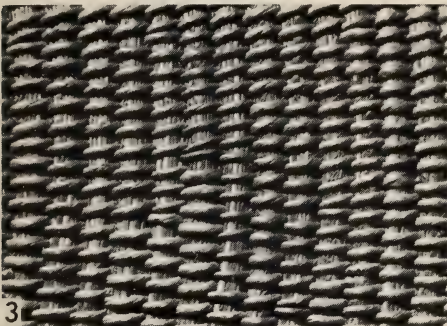
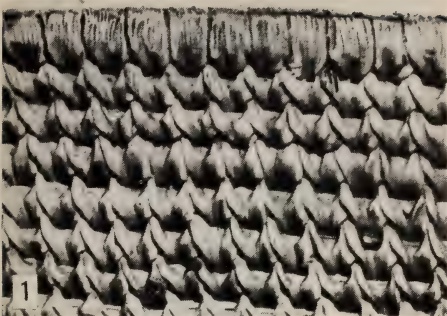
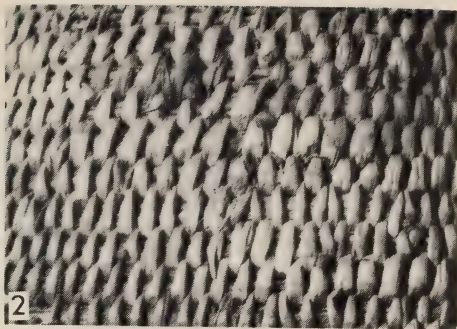


PLATE 28

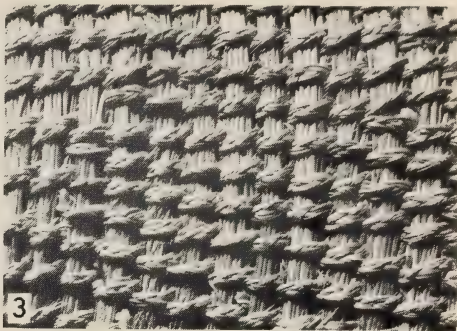
1. Woman carrying large coiled basket, sketch by Sir Richard England, 1833-7 (Africana Museum, Johannesburg 53/722).
2. Fabric of coiled basket, Bomvana, Elliotdale 1935 (TM 35/390).
3. Fabric of coiled basket (South Sotho style), Hlubi Mt Frere 1948.
4. Beer-strainer, half-made, and needle, Fingo, Dwessa, Willowvale 1960.
5. *isiludu*, diam. *c.* 280 mm, Fingo, Tsomo 1955 (Photo E. M. Shaw, SAM).
6. Fabric of coiled basket, Thembu, Xalanga 1935 (TM 35/466).
7. *isitya*, diam. 200 mm, Mpondo, Bizana 1935 (TM 35/422).



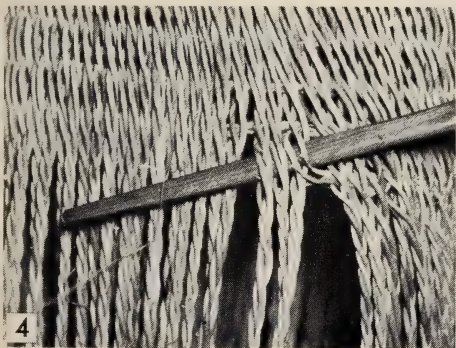
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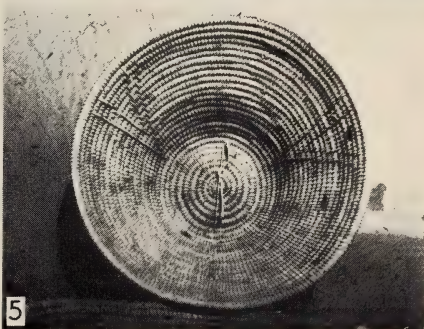
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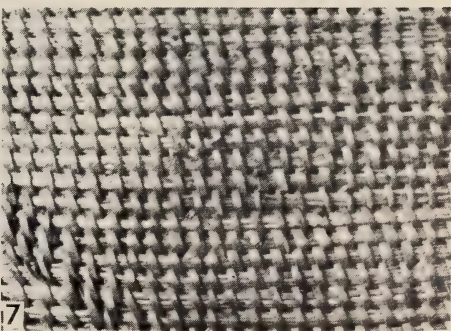
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PLATE 29

1. *ixamba*, 400 mm, Mpondo, Luqhoqhweni, Lusikisiki 1948.
2. Mpondo making coiled *isitya*, Luqhoqhweni, Lusikisiki 1948.
3. Bomvana woman making woven *ingobozi*, Guse, Elliotdale 1948.
4. *umqungo*, 260 mm, Bomvana, Elliotdale 1935 (TM 35/364).

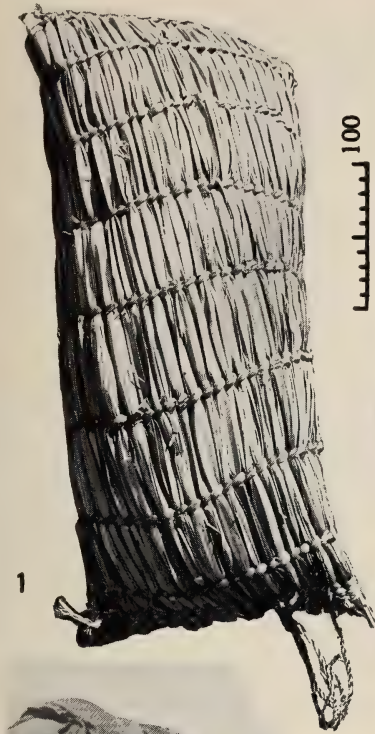


PLATE 30

1. Beer-strainer being made, Fingo, Dwessa, Willowvale 1960.
2. Fabric of *intluzo* (strainer) for children's food, open-twined weave, Thembu, Mqanduli 1935 (TM 35/341).
3. Fabric of *intluzo*, beer-strainer, straight sewing, Xhosa, Qwaninga, Willowvale 1948.
4. Fabric of beer-strainer, diagonal twill weave, Mpondo, Umvume Springs, Port St. Johns 1939 (SAM 6054).
5. Fabric of *isicangca* (sleeping-mat), open twined weave, Bomvana, Nkanya Elliotdale 1948.
6. Woman making *isicangca* (sleeping-mat), Bomvana, Nkanya, Elliotdale 1948.
7. Fabric of *ukhukho* or *isicamba* (sleeping-mat), Mpondo, Qawukeni, Lusikisiki 1948.
8. Fabric of *isicamba* (sleeping-mat), Xesibe, Elubaleko, Mt Ayliff 1948.
9. Fabric of *umahambehlala* mat, Hlubi, Mt Fletcher 1942 (Fort Hare 102).

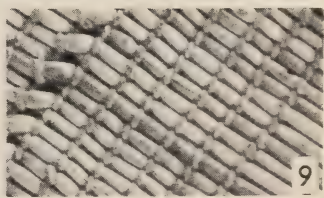
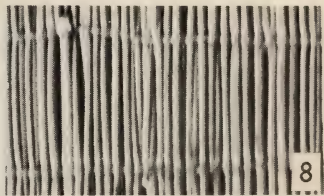
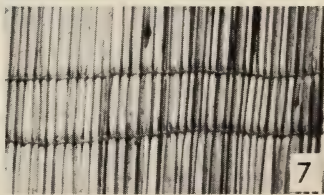
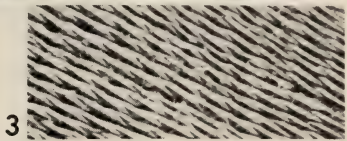
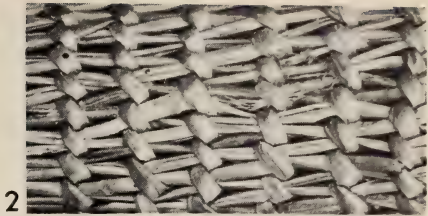


PLATE 31

1. Fabric of *isithebe* food-mat, close-twined weave, Bomvana, Elliotdale 1935 (TM 35/481).
2. Fabric of *isithebe* food-mat, close-twined weave, Bomvana, Elliotdale 1935 (TM 35/410).
3. Fabric of *isithebe* food-mat, close-twined weave, Xesibe, Mt Ayliff 1944 (EL 993).
4. *ingobozi* basket being made, Fingo, Dwessa, Willowvale 1960.
5. Mpondo women carrying bundles of *imizi* (sedge) for mat-making, Umvume Springs, Port St Johns c. 1935 (Photo Mrs F. Clarke).

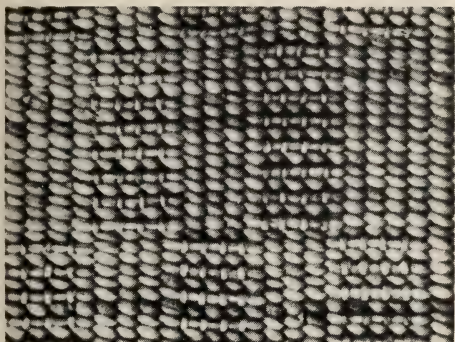
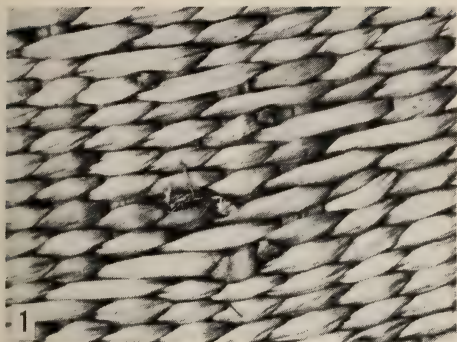


PLATE 32

1. Portion of initiate's dancing skirt, Bomvana, Elliotdale 1935 (TM 35/838).
2. Boy making hat, Thembu, Umtata 1948.
3. Rope, Xhosa, Willowvale 1948.
4. Making rope, Bomvana, Nkanya, Elliotdale 1948.
5. Mpondo woman carrying bundle of grass rope for sale, Umvume Springs Port St Johns *c.* 1936 (Photo Mrs F. Clarke).

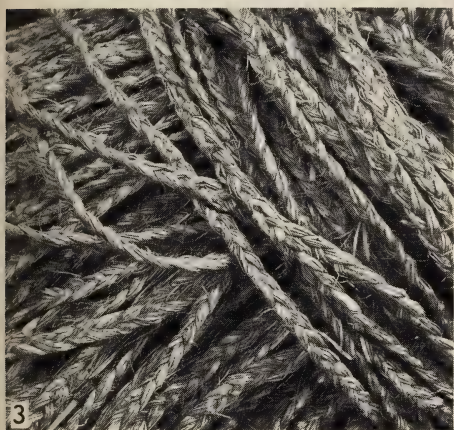
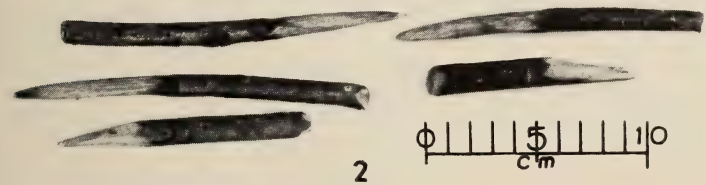


PLATE 33

1. Frame for stretching hide, *c.* 1850. Note adze, pegs, aloe leaves and liquid. Watercolour by F. I'Ons, 'Kaffir method of preparing the kaross' (Africana Museum, Johannesburg 6327).
2. *amakhonkwane* (pegs), 95-160 mm, Xhosa (EL 58).
3. Thong-softening frame with thongs stretched by stone, Mpondo, Nomadolo, Ngqeleni 1958.
4. Thongs being softened by twisting with stick used as lever, *ibid.*



INSTRUCTIONS TO AUTHORS

Based on

CONFERENCE OF BIOLOGICAL EDITORS, COMMITTEE ON FORM AND STYLE. 1960.

Style manual for biological journals. Washington: American Institute of Biological Sciences.

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- (2) Contents.
- (3) The main text, divided into principal divisions with major headings; sub-headings to be used sparingly and enumeration of headings to be avoided.
- (4) Summary.
- (5) Acknowledgements.
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FISCHER, P.-H. 1948. Données sur la résistance et de le vitalité des mollusques. *J. Conch., Paris* **88**: 100-140.

FISCHER, P.-H., DUVAL, M. & RAFFY, A. 1933. Etudes sur les échanges respiratoires des littorines. *Archs Zool. exp. gén.* **74**: 627-634.

KOHN, A. J. 1960a. Ecological notes on *Conus* (Mollusca: Gastropoda) in the Trincomalee region of Ceylon. *Ann. Mag. nat. Hist.* (13) **2**: 309-320.

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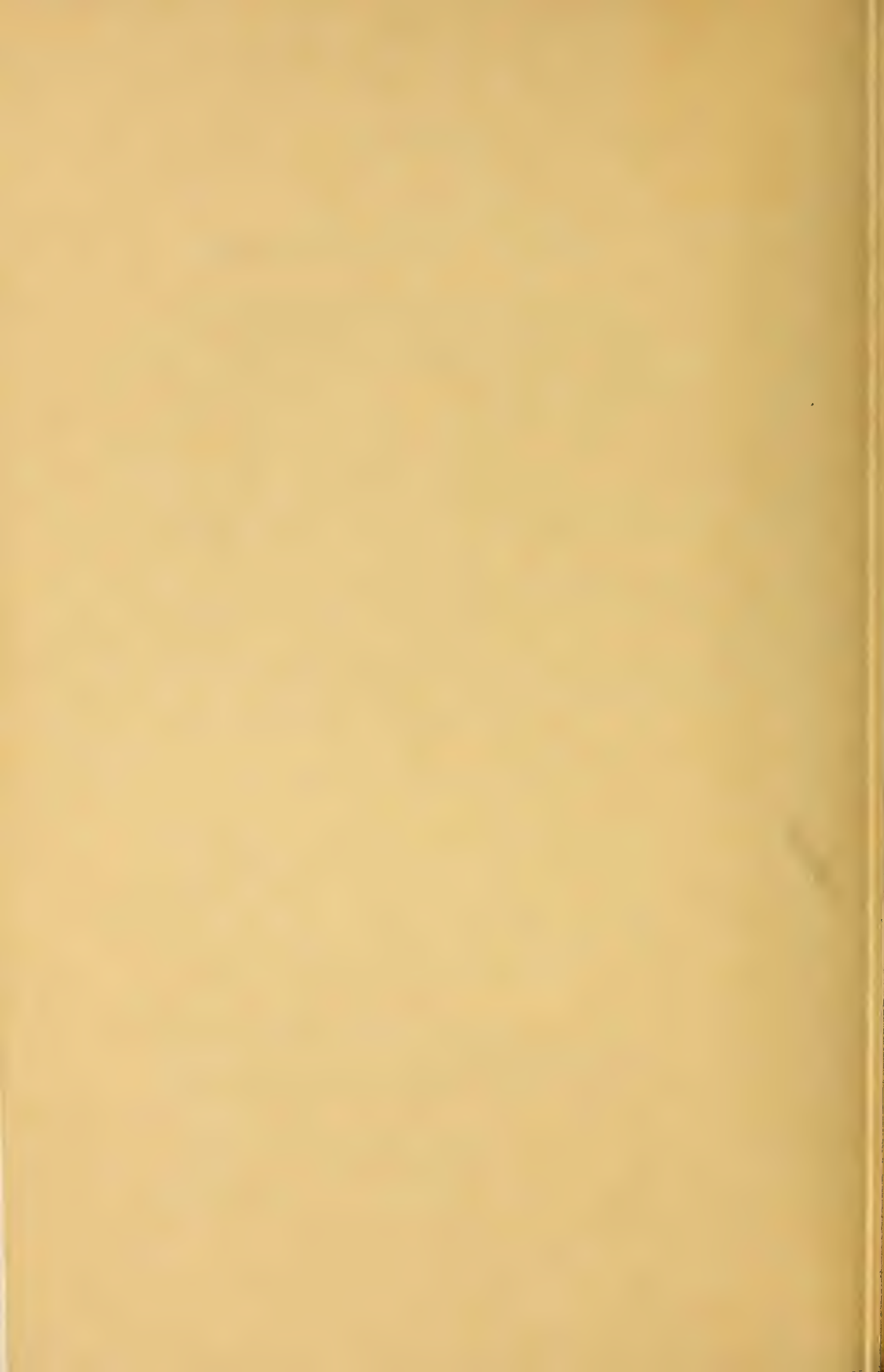
THIELE, J. 1910. Mollusca: B. Polyplacophora, Gastropoda marina, Bivalvia. In: SCHULTZE, L. *Zoologische und anthropologische Ergebnisse einer Forschungsreise im westlichen und zentralen Süd-Afrika*. **4**: 269-270. Jena: Fischer. *Denkschr. med.-naturw. Ges. Jena* **16**: 269-270.

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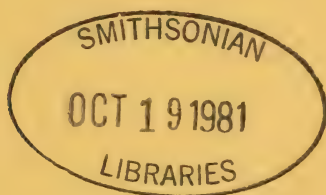
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THE MATERIAL CULTURE OF THE
CAPE NGUNI
Part 3 Subsistence

By

E. M. SHAW & N. J. VAN WARMELO

Cape Town Kaapstad

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THE MATERIAL CULTURE OF THE CAPE NGUNI

Part 3 Subsistence

By

E. M. SHAW

South African Museum, Cape Town

&

N. J. VAN WARMELO

Department of Co-operation and Development, Pretoria

(With 34 plates and 3 text-figures)

[MS. accepted 14 May 1980]

ABSTRACT

The object of this third part of the study is to record the use to which Cape Nguni technology, as described in the second part of the volume, is put in subsistence activities. This includes agriculture and animal husbandry, tools and weapons, hunting, fishing and food gathering, and household and cooking practice.

The starting point of this section, as of the whole study, was the Xhosa terminology. An attempt was made to find and record all the objects for which names exist, and to fit them into place in everyday life. The literature was searched, museum specimens were examined in South Africa and elsewhere, and fieldwork was undertaken in Transkei and Ciskei, the home of the Cape Nguni, between 1948 and 1971.

During this period considerable change has taken place in Transkei and Ciskei, old styles of living have given way to new, with a consequent disappearance of the old technology as more convenient artefacts became available. The study concentrates on the period before 1948, with some reference to changes since then.

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INTRODUCTION

This is the third part of a four-part volume* in which the material culture of the southern Nguni people is described (see Shaw & Van Warmelo 1972, 1974). For convenience in handling, the third aspect of the study, that is the uses to which the technological skills are put, has been divided into two parts. Part 4 will thus complete the volume and will include indexes and a full alphabetical list of references.

This third part deals with various aspects of subsistence. The emphasis is on the objects used, and only as much background information as is necessary is included to make the picture clear. It is not, therefore, a full discussion of subsistence.

The starting point was the vernacular terminology. Literary sources are quoted fully and discussed in the text. Other information comes from an examination of museum specimens, and field observations made over several years by both authors.

It should be noted that the spelling in the sources is as in the publications themselves. Von Winkelman's (1788-89) text is particularly noticeable for its spelling errors.

Vernacular terms are quoted in the singular.

* Contrary to the usual format, the first two papers in this volume contain both 'figures' and 'plates', to run consecutively through the volume: this format must therefore be followed in the present paper. Ione Rudner, Editor.

The dates preceding the names of authors in the sources given for each chapter are preferably those of the authors' stay in that part of the country. Sometimes an author dated his narrative as it went along so that the exact date can be used. If the work was published while the author was still in the country the period between the date of arrival and the date of publication has been taken. Where no dates of sojourn are known the date of publication is given in parentheses. The object of this arrangement is to keep the sources as far as possible in chronological order.

The numbering of Figures and Plates is continuous throughout the various parts of this volume.

TERMS

In these sections the names only of authors with one publication are given without the dates of publication, for the sake of brevity: the full references may be found in the list of references. Only in the case of Soga should it be noted that unless stated the publication date is 1932. The convention, for example (-Soga), means that the word or meaning is taken from a source other than verbally from an informant. The latter is indicated by the abbreviation of the tribal name, for example X (see list of abbreviations). The starting point of the study was *A Kafir-English dictionary* (Kropf 1915) which is quoted verbatim and is indicated by D. Terms gathered in the field or elsewhere and not in the *Dictionary* are marked nD.

The terms are numbered in bold type as one series throughout the four parts of the study to facilitate indexing. Where a term appears in more than one place its other numbers are given as well, in parentheses. Abbreviations used with the terms and also in the legends to plates are given below.

Hlonipha is a custom that requires a female to avoid as taboo words identical with or similar to the names of her chief's and husband's relatives, especially of her father-in-law, and to substitute for them others, which together constitute a whole *hlonipha* vocabulary for the use of those needing one or other item from it.

ABBREVIATIONS

Alb.	Albany Museum, Grahamstown
AM	Africana Museum, Johannesburg
Beukes	Dr Beukes, at one time ethnologist at the Transvaal Museum
Bh	Bhaca
Bo	Bomvana
D	Kropf (1915)
EL	East London Museum
Em	Mbo
Fgo	Fingo
FH	F. S. Malan Museum, Fort Hare
Hlu	Hlubi
KM	Kaffrarian Museum, King William's Town
Mp	Mpondo
Mpm	Mpondomise
Mzamane	Mzamane, G., formerly lecturer at University College of Fort Hare

nD	not in Kropf (1915)
PEM	Port Elizabeth Museum
pron.	pronunciation/pronounced
SAM	South African Museum, Cape Town
T	Thembu
TM	Transvaal Museum, Pretoria
UCT	University of Cape Town ethnographic collection
X	Xhosa
Xes	Xesibe

AGRICULTURE

SOURCES

- 1593 Lavanha (1597) p. 234 South of Umtata R.: grain
 'Saõ estes e todos os mais Cafres pastores, e lavradores, e disso vivem; a lavoura he de milho, o qual he branco, do tamanho de pimenta e dasse em huma maçaroca de huma planta da feiçaõ e tamanho de caniço.*'
 (p. 293. 'These and all other Kaffirs are herdsmen and cultivators of the ground, by which means they subsist. They cultivate millet, which is white and the size of a peppercorn; it is the fruit of a plant of the size and appearance of a reed.')
- 1686 'Stavenisse' (Godée Molsbergen 1922) p. 67 Xhosa: crops
 'Driederley koorn teelen sij bij haar, mitsgaders callabassen, pompoenen, waterlimoenen, en boontjes, de vaderlandse grauwe erweten seer gelijk.
 Verders saaijen sij jaarlijkx seeker slag van aardakers mitsgaders een soort van onder aardse boontjes; beide seer voedsaam, dragende boven d'aarde kleine bladeren.
 Den tabacq planten sij meede, en soo se kennis en wetenschap hadden, dien wel te havenen, soude deselve na alle waarschijnlijkheid de Virginische in deugd te boven gaan.'
- 1752 Beutler p. 308 Xhosa: spade
 '... als se een stuk land om te planten of te besaayen hebben uytgekoosen steeken se eerst de daar op staande ruygte in brand, daarna word hetselve omgespit met een soort van een graaf dat dubbeld of aan beyde de eyndens even is gefatsoneert. ...'
- 1776 Swellengrebel p. 13 Xhosa: gardens
 'Naast de kraal zagen wij twee stukjes grond met doorns afgeschoten; in 't een stonden Tabaksplanten en Kaffers-koorn, waarvan de plant, die even opkwam, veel geleet naar de Turksche tarwe of milie (:mogelijk de *Holcus Sorghum*:)—en in 't ander kalbassen, pompoenen.'
- 1778 Van Plettenberg p. 49 Xhosa: spade
 Nothing more.
- 1782 Hubberly pp. 73, 112 Mpondo, Gqunukhwebe: crops

* When quoting Theal in this work, his spelling of Portuguese has been followed.

p. 73

Mpondo: maize, sweet potatoes

'On the 3rd day after they left the wreck, a party of about sixty Coffreys, with women amongst them, led by a captain, with their lances and targets, came to enquire what they were and where going, as they understood. . . . Mr Hays, the purser, was sent to treat with them . . . he cut gold lace and put round the women's heads, which they seemed pleased with, and brought some sweet potatoes and other roots, a few ears of Indian corn, and two or three cakes of bread, which were divided amongst the ladies and children. . . .'

p. 112

Gqunukhwebe: crops

Nothing more.

1788 Von Winkelman (1788-9) p. 72

Xhosa: method

'Die Sorge voor die letztern ist meistens das Geschäft der Frauen, die ihre nächst am Kraal liegenden Felder oder kleine Fluhren mit Mais und Kafferkorn anbauen. Sie haben ein 4-5 Fuss langes auch öfters kürzres Stück Holz, pfahlartig gestaltet, womit das Erdreich mühsam umgegraben wird. Sie leiten selten das Wasser, und dennoch grünt alles aufs schönste. Die Millis oder der Mais wächst zu einer beträchtlichen Grösse. . . .'

1797 Barrow (1806) 1 pp. 171, 176

Xhosa: crops, implements

p. 171

Xhosa: crops

'Few are the dietetic plants cultivated by the Kaffers. The millet, called by botanists the *holcus sorghum*, and a very large species of watermelon, seem to be the most important articles of their kitchen garden.'

p. 176

Xhosa: implements

Nothing more.

1800 Van der Kemp (1804) p. 438

Xhosa: method, crops, spade

'When they sow this corn, which is the work of the women, they use no plough nor spade, nor any manure, but only throw the seed on the grass; after this they push off the grass with a kind of wooden spade, by this operation the seed falls on the ground, and is covered with the grass; from underneath this half dried and half rotten grass the corn afterward springs up.'

1803 Paravicini di Capelli p. 129

Xhosa: not primarily agriculturalists,
neglect of agriculture in wartime

'De landbouw is by de Kaffer nog in desselvs geboorte; zy zayen een koorn veel gelykenis met onze gierst hebbende, het welk gemalen en tot koeken gemaakt, van redelyk goede smaak is. Sodra zy in oorlog of gevaar zyn, stellen zy zodanig weinig belang in den akkerbouw, dat zy deeze tak van onderhoud dadelyk laten varen, om tot de veyligheid hunner kuddens te waken, blyvende in de omstandigheid somwylen jaren zonder landbouw.'

1803 Van Reenen p. 197

Xhosa: sorghum, maize

'In their country the Kafirs reap much corn, which is called Kafir-corn, and grows to a considerable height. . . . Mealies are also found in abundance. Their food consists mostly of the above-mentioned corn, mealies and sour milk

prepared by leaving milk for a few days in water-tight baskets made for the purpose.'

1802-6 Alberti (1810 *a*) pp. 113, 114
p. 113

Xhosa: tools and crops

Xhosa: spade, spear, flail

'Het spitten geschiedt met Spaden, vervaardigd uit de zeer harde soort van hout, onder den naam van Nieshout bekend, en wel uit één stuk, dat, aan beide einden van den gemeenschappelijken ronden steel, omtrent 2 Duimen dikte, 4 Duimen breedte en 10 Duimen lengte heeft, om daardoor, wanneer het eene eind door langdurig gebruik stomp is geworden, zich van het andere te kunnen bedienen. . . .

De Gierstairen, rijp geworden zijnde, worden met werpspiesen afgemaaid, op eenen hoop verzameld en met droog gras en doornen bedekt. Niet lang daarna worden zij met dunne stokken gedorscht, en de vrucht alsdan met beide handen in de hoogte geworpen, om langs dezen weg van de schel gezuiverd te worden.'

p. 114

Xhosa: mealies and tobacco

'Boekwit en tabak worden na den oogst in de hut zelve opgehangen en alzoo tot op het oogenblik van derzelve gebruik bewaard.'

1803-6 Lichtenstein (1811) pp. 447-448

Xhosa: methods, reaping, threshing

Nothing more.

c. 1813 Campbell (1815) p. 370

Xhosa: crops and spade

Nothing more.

1821-4 Thompson (1827) 2 p. 359

Xhosa: use of spade by women

Nothing more.

1824 Ross p. 212

Fetcani: implements

'They break up the ground with iron picks, or hoes. Men and women work in the fields.'

c. 1824-5 Smith pp. 77, 258

Xhosa: methods, spade

p. 77

Xhosa: reaping

'They generally enclose their gardens and they are then dug by the women with wooden sticks round in the middle and flattened at both ends. Their corn when fit to be cut is cut with an assegay and carried in bundles to the [home], threshed out and then cleaned by aid of wind and put in grainery.'

p. 258

Xhosa: spade at wedding ceremony

'When they come by the women of the kraal to whom the bridegroom belongs they stand still and one of the old women gets up with a spade in her hand at the same time telling the bride that she must cultivate well the ground. . . .'

1815-37 Shaw (1840) pp. 58-59

Xhosa: spade and plough

p. 59

'When the Kaffirs first beheld the plough in operation, they were seized with perfect amazement at the sight, gazing wishfully one at another as they perceived the deep furrows that were made.'

- 1826 Shrewsbury (1869) pp. 229–230 Xhosa: introduction of plough
 ‘The plough takes wonderfully with the Kafirs wherever it is introduced, especially with the women, for as the men do nothing but attend their cattle, while it falls to the hard lot of the native females to cultivate the ground, they are clamorous for so useful an invention in agriculture, which much lightens their labour and toil.’
- 1825–9 Kay (1833) pp. 35, 143, 144–145 Xhosa: threshing-floor; spade
 p. 35 Xhosa: threshing-floor
 ‘On inquiring where we could sleep, our aged host silently pointed to his threshing-floor; a small circular enclosure surrounded with poles and branches.’
 p. 143 Xhosa: spade
 Nothing more.
- p. 144–145 Xhosa: threshing-floor
 ‘The harvest being over, the corn is brought home in bundles: each woman carries her sheaves upon her head. A small circular enclosure is then made, and the ground within prepared in such a way as to form a good hard threshing-floor on which the iminyani, or ears, are laid and beaten out when dry.’
- c. 1831–2 Smith pp. 62–63 Mpondo: spades
 ‘The Caffres . . . have set to making wooden spades for tilling the ground which are their only implements of agriculture. . . .’ (quoting Farewell 1825 unpublished).
- c. 1831–2 Drège p. 20 Mpondo: gardens
 ‘In the afternoon we drove 2 hours firstly through Kaffers gardens planted with vegetables and Kaffercorn. . . .’
- (1833) Morgan p. 34 Xhosa: method
 Nothing more.
- 1834a Bonatz p. 279 Thembu: plough
 In August 1834 one of the Tambookie began to use a plough.
- 1834b Bonatz p. 351 Thembu: spades, women’s work
 ‘The Tambookie women are considered as the slaves of their husbands. . . . The cultivation of the gardens is likewise their incumbency. This labour they perform on their knees, with wooden spades.’
- 1834 Godlonton (1835–6) p. 227 Xhosa: women’s work
 Nothing more.
- 1835 Alexander (1837) 1 p. 393 Xhosa: division of work
 Nothing more.
- (1836) Martin p. 157 Thembu: use of spade
 Nothing more.
- 1820–56 Shaw (1860) pp. 330, 418, 419 Xhosa: threshing-floor, women’s work, introduction of plough
 Nothing more.

1839 Hallbeck p. 259

Fingo: hoe

'... the Fingoos, who are not so exclusively devoted to pasturage as the Caffres. Their tools show that they are expert gardeners. Instead of the poor wooden spade in use amongst the Caffres, they wield a large iron pickaxe, scarcely, if at all, inferior to the European one in utility. Both sexes take part in the labour, and work diligently, side by side, from morning till night.'

1836-44 Döhne (1844) pp. 9, 72

Xhosa: method

p. 9

Xhosa: method

'Die Kaffern bauen nichts als Milis, eine Art Korn, an Gestalt den Wicken gleich, . . . und Pampunen oder Kürbisse. Einige bauen auch etwas Tabak. Ihr Ackerland bereiten sie gewöhnlich an den Flüssen, auf hohen Hügeln oder an den Bergen. Wenn sie ein bisher nicht urbares Stück Land an einem Flusse bebauen, so stechen sie den Boden mit dem Grase einen Zoll tief ab; ist das Gras verwelkt, dann säen sie den Samen hinein und stossen das Abgestochene leise um. Wenn die Saat keimt, bringen sie das trocken gewordene Gras auf lauter kleine Haufen und verbrennen es. Die Asche ist dann Dünger für das Land. Da ihnen dieses Umstechen aber schwer wird, weil sie gewöhnlich dabei auf den Knien liegen müssen und statt eines eisernen nur einen hölzernen Spaten haben, so bereiten sie die Gärten lieber in einem Gebüsch oder Walde, wenn sie es so haben können.'

p. 72

Xhosa: new iron spades

'Nach neueren Berichten fangen die Kaffern jetzt auch an, statt der hölzernen eiserne Spaten zu gebrauchen, die sie von den Kaufleuten aus der Colonie kaufen. Aber sie stechen auch damit die Erde nicht so um, wie wir thun, sondern sie fassen den Spaten mit beiden Händen am Stiele unmittelbar über dem eisernen Blatt, und stechen so den Boden um; daher trägt ein Kaffergarten auch nie so viel, als dié der Fingu's, die unter den Kaffern leben. Diese nämlich bearbeiten das Land mit gewaltigen eisernen Hacken, sogut, als dies ein Pflug thun würde. . . .'

1848 Baines (1842-53) 1 pp 43-44, 62

Xhosa, Fingo: beer, granaries

pp. 43-44

Xhosa: corn beer

'We entered first a small patch of Kafir corn or millet, *Holcus sorghum*. . . . From the fermented juice of this grain is obtained the intoxicating beverage called Outchualla. . . .'

p. 62

Fingo: granaries, drying platforms

'... kraal of the Fingoos, near which were several immovable baskets formed of stakes driven into the ground and wattled, generally about six feet high and three or four in diameter, for the reception of mealies or heads of Indian corn, and a number of scaffolds of larger dimensions on which the corn was laid to dry in the sun.'

1851 Walker

'Caffre': hoe

His plate 37.

1851 Baines (1842-53) 2 p. 272

Xhosa: spade

'The use of several double-bladed, wooden spades, found in the huts, puzzled our soldiers not a little, but one of them, forgetting that the Kafirs were not a nautical race, decided the question by calling it a paddle. The broad-bladed, iron hoe was dubbed a frying-pan, and forthwith used as such, and the handle in which it ought to have been set, being found apart, was flourished in triumph as a Kafir club.'

1862 Bauer & Hartmann (1861 *sic*) p. 491

Thembu: hoes

Nothing more.

1863-6 Fritsch (1872) pp. 87, 88, 89

Xhosa: implements, utensils

p. 87-88

Xhosa: spade, flail

Nothing more.

p. 89

Xhosa: grain pots

'Das für den täglichen Gebrauch nöthige Getreide holt man von Zeit zu Zeit hervor und bringt es in den grossen bowlenförmigen Töpfen unter, bis es zur Nahrung verwandt wird.'

1845-89 Kropf (1889) p. 107

Xhosa: method of cultivation and
threshing; spade, plough

Nothing more.

1871 Bauer p. 193

Thembu: hoeing

'The women, at least hereabout [Baziya], are not so much debased and inferior as you often hear is the case in other nations, where they have to do all the hard work, while the lords of creation are living a lazy life. When the seed-time comes, I always see the men working with their hoes together with the women. And in harvest time it is pretty much the same.'

1872 Chalmers p. 1

Xhosa: spade, plough

Nothing more.

1873 Brownlee p. 264

Xhosa: spade, plough

'The Kaffirs, strictly speaking, are a pastoral people. When the missionaries first came among them, cultivation was carried on to but a very limited extent, and their only instrument of husbandry was a two-bladed wooden spade. In those warlike days it was considered a degradation for a man to cultivate. At present, ploughs are coming into use, and the principal occupation of the women is to hoe their crops, in which they are generally assisted by the men.'

(1874) Körner p. 175

Xhosa: bird scaring

'Deshalb überzieht man das Feld mit Fäden, die am Gerüst zusammenlaufen. Das Mädchen zerzt an diesen Fäden, um dadurch die Vögel zu verschrecken; gegen Heuschrecken wendet sie Qualm von schmauchenden Brennstoffen an.'

(1883) Cape of Good Hope

Cape tribes: land tenure

Appendices C, and D pars. 23-27, discussion.

(1894) Ratzel 1 p. 656, fig.

General: grain

- (1896) Brownlee p. 173 Cape tribes: use of spade
Nothing more.
- (1904) Kidd Mpondo: carrying, winnowing
His plates 76, 78.
- (1912) Ayliff & Whiteside pp. 19, 46 Fingo: tobacco, spades
p. 19 Fingo: tobacco
'In order to acquire cattle, the Fingoes grew tobacco, and prepared it with great care. They packed it in small rush baskets which they hid in their huts until a favourable opportunity to sell it was found. Under the pretence of visiting a relative . . . they would form a party and start like so many pedlars carrying small baskets of tobacco on their heads. When they arrived at their journey's end, they bartered the tobacco for cattle. . . .
- These articles they did not use, but reserved them for barter with other tribes for cattle, contenting themselves with earthen pots for cooking and brewing native beer and with wooden impliments [*sic*] for breaking up the soil.'
- p. 46 Fingo: spade
'Fourteen years ago [i.e. 1832] the Fingoes had been accustomed to dig Hintsas's gardens with a piece of sneezewood sharpened at the end. One of these, after he was converted, threw away his sneezewood spade, purchased English garden implements, etc., etc.'
- (1916) Kingon pp. 183, 184, 187 Cape tribes: spade, plough, land tenure
p. 183-4 Cape tribes: spade, plough
Nothing more.
p. 187 Cape tribes: land tenure
Nothing more.
- (1919) McLaren p. 444 Xhosa: picks, hoes
'The original hoe or pick, *ing-xobonga*, for breaking up, *kubela*, and cultivating, *lima*, land, and also the original spade for scoffing or clearing away weeds, *um-hlakulo*, were both made of sneezewood, *um-tati*, or ironwood, *um-hlebe*, the hardest and toughest woods obtainable. The head of the pick was fixed as described above in the case of the axe-head, but, it was set at an acute angle to give greater purchase, and the user bent down considerably in using it. The wooden spade, for the sake of balance, was made much longer in the head and proportionately shorter in the shaft than our iron spades. The maker of hoes and spades was called *um-bazi* or *incibi yemiti*.'
- (1920) Kingon p. 142 Cape tribes: land tenure
(Full and useful survey of changes in land tenure from communal to individual.)
- (1926b) Müller pp. 23, 27, 28, 29 Hlubi: agricultural implements
p. 23 Hlubi: winnowing
'Um das Korn von Staub und Unreinigkeiten zu befreien, die es beim Ausschlagen oder beim Aufbewahren in den Häusern oder Säcken angenommen

hat, muss es zuerst ausgeweht werden. Die Frau füllt einen offenen, breiten, schüsselähnlichen Korb mit Korn, hebt ihn mit beiden Armen über den Kopf und lässt die Körner aus dem leicht geneigten Korbe langsam zur Erde rieseln. Auf diesem Wege entführt der fast immer herrschende Wind allen Staub und alle Schalen, so dass das Korn sich ziemlich rein auf dem Boden aufhäuft.'

p. 27

Hlubi: hoe, plough

'In früheren Zeiten haben die Kaffern wohl einfach mit der Hacke den Boden nach der Ruhe des Winters wieder umgebrochen. Ich vermute, dass diese Arbeit fast ausschliesslich der Frau zufiel. Heutzutage pflügen die Männer mit europäischen Pflügen, und zwar bevorzugen sie in dem schweren Boden die schweren Pflüge mit Holzgestell, obwohl ihnen auch elegante, schlankgebaute, eiserne oder stählerne, angeboten werden.'

p. 28

Hlubi: hoe

Nothing more.

p. 29

Hlubi: threshing-floor

'Die Tenne befindet sich meist mitten oder am Rande des Feldes, und ist ein grosser runder, hartgetretener Platz, auf dem besonders das Kafferkorn ausgedroschen wird, während die Maiskolben meistens nach Hause gefahren und dort durch Reiben der Kolben aneinander von den Körnern befreit werden.'

(1929) Kawa p. 84

Fingo: implement

'Ikuba labo laliba ligaba, uluti ke olo olwalubazwa lwenziwe bukali encakamini . . . ' [Their plough was a hoe (*igaba*), a stick which was sharpened at the tip.]

(1932) Soga pp. 381, 382–383, 393

Xhosa: changes in method, spade

pp. 381, 382

Xhosa: introduction of new implements

Nothing more.

p. 383

Xhosa: plough

'More than a hundred years ago the first European plough was introduced among the Xhosa. The iron hoe also came in at the same time. The expense of the former, and the necessity of training oxen which had never previously been used for the purposes of agriculture induced the Natives to go in more extensively for the hoe. The hoe was supreme for many years, but gradually the plough made its way into favour.'

p. 393

Xhosa: spade, new implements

'In olden times agriculture was of a very primitive character. A piece of *um-Tati* wood (*Pteroxylon utile* or Sneezeewood) was shaped into the form of a primitive spade (*ikuba*), flattened and sharpened at the digging end, and rounded for holding, for the remainder of its length. Its usual length was about two feet. It was necessary, therefore, that the agriculturalist should sit down in order to do the digging. According to the industry of the individual was the extent of the ground turned up. . . . Changes have come about in this particular as in others, through the advent of the European, who has introduced modern implements of agriculture—the iron hoe with its long handle, enabling the

worker to stand while cultivating, and the modern plough. These have superseded the simple *um-Tati* spade. They have altered also the food question, in that now much larger crops of grain are secured, which has taken the place of milk as the principal article of diet.'

1932 Hunter (1936) pp. 71-74, 85-86, 88, 101 Mpondo: method, implements
p. 71 Mpondo: crops, clearing land

'Crops grown by the Pondo before contact with Europeans were maize', ('Note 1. This is what the Pondo say. Maize is, of course, not indigenous to Africa.') 'millet, sorghum, various kinds of pumpkin, and calabashes. Sweet potatoes, . . . peas, and beans are said to be comparatively recent introductions. Tobacco and hemp have been grown for long; I could get no evidence as to the date of their introduction. Maize is now the staple crop. Formerly it is said that millet was more largely grown, but in many districts it was attacked by a disease. . . . Gardens are made in the valleys, on the banks of rivers, and on the steep slopes of the valley walls. . . . The silt on the banks of the large rivers is known to be the most fertile land, and the next best that where bush has grown. For this reason bush is often cleared to make fields, even when open grass-land is available.'

p. 74 Mpondo: method, implements

'Formerly the implements used for cultivation were *izikhu6a*, sharpened sticks, 2 to 3 feet in length, made of hard wood (*Pteroxylon utile*, or *Milletia caffra*, or *Acacia horrida*). Both ends were sharpened and hardened by fire. The cultivator squatted on her heels, held the stick in both hands, and dug with the sharpened point. Iron was smelted, and iron hoes are said to have been made before contact with Europeans, but these must have been few in number.'

'Seed is scattered over the ground and then hoed or ploughed in. Women hoeing keep a supply of seed in their mouths and spit it out as they go along. The ploughman usually scatters it first and then ploughs.'

pp. 85-86 Mpondo: threshing

'To thresh millet a hut is swept clean, the heads piled in the middle of the floor, and then beaten with heavy sticks cut for the purpose. Maize may also be threshed in this way, but more often the grains are broken off from the cob by hand. Husbands assist their wives in threshing with flails, and when a work party is made to shell mealies men and women work together, but again the greater part of the work is done by women.'

p. 88 Mpondo: sledges

'Nowadays, when the land is ploughed and the grain is brought back from the fields in sledges, it is usual for two or three *imizizi* to combine for ploughing and cartage, each supplying part of the necessary tackle or team. One *umzi* possesses a plough, another yokes and skeys, another a chain, each may contribute a yoke of oxen.'

p. 101 Mpondo: sledge

'Old techniques have been put to new ends in making the yokes and skeys

necessary for ploughing, and sledges for drawing grain. The base of the sledge is a forked tree-trunk. Wickerwork sides are built on to it in the same technique as the old doors and meat trays. Hides are cut into strips, which are tied on to a branch and twisted and retwisted to make supple "reims" for yoking.'

(1937) Soga p. 118

Xhosa: hoes

'Be kulinywa ngesingxa zemiti nezomnonono ekutiwa ukubizwa kwazo "yimihlakulo". Ibazwa zincibi ibe macala mabini (ntlangoti mbini).' [Hoeing was done with digging-sticks (*ugxa*) of wood, e.g. of the *Strychnos* (*umnonono*), and these were called *imihlakulo*. They were sharpened by experts so as to have two working ends.]

(1939) Duggan-Cronin p. 27

Xhosa: digging-stick

Nothing more.

(1939) Goodwin pp. 445-463

South Africa: origin of food plants

General discussion.

(1944) Fazan p. 45

Transkei: survey of land

'The proclamation which inaugurated the system of land tenure in the Transkei was No. 227 of 1898. It followed the general lines of the Glen Grey Act of 1894. One of the chief provisions was that: "The locations shall be surveyed, and the available extent of arable land therein, after due allowance has been made for commonage and dwelling sites, and after allotments to claimants specially mentioned as hereinbefore provided, shall be divided into allotments of four morgen each, more or less." The proclamation has only been applied to seven of the twenty-seven districts of the Transkei. . . .'

1945 Makalima chap. 4 pars. 48-49, 51, 61

par. 48

Fingo, Thembu, Mpondomise: hoes

'Into *ekwakuhlakulwa ngayo*—Kudala bekusenziwa amakuba ngomtati, kuhlakulwe ngawo. Ngezi mini sekuhlakulwa ngamakuba asesiLungwini entsimbi.'

[In the olden times hoes were made out of sneezewood and the people weeded the fields with them. Nowadays lands are cultivated by means of European iron hoes.]

par. 49

Fingo, Thembu, Mpondomise: trap for baboons

'Imfene zona ziyatyselwa ngomgibe, kungenjalo zibekelwe inyoka ijingiswe elutini. Imfene ziya yoyika kakulu inyoka. Ziti zakuyibona zikale zibaleke. Inkawu zitiyselwa ngeselwa nokuba ngu mxoxozi ugqojozwe, wenziwe intunjana ziti ngokufuna intanga ezi, zifake isandla, kanti nokuba sekuteni, inkawu ayinako ukusikupa isandla se ifumbate intanga. Iti ke ibulawelwe apo ngumnini ntsimi ngokufika ayibete.'

[A trap was used to catch the baboons and if that was not done, a stick was pitched in the ground with a snake hanging on it. Baboons are very much afraid of a snake. On seeing it, they screamed and ran away. Monkeys are trapped by means of a calabash or the Kaffir water melon in which a hole

was made, and in trying to get the pips out they would put a paw in, yet on no account will a monkey draw out a clenched paw with pips in it. It was killed on the spot by the owner of the land by beating it.]

par. 51

Fingo, Thembu, Mpondomise: sling to chase birds

'Ngamaxa wambi ziyatsawulwa intaka ngotsawulo lodongwe ne ntswazi.'

[At other times they drive birds away by putting a piece of clay on the point of a switch and hurling it off at them.]

par. 61

Fingo, Thembu, Mpondomise: threshing

'Indawo ekubhulelwa kuyo: Indawo ekubhulelwa kuyo, umgangato iyaridwa kakuhle ize isindwe igude. Kwenzelwa ukuba umbona aze angalumezi, angabinahlalutye. Amazimba wona abhulelwa paya emasimini akusikwa aposwe ndawonye ezizadulwane aposwe esandeni. Lento isisando iba lilitye elite tebelele, paya entsimini okanye kutshentwe kwenziwe ibalana eliti ke liridwe, lisindwe, emva koko kubhulelwa kulondawo ngamadodana ngezibhulo zomti, kuti kwakugqitywa intlaba le, yeliwengabafazi, bancediswe ngabafana aba ngokuwasusasusa amazimba.'

[The place for threshing is a floor that has been stamped down and smeared with mud and cow dung. It is smoothed out with a round stone. This is done to avoid the mealies getting mixed with gravel. Kaffir corn is threshed in the fields after the ears have been cut off. They are put together in bundles and thrown on the threshing floor. The threshing floor is a flat rock in the field or a spot cleaned up with a spade. It is smeared with mud and cow-dung. The young men thresh the kaffir corn with thick sticks on that spot. When this is finished the grain is winnowed by the women with the assistance of the young men.]

(1949) Duggan-Cronin p. 13, pl. 50

Mpondo: crops, hoes,
cultivation, winnowing

Nothing more.

1949-1955 Hammond-Tooke (1955) pp. 18, 19 Bhaca: crops, lands, methods
p. 18 Bhaca: crops

'The main crops are maize (*umbona*), sorghum (*amabele*), beans, various kinds of pumpkin (*iselwa*, *usolontsi*, *usenza*), marrows (*iigalonci*) and melons (*umxoxozi*). Some of the more educated people grow potatoes, cabbages and other vegetables but their number is still very small. In the deeper river valleys a certain amount of tobacco is grown and sold to traders. According to Bryant (1929: 376) the only crops grown prior to the coming of the Europeans were *uphoko* (*Eleusine coracana*), pumpkins and gourds. In later years, probably about the beginning of the 19th century, a variety of short kaffir corn (*Sorghum caffrorum*) and later a type of maize, called *ungoye* by the Zulu, were introduced.'

p. 18

Bhaca: lands

Nothing more.

p. 18

Bhaca: plough

'By no means every household owns a plough and there is co-operation

between residents in a locality (*isigodzi*)—usually clansmen—one man supplying oxen, another the yoke, and so on.'

p. 19

Bhaca: gardens

'Each *umti* (household), in addition to its fields which are almost invariably situated some distance away with the fields of the other households of the locality, has a garden, usually next to the cattle kraal, where the first planting is done so that the family will have early green mealies. These gardens are often attractively hedged with aloes.'

p. 19

Bhaca: doctoring of seed

'Nowadays there is no public ceremony before planting but formerly no one was permitted to begin ploughing before the chief had doctored the seed. On an appointed day the representatives of each household assembled at the great place carrying small baskets (*iingcekance*) containing seeds of kaffir corn and maize that had been set aside the previous year for planting. The grain was placed in large baskets containing seed from the fields of the great place and previously doctored with special medicines to ensure fertility so that "the seed of the people would get blessing from that of the chief". The *iingcekance* were then refilled and taken home where the rest of the seed of the *umti* was mixed with it, receiving blessing in its turn.'

(1954) Walton pp. 24 ff

Southern Africa: sledges

Discussion; nothing more.

1949-1960 Hammond-Tooke (1962)

Bhaca: agricultural implements,
methods

pp. 16, 17-18, 20, 147-148, 293

p. 16

Bhaca: agricultural implements

'Bush is cleared by chopping it out with an axe and both men and women co-operate in this work. Formerly implements used for cultivation were crude in the extreme being practically confined to a digging-stick sharpened at both ends. Since contact with Whites the iron hoe has been adopted, greatly facilitating work, and of later years (since c. 1890) the use of the plough has become universal. Not every household, by any means, owns a plough, and there is often co-operation between neighbours, one man supplying the oxen, another the yoke, and so on, particularly if they are relatives.'

pp. 17-18

Bhaca: crops, blessing of seed

Nothing more.

p. 20

Bhaca: threshing

'The grain is removed from the cob by standing it on a stone or block of wood and striking off the grains with a piece of iron made from the hoop of a barrel. Occasionally the grains are removed by hand but this is a painful and lengthy process. Alternatively the maize may be threshed. The cobs are piled in a heap in a hut, which has been cleared and swept clean, and beaten by men with long poles. All other forms of grain removal are done by the women. Kaffir corn is threshed in the same way, but outside the hut with light poles. It is reaped in the same way as maize, but with a sickle, and a certain amount

is gathered, before the reaping proper, for beer and *marewu* (fermented gruel).'

p. 147

Bhaca: rights over land

'Rights of cultivation were obtained merely by turning over the ground with a hoe, and there was no limit to the number of fields a woman might cultivate.'

p. 147

Bhaca: sale of land and homesteads

'Today the old system has been modified. With the stabilization of tribal and location boundaries and the increase in population causing pressure on the land (the population density is estimated at 82 persons per square mile), the right to grant the exclusive right to cultivate certain areas is reserved to the Bantu Affairs Commissioner, for with Annexation all land became the property of the State. Rights of cultivation are inalienable, and, on the removal by death of the cultivator, the land reverts to the State as, under the Native Land Act of 1936, the district was gazetted as Scheduled Native Area. The only exceptions to this are four privately-owned Native farms with an area totalling about 3,016 morgen. A widow has the right to continue to cultivate the fields she cultivated as a wife, and, in reallocating land, the eldest son of the deceased is given preference if he has not already got sufficient land.'

p. 148

Bhaca: allocation of fields or plots

'Fields are separated from each other by strips of long grass (*iminyele*) left between them, and aloes are also sometimes planted for this purpose. When a field is allocated the headman marks the boundaries with cairns of stones or by knotting the grass at the corners. We have already discussed the common preference for two or three small plots in place of one large one because of the greater chance of striking fertile soil or avoiding hail or blight.'

p. 293

Bhaca: seasonal calendar of work

Discussion.

1956-8 Hammond-Tooke (1958*b*) pp. 41, 43

p. 41

Xhosa: modern methods, crops, old methods

'Apart from these Trust properties the tribal areas continue to be cultivated, to a large extent, by primitive methods and it is estimated that at least half the land in the Scheduled Native Areas needs resting. There is no rotation of crops, and maize and kaffir corn are planted in the same fields year after year. . . . About 1½ tons of fertilizer is used annually by the average peasant farmer. . . . The staple crops are maize, kaffir corn, beans and a little wheat. . . . Not much kaffir corn is grown, although two-thirds of the district is more suitable for it than for maize. . . . One of the reasons why kaffir corn is not grown to a greater extent is that many of the children are away at school and there is no-one to scare the birds away from the crops.'

p. 43

Xhosa: table of crops

List of crops.

(1969) Holt pp. 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210

Tshezi: agricultural practice

p. 205

Tshezi: land tenure

'Formerly when the Tshezi were still a small group and land was plentiful, a man could find land almost anywhere he chose. But today things are different. The people have increased (a matter of pride) but the land is small (a matter of regret). Neither headman nor chief any more, and not even the tribal authority as a whole, may authorise occupation of allotments but only the Bantu Affairs Commissioner (though usually on their recommendation) and a residential site provides only sufficient room for a man's homestead. . . .'

'As well as applying for a residential site, a Tshezi man applies for a field or fields for his wife or wives. . . . The applicant for an arable site follows the same routine as for a residential site. . . .'

p. 206

Tshezi: size of lands

'Arable sites may not exceed 5 morgen, but few are so large. The average is said to be 3 morgen [2,57 ha]. Usually these fields are some distance from the homestead. They are not fenced, but if two fields are adjacent to each other, a line of tall grass (*idobo*) will be left growing between them as a boundary line.'

p. 207

Tshezi: choice of site

' . . . the valleys and especially the river-banks are preferred for arable sites. . . . Now, however, owing to the population explosion and the consequent land scarcity fields are to be found everywhere, . . . even (an unknown thing some years back) reaching down the inclines close to the sea.'

p. 209

Tshezi: land tenure

'There is no individual land tenure anywhere among the Tshezi, or their neighbours the Tshomane and the Bomvana, as there is in some other parts of the Transkei.'

p. 210

Tshezi: digging-stick, hoe, plough

'Old people living today still remember having heard from their grandparents of the time when fields were prepared for grain by means of digging sticks (*izinti*). This must have severely offset the advantage of being able to have as much land as one wanted for tilling. Then traders and missionaries introduced the hand-hoe, which was soon widely adopted. The single-furrow plough came next, introduced, it is said, by a missionary.'

TERMS

igaba 1. pick or hoe, D, general except Bo (from *-gaba* 'dig with a pick or hoe'), denotes the imported article. 2. sharpened stick used for cultivation (Fgo-Kawa p. 84) 313

ikhuba 1. (Em) originally iron pick or hoe the pointed end of which was put through a wooden handle; now it means an ordinary Kafir hoe; a plough, D X T Bo Mp Mpm Fgo Xes Hlu. 2. wooden spade, T Bh (X-Soga) (T-Makalima). 3. now also general for plough (from *-khuba* 'dig with pick or hoe' D) 314

isikhuba 1. old hoe or spade, D. 2. single-bladed wooden spade of sneezewood, Mp. 3. sharpened stick (Mp-Hunter) 315

- ingxobonga* (-*ngxobonga* pick, hoe (X—McLaren 1915)) pick, D (X—McLaren 1915), otherwise not **316**
- umhlakulo* 1. hoe, spade, plough, D. 2. old-style wooden spade, T Xes (X—Lichtenstein 1811, **1**: 655 *slak'hulo* 'hölzerne [*sic*] Spaten') (X—McLaren 1915). 3. European-made spade, X Bo Mp (from -*hlakula* weed) **317**
- isikwelo* (unaspirated no vb) 1. (Em) boy's digging-stick for digging up roots, =*isikhwili*, D (but note, D does not say *isikhwili* is for digging) 2. not confirmed **318**
- isikhwili*, *ukhwili* 1. sharp-pointed stick, shaped like an assegai, used by boys, D, general (presumably for digging, cf. **318** *isikwelo*). 2. not confirmed **319**
- ulugxa* sharp-pointed stick or iron rod for digging roots or clay, D X Mp Xes **320**
- isigxa* 1. stony, bushy place, D. 2. old style sneezewood digging-stick, Xes. **321**
- inkwitshi* 1. sling, made of stripped maize cob fastened on switch and hurled away, D. 2. stick with cob or clay on end for hurling at birds (X—McLaren 1915). 3. unknown, X Bo Mp **322** (1079)
- iqonga* elevated place for storing fruit, corn, etc; store, shelf, D, general, for various purposes, as rack for sticks, firewood, platform on poles built in fields for crop-watchers; rough bedstead of sticks made and used by healed *abakhwetha* (Bo—Cook) **323** (86, 109, 505, 1025)
- intsawula* switch for hurling clay, T Mp Mpm Xes **324**
- intsawulo* (from verb -*sawula*, -*tsawula*) switch for hurling lump of clay, nD X Bo, general **325**
- uswazi* switch, D, general **326** (959)
- irengqa*, *irengqe* 1. sickle, D. 2. store-bought sickle, general **327**
- ikrele* 1. short-handled assegai used in hand to hand conflict, D. 2. sickle bought from store, Bo but other Bo deny it **328**
- isanda* threshing-floor, D, general **329**
- isibaya* 1. fold for sheep or calves; fold for Kafircorn before it is threshed out, D. 2. this first meaning is general except that Bh Mp Mpm and Xes use the word for any cattle kraal, as in Zulu **330** (95)
- isibhulo* 1. stick for threshing out corn, flail, D, general. 2. act of threshing, Mp. 3. thick stick, Xes Bh (from -*bhula* 'beat out, thresh') **331**
- isimbatyulo* scourge or flail, D (from -*mbatyula* denoting the action) **332**
- isileyi* sleigh (from Dutch *slee*), D, general **333** (1096)
- umgodla* 1. (Em) pocket, D. 2. bag of calf-skin, Xes. 3. bag of ox-hide, Bh. 4. grain bag of two soft hides, Hlu **334**
- umgodlo* 1. nD. 2. bag made of *ikhwane* rushes, T and others **335**
- intlwayelelo* 1. bag made of rushes for preserving seed, D. 2. also calabash for preserving seed, Bo. 3. not known Mp Bh. 4. *ingobozi* basket or other receptacle held in the hand to hold seed whilst sowing. Not for storing seed, as the form of the word does not allow this meaning, and in olden days seed was kept on the cob, hanging from roof, T (from -*hlwayela* 'sow',

therefore 'something for sowing from'). 1-2 may be due to misunderstanding 336

ingobozi 1. large elastic basket for storing corn, D. 2. garden basket, general. 3. small pot-shaped closely woven basket (Bo-Beukes) 337 (538)

ingxowa bag, usually made of the skin of a kid flayed whole; sack; pocket, D, general 338 (948, 969)

isilulu 1. light but very large basket for storing corn, made of coarse grass, with a narrow mouth, D. 2. learnt from South Sotho, Hlu Xes Bh. 3. conical garden basket, T. 4. storage for maize, made like crib on sleigh, covered and plastered, Mp. 5. not as generally known as might have been expected from the nature of the article, and probably is the Zulu *isilulu* grain-storage basket introduced by the Fingo. 339 (103)

isiludu (Xhosa pron. of Sotho word *seroto*) medium-sized basket for carrying, Hlu Bh Fgo; style adopted from Sotho, Bh 340 (543)

isiximba 1. nD. 2. grass bin for maize, made like crib on sleigh, covered and plastered, Bh. 3. basket made of maize husks, for carrying seed (Mp-Poto Ndamase) 341 (104)

unyati (Bh pron. of Zulu *unyazi*) 1. nD. 2. large basket for carrying corn, Bh 342

DISCUSSION

Agriculture used to be almost entirely the woman's domain, but with the change of implements since the early part of the nineteenth century men have come to take a considerable part in it.

LAND

The idea of ownership of land was foreign to the Cape Nguni. Everyone was entitled to cultivate a portion, and the chief would settle disputes. This is still the case over a large area of the present Transkei and Ciskei, but in some districts the land has been officially surveyed into building and gardening lots for individual use. Latterly many districts have been surveyed into suitable grazing land and suitable arable land and the people have been persuaded to reserve them for such uses and to build on the less fertile ground. In Pondoland large lands are seen.

In addition to the main lands, there was usually a small fenced garden at the homestead.

Most of the information available in the literature before the twentieth century refers to the Xhosa and Thembu and a little to the Fingo.

METHODS

In former times, when a choice of site was possible, the bottoms of the valleys or the bushy hill-sides were chosen to make lands, as being more sheltered and fertile. When new ground had to be cleared of bush or forest, this was the men's work. Bushes and trees were cut down, piled up and burnt. Each wife

then had her own land to cultivate. The women spread the ashes, which thus helped to fertilize, and this was the only fertilizer used. They then smoothed over the ground, sowed the seed, and dug it in very shallowly with a digging-stick or a wooden spade. They squatted or knelt to work and gripped the shaft of the implement with both hands. If the ground was already clear of trees and bushes the seed was spread on the grass which was then dug over and allowed to rot. Or, when the seedlings were up and the grass had dried, it was gathered into heaps and burnt, and the ash spread. When the seedlings began to appear, the men fenced the lands, generally with thorn bush, to keep out wild animals. The successful growth of crops was assisted by the use of field medicines, and in former times, certainly amongst Bhaca and probably other tribes too, no planting might be done until the chief had blessed the seed.

According to Paravicini di Capelli, if the tribe was at war, care was taken of the herds, but the crops were neglected and the tribe might thus be several years without agriculture.

With the gradual restriction of movement there was less clearing of new ground. At the same time, when iron hoes and eventually ploughs began to be generally used, a larger area of ground could be cultivated.

Among the Immigrant Cape Nguni, who were using iron hoes when they entered the country, men helped with the hoeing, and ploughs brought the men of all the Cape Nguni into the work on account of the use of cattle with which women had nothing to do. Later, Thembu men were said to help with the hoeing too. Thembu men in the Herschel district did most of the work in the fields, but if hail was threatening, as in 1961, the women helped to bring in the harvest. Elsewhere women do the harvesting but men appear always to have helped with threshing the corn, and latterly have driven the oxen that drag the sledges, in which it is carried home. Otherwise agricultural practice is much the same now as it has always been, except where entirely new modern agricultural method has been adopted. Mpondo women used to hold the seed in their mouths and spit it out as they hoed; ploughmen, however, scattered the seed before ploughing.

The gardens are weeded at intervals and some seedlings are thinned out. Little regular watering is done, nor is the land irrigated.

When the sorghum crops begin to ripen women and children watch them continuously during the daylight hours to keep the birds, baboons and other game away.

Fences used to be broken at the end of the harvest, but nowadays the lands are unfenced, and the small home gardens are permanently fenced.

CROPS

The crops mentioned by the early writers, and still the most important today, are millet (*Pennisetum* sp.), sorghum (*Holcus sorghum*), maize (*Zea mays*), several varieties of bean, pumpkins, melons, tobacco and dagga (*Cannabis sativa*). There is considerable disagreement about the time and route by which

maize reached the southern Bantu, though it is thought to have reached Africa at the Congo mouth in 1560. The literature for the Cape Nguni does not throw much light on the matter. The survivors of *S. Alberto* recorded only millet (?sorghum) at the Umtata River in 1593. The next records are two centuries later, when maize was seen among Mpondo and Xhosa. In the meantime it had been recorded in 1633 by the survivors of *Nossa Senhora de Belem* in southern Natal, and Van Riebeeck had introduced it at the Cape in 1658. Gourds were mentioned in 1686, as were a type of ground-nut, not now known. As well as sorghum, Alberti (1802-6) mentioned 'boekwit' (?buckwheat). It was stored in the hut, and it is not clear to what he referred.

IMPLEMENTS

The main implement with which the ground was tilled in former times by Xhosa, Thembu and Mpondo was a spade (*umhlakulo*; Mpondo *isikhuba*), about 60 cm to 90 cm long, the shaft being about 5 cm in diameter, with a blade at each end 10 to 15 cm wide. The descriptions are not always clear, but the same shape was probably used throughout the area. According to Soga there was a blade at one end only, but this is not confirmed either in literature or by the actual specimen in the South African Museum (Pl. 34: 5). It was usually made of sneezewood (*umthathi*) but other hard woods, such as Kaffir ironwood (*umhlebe*), were used as well. This implement had its place in the marriage ceremony, when an old woman holding a spade, would tell the bride that she must cultivate well.

In addition a pointed stake or digging-stick (*ulugxa*), 120 to 140 cm long, was used for digging out roots, or, according to the earlier authors, for actual tillage. (It was also used for digging out clay.) According to McLaren it was sometimes weighted with a bored stone in the Bushman manner but this is not confirmed. Hunter states that the Mpondo hardened both ends by fire.

The vocabulary has *ingxobonga* (a pick), which McLaren described as made of sneezewood or ironwood, with a head fixed into a haft like an axe head, but at a more acute angle (the inference is that the head is of wood, but this is not clear). This was not known to our field informants, nor is it mentioned elsewhere in the literature.

It is not clear to what type of implement the word *igaba* was originally given. According to Kawa it was a digging-stick. It is not otherwise mentioned in the literature, and modern informants used it, if at all, for the store-bought hoe, more commonly called *ikhuba*. *Ikhuba* was the name used by the Immigrant Cape Nguni for the proper hoe that they brought with them when they entered the Cape. It had a large iron head, the pointed tang of which was fixed into a wooden haft (Pl. 34: 2).

The missionaries who began to enter the country at the beginning of the nineteenth century soon introduced, among the Xhosa and the Thembu, European style spades, ploughs and iron-headed hoes (Pl. 34: 3) which gradually replaced the wooden spade and digging-stick, and the iron hoe of the immi-

grants. The iron spade was at first gripped with both hands above the blade in the same way as the wooden spade. The hoe (*igaba*) which was and still is bought without a haft so that the owner has to make his own, was at first more popular than the plough (*ikhuba*), because it was cheaper, was needed in any case for weeding as well as the initial turning over of the ground and, according to Döhne, gave just as good results. Moreover, it did not cause the sociological revolution of the plough—women could continue to work with an iron hoe, whereas oxen had to pull a plough, which meant that men had to inspan and drive them since women had nothing to do with cattle. Nowadays, however, the plough is widely used at sowing time and hoes are still used for weeding.

Körner reported that the Xhosa fixed strings across the garden, and when birds came the crop-watcher scared them by shaking the strings. He also reported that locusts were kept away by smoke from fires. For baboons calabash traps were set, or the Thembu hung up a snake on a stick to frighten them. Today crop-watchers usually sit on a platform (*iqonga*) erected in the fields, and shout at the birds or fling lumps of mud from the end of a pliant stick (*intsawulo*) (Pl. 34: 1). Temporary huts (*iphempe*) are erected at the edges of the fields for the watchers.

According to Alberti, a usually reliable source and from whom certainly Lichtenstein, and probably Smith, took the information, a spear was used formerly for cutting the crops at harvest time. The fact that the name *ikrele*, formerly a specific type of spear, is now given by some to the store-bought sickle that is used for cutting grass, and according to Hammond-Tooke by the Bhaca for sorghum, seems to confirm this.

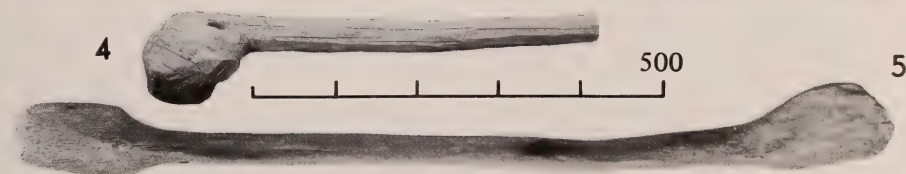
For threshing, the ears of sorghum were laid on a hard floor (*isanda*) of clay and dung usually made in the fields, or in a fenced enclosure at the homestead. The latter is now replaced by the floor of the store hut. The Mpondo preferred a hard floor on the *inkundla* (W. D. Hammond-Tooke pers. comm. c. 1955). According to Makalima, the Thembu sometimes used a flat rock in the fields. Maize is threshed on the floor of the store hut, if it is threshed at all. It is more often husked and shelled by hand.

Any stick, thick for maize, thin for sorghum, or several in a bundle, serves as a flail (*isibhulo*), and is prepared when the crops are ripe. Sometimes a club or the door-bar is used (Pl. 34: 4).

PLATE 34

Agricultural implements.

1. Crop-watching woman on *iqonga* platform, with *intsawulo* ready to throw at birds, Mpondo; Lusikisiki 1948.
2. 'Caffre Woman' with hoe, c. 1850 (Walker 1851, pl. 37).
3. Woman with hoe, Bhaca; Lugangeni, Mt Frere 1948.
4. *isibhulo*, flail, 560 mm, Xhosa; Bojeni, Willowvale 1948.
5. *umhlakulo*, spade, 1 050 mm, Mpondo (SAM-1423).



Winnowing is done in a gentle breeze, either by throwing the grain up in the air, or by pouring it slowly from a basket to the ground, or into another basket (Pl. 35: 1). In either case the grain falls to the ground and the chaff is blown away. The Thembu visited in the Herschel district in 1961, made a fire if there was no wind for winnowing, to create a breeze.

The Immigrant Cape Nguni used to make skin bags (*umgodla*) into which the threshed corn was put for loading on pack-oxen and carrying from the land. The Cape Nguni formerly used the large garden baskets (*ingobozi*, *isirudu*, *unyati*) (Pl. 35: 2-3, 5) which are still used for grain and other crops. They can take up to 22 kg and are carried on the head. In recent times all tribes made a triangular sledge (*isileyi*) (Pl. 25: 3) to which oxen were harnessed and the bulk of the crop was transported home on it. In Pondoland, and probably elsewhere, several homesteads might combine to produce all the necessary equipment. The style of making the sledge varied in different areas, but not, as far as could be seen, tribally. The base was either the forked trunk of a tree, or two large logs joined at an angle, to which wattled or slatted sides and floor were added. However, the sledge has fallen into disfavour because it creates erosion and in many areas it is banned.

Skin bags (*inxhowa*) are said to have been used, as well as the garden baskets, to carry threshed or shelled maize to the pits.

Threshed corn was stored as described previously (Shaw & Van Warmelo 1972: 95-99), and that set aside for daily use was kept in large baskets or pots.

ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

SOURCES

1593 Lavanha (1597) pp. 234-235, 244
p. 234-235

Cape tribes: butter, milk-sack
South of Umtata R.: butter

'O gado he muito gordo, tenro, saboroso, e grande, (sendo os pastos grocissimos) o mais delle mocho, e a mayor parte saõ vacas, em cujo numero e abundancia consistem as suas riquezas, e sustentaõ-se do leite dellas, e da manteiga que delle fazem.'

(p. 293 'Their cattle are very fat, tender, well flavoured, and large, the

PLATE 35

Agricultural utensils.

1. Woman winnowing corn, Mpondo, c. 1900 (Kidd 1904, pl. 78).
2. *ingobozi*, garden basket, diameter 405 mm, Mpondo; Libode 1936 (SAM-6058).
3. *isirudu*, garden basket, diameter 500 mm, Thembu; Xalanga 1935 (TM 35/466).
4. *intlwayelelo*, seed basket, diameter 162 mm, Bomvana; Elliotdale 1935 (TM 35/354).
5. Mpondo women returning from fields with baskets of produce; Port St Johns c. 1935 (photo Mrs F. Clarke).
6. *intlwayelelo*, seed basket, 255 mm high, Bomvana; Nkanya, Elliotdale 1948.



1



2



3

100



4

100



5



6

100

pastures being very rich. Most of them are hornless, and the greater number are cows, in the abundance of which their riches consist. They use milk and the butter which they make from it.)

p. 244

Umzimvubu: milk-sack

'E sobindo hum monte, que junto do alojamento estava, dèraõ em hum bom caminho, e muy povoado, ao qual vinhaõ, os negroses com muito leite, e davaõ hum folle, que teria meyo almude, por tres e quatro tachas de bomba.'

(p. 303 'Climbing a mountain which was near the camping place, they came upon a good road, where many negroes brought a quantity of milk, of which they gave a leather bag full. . . .')

1622 Almada (1625) pp. 34, 36 ?Between Fish and Bashee R.: domestic stock p. 34

?Between Fish and Kei R.: sheep

'O Rey desta comarca veyo ver o Capitaõ muy autorizado, trazendo hũ feroso carneyro de sinco quartos para lhe comprarem, & pedio por elle mais do que custava hũa grande vaca.'

(p. 102 'The king of this district came to see the captain with great ostentation, bringing a fine sheep with a very large tail to sell to him, and he asked more for it than the price of a large cow.')

p. 36

Near Bashee R.: hens

'... & aquella foy a primeyra onde vimos hũa galinha, que nos naõ quizeraõ vender ... & chegando a hũa aldea, aonde nos disserão estava o seu Anguose, que assim chamão ao Rey naquellas partes, resgatâmes nella algumas galinhas; que bastáraõ para dar a cada duas pessoas hũa.'

(p. 104 'this was the first place where we saw a hen, which they refused to sell us. ... When we reached a kraal where they told us their inkosi, as they called the king in those parts, was, we traded for some hens and obtained sufficient to allow one between every two persons.')

1686 'Stavenisse' (Godée Molsbergen 1922) p. 67 Xhosa: domestic animals

'Het kriedter van koeijen, kalveren, ossen en bokken. Schapen sijn er weinig.'

1687-8 'Centaurus' p. 448

Xhosa: wild horses

'Dit land kried van ongedierte, hier siet men d'elephanten, beeren, tijgers, wolven, en venijnighe slangen, daar loopen de wilde paarden, hebbende witte maenen, witte voeten, en swarte staerten, onder d'eselen harte beesten en nog meer onbekende dieren te saemen weijden.'

1772-6 Sparrman (1785) 2 p. 165

Xhosa: no sheep

'... the Caffres, have no notion of the breeding of sheep, employing themselves only in rearing horned cattle. ...'

1782 Le Vaillant (1797-8) 1 p. 364

Gonaqua: baskets

'... d'autres m'offrirent une abondante provision de lait dans des paniers qui me paroisoient être d'osier. ... Ces jolis paniers se fabriquent avec des roseaux ou des racines si déliées, et d'une texture si serrée, qu'ils peuvent servir

même à porter de l'eau: ils m'ont été, pour cet usage, d'une grande ressource dans la suite. Le chef des Gonaquois m'apprit qu'ils étoient l'ouvrage des Caffres, avec lesquels ils les échanagent contre d'autres objets.'

1782 Carter p. 60

Mbo: churn, butter

'The milk was put into a leather bag, which being hung up in the middle of the hut, was pushed backward and forward by two persons standing at the sides; and this they continued to do, till the butter was arrived at a proper state of consistence.

When it is properly prepared, they mix soot with it, to anoint their bodies. This operation not only serves them as a security against the intense heats of the climate, but renders them active, and gives them that agility which the inhabitants of Africa are well known to exhibit both in the chace and in battle.'

1782 Hubberly p. 112

Gqunukhwebe: milk-basket

'The chief before the last of the cows were turned out brought a kind of bowl made of rushes, but so closely wrought together as to hold liquid, of which there was some in it. The new milk being then added, turned it instantly to curds.'

1788 Von Winkelman (1778-9) p. 75

Xhosa: milking-thong, milk-sack

'Ehe sie damit beginnen, pfeiffen sie immer zuvor, unnachahmlich schnell und stark, um wie ich glaube die Kühe dadurch stillstehend zu machen, dann werffen sie der Kuh einen kurzen Riemen um die vordern Füsse, und melken sie dann ausserordentlich geschwinde in ihre Körbgen. Diese Milch bringen sie hernach in ihre Hütten und schütten sie in ein zusammen genähtes Kalbsfell, worinnen sie bald in Gährung übergeht; die denn so genossen und auch von Reisenden sehr gut gefunden wird.'

1797 Barrow (1806) pp. 155-156, 176
p. 155

Xhosa: care of catt'le, dogs

Xhosa: cattle

'In times of peace he [the Kaffer] leads the true pastoral life; his cattle is his only care: he rarely kills one for his own consumption, except on some particular occasion. When a stranger of distinction visits a Kaffer chief, he selects from his herd the fattest ox, and divides it with his visitors.

p. 156

Xhosa: training of horns of cattle

'The whole management of the cattle is left to the men, and they easily render them uncommonly expert in comprehending their meaning. The horns of their greatest favorites are twisted in their nascent state into very whimsical forms. These are effected by grasping the young horn with hot irons till it becomes soft, in which state the direction wished for is given to it. Those of the ox on which the King rode were laid along each side of the neck with the points just touching the shoulders.

Among their cattle was a particular breed different from any I had seen in the colony.'

- p. 176 Xhosa: dogs
 'From some fires being seen at no great distance from the place of our encampment and from the perpetual barking of the dogs after it grew dark, we began to suspect that our motions were watched by the spies of one of the parties, namely the Kaffer King, or the emigrant chiefs.'
- 1803 Howen, three paintings Xhosa: nose-strap, bridle, bent horns, pack- and riding-oxen, dogs
- 1803 Paravicini di Capelli pp. 129, 133 Xhosa: cattle
 p. 129 Xhosa: cattle-breeding
 'Het byna eenig en voornaam middel van bestaan is de veefokkery. . . .'
 p. 133 Xhosa: care of cattle
 'De vrouwen schijnen het meeste werk te moeten doen, want eenige beesten ter zijden afloopende, moesten zij ze aandrijven, zonder dat er zich één manspersoon mede moeide.'
- 1802-6 Alberti (1810a) pp. 36, 54, 107-108, 109, 110, 111 Xhosa: milk-baskets, milk-sack
 p. 36 Xhosa: milk-baskets
 'De Melk wordt niet versch genuttigd; men laat die vooraf stremmen en zuur worden, en wel zeer spoedig in Korven, die tot dit zelfde oogmerk meermalend gediend hebben en alzoo reeds zuurstof bevatten. De kringvormige omtrek dezer Korven is bovenaan, doorgaans, tusschen 10 tot 16 Duim middellijn van onderen naar evenredigheid iets ruimer; de wand is 1 tot 2 Lijnen dik, zelden dikker. . . . Ook wordt de Melk in platte lederen Zakken, van 2 Voeten lengte en 1 Voet breedte, bewaard.'
- p. 54, note Xhosa: butter
 'Deze Boter wordt bereid door het langen tijd heên en weder slingeren van den Korf, reeds hiervoor beschreven, die grootstendeels met melk gevuld en alzoo wordt opgehangen. Door dit herhaald schudden worden de fettige deelen der melk van de waterdeelen afgescheiden. Deze Boter, echter, heeft bij de Kaffers geen ander gebruik, dan alleen ter bereidinge en onderhoudinge hunner kleedinge.'
- p. 107-108 Xhosa: training of horns
 'Zeer algemeen ziet men de Horens van Koeijen en Ossen, van eene buitengewone lengte, naar den smaak des eigenaars, in allerlei rigtingen en gedaanten gebogen. . . . Deze buiging der horens geschiedt niet, zoo als de Heer Barrow verhaalt, met behulp van een gloeiend ijzer, maar alleen op de volgende wijze. Zoodra de horens van eenig rund de lengte van omtrent 2 Duimen bezitten, begint men die reeds naar welgevallen te rigten, door van den eenen kant zoo veel weg te snijden, dat zulks aan het bloeden raakt, waardoor alsdan de kromte aan de tegen over gestelde zijde ontstaat, en de gekozene form, op dezelfde wijze, door herhaald wegsnijden wordt veroorzaakt.'
- p. 109 Xhosa: pack-oxen, ox-racing
 'In het algemeen bedient men zich van enkele Stieren, om het huisraad

en andere noodwendigheden bij eenen togt mede te voeren. Zulk eenen last-dragende Stier wordt een rond stuk hout, omtrent 6 Duimen lang en 1 Duim dik, dwars door het Neuskraakbeen gestoken en aan beide einden met eene pen voorzien, waardoor dit hout niet wegvallen en de opening niet weder kan toegroeijen. Aan dezen dwarsstok worden de teugels vast gemaakt. Zodanige Stieren worden ook dikwijls bereden, en dragen hunne ruiters, zelfs in den galop, met alle mogelijke zekerheid.'

p. 110

Xhosa: sheep

'Hoe aangenaam den Kaffers het Schapenvleesch zij, houden zij echter bijkans geheel niet op met de fokkerij dezer dieren.'

p. 111

Cape Nguni: dogs; hens

'Honden vindt men in grooten getale. Zij dienen voor de jagt, en tevens ter bescherminge der kudden tegen het woeste gedierte. Men onderhoudt ze in 't algemeen zeer slecht, en zij hebben daardoor een jammerlijk, dikwels zelfs afzigtig voorkomen. Bij de verder van de Kaap wonende Horden vindt men Hoenders, vrij gelijk aan de Europeesche, offschoon kleinder, en, even als de Patrijzen, glad van kop en zonder kam.'

1803-6 Lichtenstein (1811) pp. 442, 444, 447

Xhosa: milk-sack,
domestic animals

pp. 442, 444

Nothing more.

p. 447

Xhosa: domestic animals

'Ausser dem Rindvieh besitzen sie keine andre zahme Thiere als Hunde, die sie in grossem Werthe halten. . . . Sie dienen ihnen aber mehr zum Abwehren der Raubthiere bei Nacht, als dass sie von ihnen auf der Jagd Gebrauch machen wüssten.

Obgleich sie sehr gern Schafffleisch essen, so findet man doch diese Thiere nicht bei den *Koossa*. Daran ist die Beschaffenheit ihres Landes Schuld. . . . Auch Hühner trifft man bei den *Koossa* nicht an, obgleich die nördlicher wohnenden Kafferstämme eine kleine Art, ohne Kamm, die übrigens den unsrigen sehr ähnlich sind, halten.'

1804-5 Daniell (1820)

'Kaffer': pack-ox

His plate 5.

1806-15 Carmichael (1831) p. 289

Xhosa: milk-sacks

'They preserve it in leathern bags; and as these extraordinary vessels are never scalded, and but seldom emptied, the fermentation constantly going on within them partakes more of the putrefactive than of the acetous.'

c. 1813 Campbell (1815) p. 370

Xhosa: pack-ox

'The riches of a Caffre chiefly consist in his cattle. . . . He never uses them as beasts of burden, except when he is removing from one place to another along with his Kraal, and then they carry the milk bags, or skin bags which contain milk.'

1824 Shaw p. 55

Xhosa: livestock

'The pursuits of this people are pastoral; but their whole attention is confined to horned cattle, as they have no sheep, and only a very few goats, among them. . . . The number of horned cattle in the country is immense, and the milk is in Caffreland the stay and staff of life, as in a scarcity of this from drought there is always more or less suffering among them. . . .'

1824 Ross p. 212

Fetcani (Amazizi): stock

'They have much cattle, sheep & goats; no horses. They do not know horses. The first which he saw was in Hintza's country . . . in his own country. There are hens there like ours. . . . The men milk the cows. . . . The milk from the cows is put into large calabashes with a wide mouth. They use clay pots in milking. They pour of [off] the thin of [from] the thick milk and use the thicker part.'

c. 1824-5 Smith p. 388

Xhosa: milk-baskets and sacks

'Use curdled or thick milk. Milk into baskets of twisted grass woven by women quite waterproof not always very clean . . . pass the milk into leathern bags or bottles, a projecting neck at one end, wooden cork. They are made of [?sheep] skin or small calf skin body drawn threw the neck and legs cut off and tied.'

1820-31 Steedman (1835) p. 263

Xhosa: milk-sack, calabash

'In that of a wealthy Caffer there is usually a milk-sack made of bullock's hide, so closely sewn together as to prevent leakage, and capable of containing several gallons, but the poorer classes are content to keep their milk in calabashes.'

1825 Phillips (1827) pp. 137, 198

Thembu: milk-sacks, baskets, saddles

p. 137

Thembu: milk-sacks, baskets

' . . . curdled milk was brought us. They never drink it but in this state, and it soon turns, from being kept in a bag made out of a hide, from whence it is taken when wanted in the little neat baskets made of rushes.'

p. 198

Xhosa: saddle

'Gaika and his two queens soon after overtook us, riding furiously; their horses were not very gaily caparisoned, having only a loose piece of cow's hide for their saddles.'

1825-9 Kay (1833) pp. 121, 122, 129

Xhosa: milk-sack, calabash

p. 122

Xhosa: calabash

'It [the milk] is sometimes kept in calabashes (gourd shells); but in these it often contracts a peculiar and disagreeable taste.'

p. 129

Xhosa: milk-sack

'Amongst the plebeian order each man milks his own cows; but the Chiefs have a certain class of servants, whose exclusive business it is to superintend the *abalusi* (herders) milk the cows morning and evening, and personally (no proxy whatever being allowed in this case) see to the milk being properly and

purely poured into the household bottles, with which they are at all times sacredly charged. No other person, not even the master himself, is allowed to put in, or take out, a single drop.'

1829 Holman (1834) 2 p. 262

Xhosa: milk-sack

'The milk is immediately poured into leathern sacks (*instuba*) [*sic*], where it remains an hour, while it is fermenting. . . .'

1829 Shaw p. 129

Xhosa (near the mouth of Buffalo): milk

' . . . here we found the men of three kraals collected for the purpose of drinking milk together; it being a custom with the Caffres, when milk is plentiful, to assemble, bringing their milk, and spend the day in what some would call convivial party. . . .'

c. 1831-2 Drège p. 12

Xhosa: milk-baskets

Nothing more.

c. 1831-2 Smith p. 135, and fig.

Xhosa: milk-sack

[Zulu] 'Milk sac the same as the frontier Caffers'.

(1832) Anon. p. 145

Xhosa: stock

'They subsist chiefly upon their herds and the produce of the chase. They have no flocks either of sheep or goats, nor do they raise poultry.'

(1833) Morgan pp. 34-35

Xhosa: milk-sack

'Their attention is however chiefly engaged by their cattle:— these they herd, protecting them with great care by night and day from the depredations of their fellow-creatures and the attacks of wild beasts. The milking them also is the work of the men, as is the making and repairing of the folds; the bags for holding the milk are their work; these they make of raw hides which are so firmly sewed together by thongs of the same material as to be quite impervious to their contents: they are large, each being capable of holding several gallons; and a neck is left at one corner which is tied round with a string to secure the milk.'

1834b Bonatz pp. 350, 351

Thembu: baskets, sacks, oxen

p. 350

Thembu: milking-baskets

'At sun-rise they creep out of their round huts, each with a round milking basket in his hand, skilfully manufactured by the women, and hasten to the cattle kraal.'

p. 351

Thembu: milk-sack

'The produce of the morning milking is poured into milk sacks, made of ox leather, and in which the process of churning is afterwards carried on. The sack being hung upon a pole, is beat from side to side, till the butter is made.'

p. 351

Thembu: riding-oxen

'The meal being over, the boys are sent to look after the cattle. They are permitted at these times, to exercise themselves in riding upon the oxen, and to drive the cattle rapidly before them.'

- (1836) Martin pp. 154, 156 Thembu: milking-basket, milk-sack
 Nothing more (taken from Bonatz 1834*b*).
- 1820-56 Shaw pp. 369, 416 Xhosa: milk-sack
 p. 369
 Nothing more.
- p. 416 Xhosa: milk-sack
 'The "master of the milk-sack"', *umnini wentsuba*, is an important
 functionary at any Kaffir kraal, but especially at the kraal of a Chief.'
- 1839 Backhouse (1844) pp. 225, 249, 250, 276 Xhosa: milk-basket, milk-sack,
 saddle, bridle
 p. 225 Xhosa: milk-basket, milk-sack
 Nothing more.
- p. 249 Xhosa: milk-sack
 'A milk-sack of oblong form, made of cow-skin, with the flesh-side out, and
 having the hair carefully removed, was lying at the door of one of the huts as
 we passed. It was about four feet long and three wide, and had a neck at one
 corner, for the admission and discharge of the precious beverage, which under-
 goes a slight fermentation, and would burst a less elastic vessel, if closely
 stopped. The number of these sacks at a kraal depends upon the population
 and their wealth in cattle; they are placed under the charge of one man, who
 opens them only at milking-time, in the forenoon, and after sunset.'
- p. 250 Xhosa: saddle
 'A sheep skin formed his saddle.'
- p. 276 Xhosa: bridle
 Nothing more.
- 1837-44 Döhne (1844) p. 30 Xhosa: milk-sack, calabash
 Nothing more.
- 1842 Baines (1842-53) pp. 28, 54, 56 Fingo: initiates ox-riding
 '... looking out saw half a dozen Fingoes, wrapped in their karosses
 and with their faces and limbs besmeared with white clay, galloping furiously
 past on as many oxen, to undergo, as Abram informed me, the rite of circum-
 cision; and later in the day six or seven more passed us at full gallop, naked as
 they came into the world and with their skins as black as nature had made them.'
- p. 54 'Kafir': value of cattle
 Nothing more.
- p. 56 'Kafir': ox-racing
 (Wedding ceremonies.) 'The festivities which continue from three to ten
 or more days are terminated by an ox-race, which, if the bride be a chief's
 daughter, every chief within two days' journey is expected to attend either in
 person or by his racing cattle. Sometimes the number of guests amounts to
 thousands and for these, though they are expected to bring their own cows and
 milk sacks, the bridegroom has to provide flesh.'

- 1848 Baines (1842-53) 1 p. 108 Xhosa: pack-oxen
Nothing more.
- (1848) Anon. p. 195 Xhosa: ox-racing
'Wenn ein Capitain von Rang sich verheirathet, so werden sie bis zu 10 oder 12 Tagen ausgedehnt. Am letzten Tage, wenn die Sonne beginnt unterzugehen, werden die Ochsenwettrennen gehalten, ein wildes und aufregendes Vergnügen, das wir später ausführlicher beschreiben werden.'
- 1848-52 Baines 25 nos 5-6 ?Xhosa: riding-ox, tethered ox
Figures.
- c. 1850 C.B. (?Charles Bell) 'Kafir': riding-ox, nose-strap, bridle
Figure.
- c. 1850 I'Ons Xhosa: hunters with dogs
Figure.
- (1851) Walker Xhosa: bridle
His plate 15.
- 1851 Baines (1842-53) 2 p. 270 Xhosa: ox-horns
'The ground was strewn with bleeding carcasses, among which I particularly noticed that of one fine animal with loose, pendulous horns, probably the favourite riding-ox of some renowned warrior. . . .'
- 1851 Bell (1851*b*) 2 p. 47 Xhosa, Thembu: cattle
'These last few days the captures have been . . . 11,190 [head of cattle]. Some thousands of goats have also been taken' [in the country north north-west of Butterworth].
- 1851-2 King pp. 167-168 Xhosa: goads
' . . . many other traits, of Eastern origin, might be adduced . . . the use of . . . goads; in driving cattle, which, however *follow* the chief herdsman, who leads them from one pasture to another. . . .'
- 1851-5 Brown (1855) pp. 97, 98 Xhosa: milk-sack
p. 98
' . . . the warm milk just taken from the cow, into these skins or sacks made of bullock's hide, which soon became quite saturated with the milk constantly kept in them, and have a very sour disagreeable smell. The warm milk poured into these, upon the quantity of the old milk always left in them, instantly curdles, and gets rapidly into a state of fermentation. The curdle is all nicely broken by a sort of kneading, rolling and shaking of the milk sack.'
- (1853) Fleming pp. 98, 99, 100, 102 Cape tribes: herding-rods, bridle
p. 98 Cape tribes: herding-rods
'Besides these, they generally, during times of peace, have two or three "Herding rods". These rods they employ in driving their cattle. and they may be here described as worthy of note.'

p. 99

Cape tribes: herding-rods

'In herding their cattle, they make use of the "rods" above-mentioned. These are thin sticks about half or a quarter of an inch in diameter, and about six feet long, and pointed at one end. . . .

Two other, assistant, herds walk behind them, and with these long "rods" they keep the cattle together, and stimulate the lazy. When war commences, however, their numbers are augmented by several other "assistant herds". These are hired to run beside and behind the oxen, and, with the sharpened point of these rods, they goad and prick them, and thus keep them excited and alert.'

p. 100

Cape tribes: herding-rods

Nothing more.

p. 102

Cape tribes: bridle

'In addition to the uses, to which oxen are put in England, the Kaffirs add one more, as they ride them like horses. The rapidity, at which they gallop them, is astonishing, as well as the distances which they will thus travel. They drill a hole through the nose of the beast (in the part between the two nostrils) through which they pass a reim (or thong) of leather, with a noose and slip-knot at one end, and draw the noose tight. The other end of the thong the Kaffir holds in his hand, and thus guides the ox, while with his "knobkeerie" he impels him forward.'

(1856) Fleming pp. 216, 217, 218

Cape tribes: herding-rods,
bridle, milk utensils

pp. 216, 217

Cape tribes: herding-rods

Nothing more.

p. 218

Cape tribes: milk-basket, milk-sack

'The milk is caught in baskets, made of plaited grass, ingeniously worked by the women so as to be quite waterproof. The milking being finished, the legs of the cows are loosened, and their teats become the contested property of the little Kaffir boys and the calves. . . .

The milk is brought by each Kaffir to the dairy hut of the village; and a man, specially appointed for the purpose, receives into the "milk-sac" (a large bottle made of leather, from the skin of a calf or sheep) the contents of the various baskets; whilst from a second bottle, which contains the milk of the preceeding day, he distributes to each Kaffir the same quantity of sour or curded milk as he brings in of sweet.'

(1858) MacLean p. 152

Xhosa: milk-sack

Nothing more.

(1861) Anon. p. 209

Xhosa: at a wedding

p. 209

Xhosa: gifts

'Die Geschenke des Brautvaters werden zu seinem Schwiegersohn gebracht. Sie bestehen in einem Stück Vieh zum Kaross, im Schwanzhaar, welches man als Schmuck rund um den Nacken trägt und wenn die Braut eine Person von

Rang ist, in einer Zahl von Kühen, den Milchsack zu versorgen zu ihrem Unterhalt. Die Zahl der letztern ist verschieden von zwei oder drei bis zu zehn, je nachdem der Wohlstand oder das Grossthun des Theils, der sie sendet, es zulässt.'

p. 209

Xhosa: ox-racing

Nothing more.

1862 Bauer & Hartman (1861) p. 491

Thembu: livestock

'We were surprised to meet with fowls in most of the kraals, and here and there we also saw small flocks of sheep. Goats are pretty numerous—cattle less so in proportion, but horses are met with in considerable numbers.' [This was beyond the Bashee.]

1862 Anon. p. 85

'Kaffir': milk-sack

'The milk of the kraal is under the charge of the chief or the herd. He has the care of the milk-sack, and gives to each member of the kraal his share. No one is allowed, on any pretence, to untie the milk-sack save the responsible officer.'

1863–6 Fritsch (1872) pp. 74–75

Xhosa: milk-sack

Nothing more.

(1867) Taylor p. 106

Xhosa: bridle

'Looking to the hills east of the valley in which we were stopping, [near Kingwilliamstown] lo, a novel sight, four naked Kaffir young men, each mounted on a young bullock, and dashing along like a Jehu. They used a kind of bridle, by which they guided them at will. Sweeping across the valley at a great rate, they rode up to the public house. Their animals were fat and apparently almost as fleet as deer.'

1845–89 Kropf (1889) pp. 101–102, 109, 111

Xhosa: milk utensils,
use of animals

p. 101

Xhosa: milk-sack, calabash

'Süsse Milch (*ubisi*) trinkt der Kaffer nicht, sondern giesst sie, nachdem sie gemolken, in Kalabasse oder in einen aus zwei viereckigen Stücken Ochsenfell zusammenge nähten Sack, der an der einen Ecke eine Tülle hat, die zugebunden wird. Dieser Sack wird in der Hütte aufgehängt und von den Knaben hin- und hergeschaukelt oder unter ihren Füßen geknetet, wodurch die Milch säuerlich wird, aber ihren Fettgehalt behält (*amasi*). Sie ist ungemein erfrischend und nahrhaft. Auch Ziegenmilch wird ebenso zubereitet und gern getrunken.'

p. 102

Xhosa: calabashes

'Auf der Reise wird diese Milch in Kalabassen für die Kinder aufbewahrt.'

p. 109

Xhosa: pack- and riding-oxen, bridle

Nothing more.

p. 111

Xhosa: goats, sheep

'Ziegen werden der Milch und des Fleisches wegen gehalten, neuerdings auch Schafe und Angoraziegen wegen der Wolle und Haare.'

1878 Stanford (1858-89) 1 p. 90

Gcaleka: greyhound

'As our column was marching along on the Bashee Heights, I noticed a handsome greyhound near a burnt-down and deserted kraal. . . .'

1875-87 MacDonald (1890a) p. 162, 195

Cape tribes: cattle-race

p. 162

'The [wedding] day closes with an ox race—an institution peculiar to Africa—dancing, feasting, and merry-making.

p. 195

'*Dedera*, or cattle running, may be regarded as the national amusement. The cattle are trained for the game, and a race causes as much excitement as turf events among ourselves.'

1883-88 Bachmann (1901) p. 180

Mpondo: saddle

'Sein Sattel bestand in einem Schaffell; das Pony war ausnahmsweise in gutem Futterzustande.'

(1896) Brownlee p. 347

Xhosa: bridle

Nothing more.

(1904) Kidd p. 59

Cape Nguni: calabash

'When the milking is over the milk is taken into the hut, and is immediately placed in the milk sac or calabash. This is never cleaned out, but contains a strong ferment which makes the milk clot immediately. Sweet milk is but food for babies, and only a few tribes would drink it. But clotted sour milk is food for men. The calabash has a small plug at the bottom by which the natives let off the whey, the curds being the only part they care for. Milk formed the staple article of their diet in olden days; but, since rinderpest has carried off most of their cattle, they have a good excuse for drinking beer.'

1910 Friedlander (1911) pp. 54, 55, 57

'Kaffir': ox-racing, milk-sack

Nothing more.

(1919) Kingon p. 147

Cape tribes: horse

'On arrival of the white man in the country the natives began to acquire the fast-moving horse, chiefly, be it said, by the long series of raids on the Eastern Frontier, which took place as far back as the days of Gaika.'

1921 Tooke p. 423

Xhosa: cattle, sheep

'The Zulu breed of oxen . . . are diminutive, graceful animals . . . being descendants of the zebu. Among the Xosa Kaffirs they seem to have interbred with the Hottentot variety, and with excellent results, . . . The Kaffir really breeds, not for slaughter, for he lives on milk and mealies and only slays an ox when avarice allows or ceremonial enjoins, nor did he use his oxen as beasts of draught though he employed them once as beasts of burden (pack-oxen). . . . Cattle were in fact, the form in which he liked to realise his wealth, to be parted with only in exchange for wives.

The Xosa-Kaffir also kept a few sheep, but he acquired them with his

Hottentot wives, together with his name for them, *igusha* (Hott. *gusa*) a term now applied to merino sheep to distinguish them from Cape sheep.'

(1926b) Müller p. 10

Hlubi: bridle

'Auf der Weide oder auch abends im Viehkraal, werden die Jungen nun auch in der Kunst des Ochsenreitens unterrichtet. Ein Ochsenkalb von 3/4 oder 1 Jahr Alter, das ihnen stark genug zu sein scheint, wird aus der Herde ausgewählt. . . . Dann schwingt sich einer nach dem anderen auf den Rücken und fort geht es wie die wilde Jagd. . . . Die Quälerei fängt erst an, wenn das aus Gras geflochtene Leitseil dem Tier durch die Nase gezogen wird und der darauf sitzende Junge sich mit einem Stock oder einer aus Ochsenriemen gefertigten Peitsche bewaffnet.'

1927 Anon. pp. 137-138

Cape tribes: goats

'Goat-skins are used for quite a variety of purposes, two of which may be mentioned in the meantime. The entire skin may be prepared as a bag to contain the owner's pipe, tobacco, knife, spoon and fork with secure hiding-places in the legs for a needle and medicines; or it may be dressed as a rug for the feet in front of the sleeping-mat.

But, while it is quite true that, next to cattle, goats are looked upon as the main milk-producers for the native household and are valued for their drought-resisting powers, their real importance arises not from any economic considerations but from the part they play in the time-honoured customs of the natives. . . .

These and such like customs, demanding on the part of the native people the sacrifice of many goats per annum, have to be taken into consideration by those who would wish, from the economic standpoint, to rid the Transkei of its goats. Before the goats can be disposed of, the customs of the people must be altered, and this is much the harder task of the two.'

(1929) Nauhaus p. 3

Xhosa: milk-sack

'Aus dem Fell des geschlachteten Tieres wird der grosse Milchsack (*imvaba*) genäht, in den die Milch für die *abakweta* (Beschnittenen) zum Gären geschüttet wird.'

(1931) Cook pp. 49-50, 56-57, 118, 123
pp. 49-50

Bomvana: calabash, milk utensils

Bomvana: milk calabash

'On the fifth day she [the mother] is given a separate calabash of sour milk which she keeps in her own hut. . . . The woman's calabash is called *imbikata*. When the baby starts to consume *amasi* it is also given an *imbikata*.'
p. 56-57

Bomvana: milk-sack

'This milk sac or *umvaba* has to be provided by the "father" of the school. He kills a goat or beast before the circumcision. . . .'

p. 123

Bomvana: milk-pail

'In former days there was a special man to milk the *Bolowane* cattle, but now the same man milks both the *Bolowane* and the other cows. There is, however, a separate *itunga* (wooden milk pail). . . .'

(1932) Soga, pp. 210, 234, 324, 340, 371, 376, 385–393, 389, 398, 406–407

Xhosa: milk utensils

p. 210

Xhosa: milk-sack

‘A milk-sack is called “*intsuba*”, and is probably from an old term for a skin-bottle. The ordinary word in use for this domestic article is “*imvaba*”.’

p. 324

Xhosa: milk-sack

‘On the death of the head of any family the milk-sacks (*im-vaba*) are cut open and destroyed as a sign of mourning. On the other hand, in the case of the death of a member of the family, other than the head, the milk-sacks are not cut or destroyed, but the milk is emptied out upon the ground.’

p. 340

Xhosa: milking-thong

‘The milking thong and milk-pail always go together. The one to tie the cow’s legs, the other to receive the milk.’

pp. 371–376

Xhosa: cattle-racing

‘Besides hunting . . . another of the great tribal sports was cattle racing. This sport occupied, in the estimation of the people, much the same position as horse racing does in England. So much so was this, that several of the famous races and the actors in them are, after at least seventy years, still held in remembrance. The distances covered by a cattle race were much greater than those covered by horses in the standard races overseas.’

The cattle-dipping regulations of the last two decades have practically put a stop to this sport, though occasionally sporadic efforts are made even now to revive it, but it is doomed to complete extinction in the near future.—Mention may be made here of one or two instances of this sport. . . . The distance to be covered was over twenty miles. . . .’

pp. 385–393

Xhosa: cattle

Discussion.

p. 389

Xhosa, Bomvana: sacred herds

‘. . . a sacred herd of cattle in Bomvanaland. At one time such herds existed among the Xosas also, in connection with religious worship.’

pp. 406–7

Xhosa: milk-pails

‘. . . *ama-tunga* (milking dishes) were formerly all made of soft wood, specially the *um-hlangwe*, which was easily manipulated with the tools at the people’s disposal.’

1932 Thompson pp. 192–193

Bomvana: sacred herd

‘Bolowana cattle are regarded by the Bomvanas as sacred animals and their principal use is for sacrificial purposes for the tribe in times of trouble such as war, calamity befalling the chiefs or their rule, and in times of drought or other national troubles.’

1932 Hunter (1936) pp. 36, 46, 65–71, 105, 157, 366–367

Mpondo: stock,
milk utensils

p. 36

Mpondo: milk-sacks

Nothing more.

p. 46

Mpondo: calabash

'Calabashes are kept on the men's side of the hut; only the individual calabashes of grand-children are sometimes hung on the women's side so that the mothers may have access to them. After the death of a member of the owner's own clan, or related clans, milk is spilled out of all except the children's calabashes.'

pp. 65-71

Mpondo: animal husbandry, cattle-racing

'To the cattle and goats kept by Pondo before contact with Europeans have now been added horses, sheep, pigs, hens, ducks and geese. . . . Goats are not milked, but they are also shut up at night and must be herded during the summer. . . . The care of cattle, goats, sheep, and horses is the work of men, the *umlaza* (ritual impurity) of women being regarded as dangerous to all stock except pigs and poultry. . . . Boys and young men milk, but if no junior is available the head of the *umzi* may himself do the work. . . .

As part of the technique of stock-raising cattle are treated with various medicines (*amayeza*). . . . The most prized cattle were the racing oxen which were chosen for their speed and freshness in a race. . . . Cattle, however, are not valued economically according to their points. In *ikhazi* (cattle given to a bride's group) a full-grown beast is a beast, and cannot count for more or less, no matter what its quality. For a ritual killing the size and quality of a beast is not of importance. Wealth is reckoned by quantity, not by quality. . . .

Cattle are of primary economic importance to the Pondo. All informants are emphatic that formerly less land was cultivated, and that milk and meat played a greater part in the diet of the people than they do to-day, yet even to-day they are principal items in Pondo diet. . . . Formerly when an enemy army invaded a district, or an *umzi* was heavily fined for witchcraft, the calabashes were broken "to show that the *umzi* was dead". . . . Although the vast majority of the killings are sacrificial, wealthy people do sometimes kill just for meat. Meat and milk are prized foods and are considered much more savoury than grain. . . .

p. 105

Mpondo: eggs

'A fringe of people on the coast get fish, and men eat a few eggs and birds. Eggs are forbidden to women because it is believed that eating eggs would make them lascivious.'

p. 157

Mpondo: calabash

'Each baby has its own special calabash, but sweet milk is never given, except under European influence.'

pp. 366-367

Mpondo: cattle-racing

'Formerly one of the chief excitements at an *umjadu* was cattle-racing. . . . Races were dropped in western Pondoland at the death of Nqiliso and were not resumed. . . . In eastern Pondoland they are still sometimes held. . . .'

(1937) Soga pp. 114-116, 130, 145

Xhosa: milking, utensils

pp. 114-115

Xhosa: milking

'Kuma-Xosa umsebenzi womsengi ubungomkulu nozuke kunene endaleni. Umfo ubebonwa ngokupumelela ekusengeni esengela inkosi engubani nenene elingu-bani. . . . Be ziba ninzi inkomo emzini nakomkulu nga ngokuba umsengi lo angabi mnye. . . . Se kupele nabasengi abazizigxina se kulibali nje lodwa. Elowo sel'ezisengela. . . .'

[In the olden times the work of milking was very important amongst the Xhosas. A person was highly esteemed for his success in milking for the one chief or the other. . . . There were many cattle in the *umzi* and at the chief's place so that there was not only one milker. . . . The milkers who stuck to their job are no longer in existence, it is now only a tradition. Each one now milks his own cow for himself. . . .]

pp. 115-116

Xhosa: procedure, utensils

'Umsengi nesiko lake lokuncamla. Umsengi wasesi-Xoseni yena akusoze umfumane nelanga elinye ngomnwe enokusenga ngezandla ezingahlanjwanga (ngesitete ke) nokuhlanjwa zihlanjwa ngendlela etile nguye ngokwake xa aza kusenga. Ngapandle kokuba kwa itunga eli lake asenga ngalo, nokuba lelemizi, okanye luhlobo luni na libekwa ligcinwe nguye yedwa ngokwake endaweni yake etile ayinyulileyo ekaya apa. . . . Alinakupatwa lisetyenziswe mntu wumbi itunga nentambo yake yokusenga (ukuze nje kuvele eli qalo lokuti, "Ngumtya netunga"). . . . Akukov' ukusenga ma kaye kuta eselweni okanye emvabeni kwa oko ngokwake, emana ukuhlukuhla akugqiba ukuwadibanisa amasi nomncono. Ukutulula ikwa nguye; kuba akuko mntu wumbi unokupata amaselwa asekaya apa ngapandle komsengi.'

[You will never, not even on one single day, find a Xhosa milker milking with unwashed hands (according to tradition); also, washing of hands is done by him in a certain manner before he goes to milk, apart from the fact that even this milk-pail that he uses, whether it is the one made of rush or any other kind of thing, is kept by him personally at a certain place that he himself has selected in the home. . . . His milk-pail will neither be handled nor used by anyone else, as also the riem he uses for milking (hence the saying 'The riem and the milking pail'). . . . Soon after the milking he must personally go to pour the milk into the calabash (*iselwa*) or leather milk-sack (*imvaba*) and after mixing the milk and the remains of sour milk left in the milk-sack he shakes it. It is he also who does the pouring out because nobody besides himself handles the calabashes at this home.]

p. 130

Xhosa: milk-sacks destroyed on death of head of family

'Imvaba zomnini-mzi zoqwengelwa izinja kuba ziyinqambi namhla. Ayaliwa ngokutsha amaselwa nemvaba kutungwe ezintsha kufunwa ukuqalwa ngamasi amatsha.'

[The milk-sacks of the village-head will be torn up for the dogs, for they are unclean today. The gourds are filled anew with sour milk, and new sacks are sewn—these must be started with fresh sour milk.]

p. 145

Xhosa: butter

'Abesenzelwa ukutanjiswa ngamanenekazi mhla ahombileyo. . . . Nana-mhla kusenjalo kwelase-Mbo nakuma-Xosa a-Bomvu, kuma-Baca, ama-Mpondo, nama-Mpondomise, nezitembu kubantu abasesemboleni ukunyi-belana nama-futa kwa nasezingutyeni. La mafuta ebengatyiswa nokutyiswa nje nganamhla kwam-Lungu. Umtinto lo ubupuma apa ke. Nguwo lo namhla kutiwa "yixibiya". Ubutyiwa kodwa ngamakwenkwe nezinja ingento yabantu. Namakwenkwe ebewungqunyushelelwa. Ukungqumshela kukuwugalela ubisi olutsha . . . suka afika ama-Mfengu xa kunje eyincitakalo wona. Ate akuyibona le nto yala masi ema nenja, angenwa ngumona nje ngabantu, axelelwa ukuba asinto ityiwa bantu. Suka wona awutanda ngokwawo avulelwa ke. Ite ke le nto yasisondlo kwaba bantu, bapila.'

[This fat (butter) was made for the womenfolk to anoint themselves with when dressed up. . . . It is still the custom in the eMbo country and among the red Kafirs, the Bhaca, Mpondo, Mpondomise and the married women among the people who still use the red clay, to apply this fat, even to clothing. This fat was not eaten at all as is done today among the Europeans. Cream (for consumption) then, had its origin here, and is the substance today called *ixibiya* (buttermilk). It was, however, eaten by boys and dogs, but was not a food for adults. It was also *ngqumshela*'d for the boys. *Ngqumshela* means to add new milk to it . . . while this was still the position, the Fingoes arrived as fugitives. When they saw the phenomenon of this sour milk beside a dog, they were, humanly enough, seized with envy, but were told that it was not eaten by human beings. But they chose to treat it as food of their own accord and were allowed their way. It then became an article of nourishment among these people, and they survived.]

(1939) Duggan-Cronin p. 28

Xhosa: milk utensils

Nothing more.

1939 Fox p. 73

Cape tribes: calabash

'The warm milk is poured straight from the milking into a calabash already containing a little *amasi*. A common sight at midday at the kraals, whilst milking is proceeding, is an array of calabashes waiting in the sun to be filled; amongst these is the baby's own small gourd, encased in a cord-carrying attachment for the mother to take on her journeys. The *amasi* will be ready for use in about two or three hours according to the weather, and the amount of *amasi* originally there.

Amasi may be prepared in a stone jar, but this does not impart the same flavour. It takes quite a time for a calabash to become "seasoned", but when once in order it can be used for years. It should be washed out every two weeks or once a month, but not too often. If whey separates it is drunk as *intloya*, especially in hot weather to quench thirst whilst the hard curd is termed *ingqaka*. If the product is too sour it is mixed with fresh milk. To separate fat intentionally is wasteful, but it may be used if it separates accidentally; cheese is unknown.'

1945 Makalima chap. 5, pars. 5, 38, 51, 57, 60, 61, 65, 68, 69, 70, 72, 73;

chap. 8, par. 22

Fingo, Thembu, Mpondomise: livestock, utensils

chap. 5 par. 38

Fingo, Thembu, Mpondomise: training oxen

'Ukuqeqeshwa kwenkomo—Inkomo xa kuko imijadu ziyaleqwa ngamadoda azi bete. Ziya qeqeshwa kulonto zise ncinci inkabi. Ziyenziwa amaqegu zikwelwe kanti nombona ututwa ngazo emasimini. Nempahla yonke iyatutwa ngala maqegu. Ziyaqeqeshwa ukuba zize edyokweni, umntu ebambe idyokwe.'

[Training of cattle—when there is a festivity, cattle are raced by men who beat them. Oxen are trained for this when still young. They are made pack-oxen and are ridden, and maize is transported from the lands using them. All goods are transported by these pack-oxen. They are trained to come under the yoke whilst someone is holding it.]

chap. 5 par. 57

Fingo, Thembu, Mpondomise: milking

'Kusengelwa enkundleni. Inkomo iyabotshwa ngentambo yokusenga (isipantewuri). . . '

[The place for milking is in front of the cattle kraal. The legs of the cow are fastened together by means of a riem (*isipantewuri*). . .]

chap. 5 par. 61

Fingo, Thembu, Mpondomise: milk-sack, calabash

'Into ekugalelwa kuyo intusi—Ubisi belugalelwa ezimvabeni kudala. Koko ngoku kusetyenziswa amaselwa, aziseko imvaba ezo. Ubisi luyatiwa eselweni ngumsengi. Wona amakwenkwe anya izapolo kwalapo ebuhlanti.'

[Long ago, sweet milk was poured into leather sacks, but now calabashes are used, those leather milk-sacks are nowhere to be found. The person who milks pours the milk into the calabash. The boys suck the last drops from the cow in the cattle kraal.]

chap. 5 par. 68

Fingo, Thembu, Mpondomise: fowl's eggs

'Amaqanda—amaqanda enkuku ayadliwa kodwa zona intombi aziwatyi nabafazi abasebancinci kuba uyahlonipa, kwaye iqanda litandisa amadoda.'

[People eat fowl's eggs, but girls and young married women do not, because of *hlonipha*, for eggs excite the passions.]

chap. 5 par. 69

Fingo, Thembu, Mpondomise: fowl-houses

'Izindlu zenkuku—Inkuku ziyakelwa izindlu zazo, zenziwa ngezinti ezigxunyekwa pantsi. Upahla lwenziwa ngenca lufulelwa, okanye kubekwe ikala pezu kwezinye izinti zopahla. Kanti ke nesoyi ezi ziyalwe uza upahla kwangolo hlobo.'

[Houses are built for fowls. They are made of sticks which are planted in the ground. The roof is thatched with grass, sometimes aloes are placed on some of the roof sticks. Similarly, sods are also used for roofing.]

chap. 5 par. 70

Fingo, Thembu, Mpondomise: pigs

'Ziko ezinto ezimlomo utsolo ekutiwa ngononko bongela olona hlobo ke labantu abamnyama izizalwane zengulube.'

[There are animals here with pointed snouts which are called 'nonko-

bongela', the kind of animals the native people possessed, they belong to the family group of pigs.]

chap. 8 par. 22

Fingo, Thembu, Mpondomise: milk-calabashes

'Amaselwa anobisi agcinwa endlwini yomninimzi, ahlale paya entla.'

[Calabashes containing milk are stored in the kraal-head's hut; they are kept in the innermost part, opposite the door.]

(1949) Duggan-Cronin p. 13

Mpondo, Mpondomise: cattle

Nothing more.

1949 Hammond-Tooke (1953) pp. 78, 82

Bhaca: cattle-race

p. 78

Nothing more.

p. 82

'During the washing in the river the cattle, which have been previously brought to the Great Place from the surrounding districts by their owners in preparation for the great cattle race, are herded by boys near the river in readiness for this event which takes place on the Thursday afternoon. After midday the young men mount and drive the cattle at full speed from the river to the capital, urging them on with blows and shouts. The race, which takes place over a distance of two or three miles, causes great excitement, as the owner of the beast which comes first will be presented by the chief with an *inchaza* of beer. The cattle, gasping, hollow-flanked and utterly exhausted, are met by the chief in front of the *isibhaya*. . . .'

(1951) Bourquin p. 70

Xhosa: girth

'*i-nqhalo*, a thong by which the rider is secured from falling off a bullock when training it.'

1949-1955 Hammond-Tooke (1955) p. 56

Bhaca: stock

'Medicines are used to ensure the health of stock. Large herds are still the index of wealth. . . .'

1949-62 Hammond-Tooke (1962) pp. 14, 21-24, 149

Bhaca: domestic animals

p. 14

Bhaca: value of cattle

'For the Bhaca have a cattle cult. The herds grazing on the hills and mountain tops bear witness to their pride in cattle and a man's wealth is gauged, not by land, or the magnificence of his kraal, but by the number of his stock. Little value is placed on the quality of the cattle, it is the quantity that counts, and cattle are the door to sexual satisfaction, social status and ancestor worship.'

p. 21

Bhaca: domestic animals

'Originally, before contact with the White man, the only domestic animals of the Bhaca appear to have been cattle and goats, but today sheep, horses, pigs and poultry are all kept.'

p. 21

Bhaca: stable, pigsty, chicken-coop

'Horses are kept in a separate enclosure and at least one homestead I visited

had a stone stable. Pigs and poultry are allowed to roam freely about the homestead, but some people build small mud enclosures covered with wood or reeds for the latter, to protect them from hawks.' (His note: 'The wickerwork type of enclosure (*ingqoloba*) found among the Thembu, is not common.')

p. 22

Bhaca: women and cattle

'... the care of cattle and other stock is the work of the men. Women are dangerous to all stock except pigs and poultry . . . attitudes towards these taboos are changing and many women to-day enter the kraal without a qualm.'

p. 23

Bhaca: importance of cattle

'Bhaca love their cattle and they are the dominant interest in a man's life. Formerly they provided the only means of acquiring wealth in a society without a cash economy and in which personal property was confined to a few items of material culture such as clothing, weapons and utensils. They are the door to sexual satisfaction through the *lobola* exchanges and quantity is generally more important than quality, although a fat ox is much admired and cows are prized because of their reproductive qualities. This interest in cattle is reflected in the large number of names used for different types of cattle, based mainly on the criterion of colour distribution and shape of the horns.'

p. 24

Bhaca: goats and other animals

'Interest in cattle is extended to goats, which are also used as a means of approach to the ancestral shades, for clothing and as *ikhazi* (bride-wealth). Although they are not as prized as cattle, their importance looms large in Bhaca eyes. They are particularly important in the rituals associated with ancestor worship. . . .

Horses are bred for riding and racing. . . . Great pride is taken in a good horse, although it does not enjoy the ritual and social prestige of cattle, and horses are often used as part of the bride-wealth, being counted equivalent to a beast.'

p. 149

Bhaca: cattle-posts

'The country not under cultivation is theoretically open for all to graze their stock. Within a location the cattle may graze anywhere and there are no special areas set aside for them. The cattle of each neighbourhood unit, however, tend to have their own grazing-grounds. At Lugangeni, cattle of the Centule neighbourhood unit were not allowed to graze with those of Sirudlwini nor with those of Hagwini. Fights often occur between the herdboys of the various areas due to the infringement of grazing-rights.'

1955 Sinclair

Mpondo: horse-racing

Nothing more.

1956-8 Hammond-Tooke (1958) pp. 42, 45, 46, 49

Xhosa (Ciskei): cattle-keeping, other stock, gifts at marriage

p. 42

Xhosa: importance of cattle

Nothing more.

p. 45

Xhosa: cattle-keeping

'Cattle are seldom sold and about 99% of the cattle slaughtered are killed for ritual purposes. . . .'

p. 46

Xhosa: husbandry

'Stock are herded during the day by small boys and all small stock and most large stock are kraaled at night. Cows are milked once a day and calves run with the dams during the day, but are separated at night for the milking next morning. Approximately 5% of bulls are kept for breeding purposes, the rest being castrated. Such culling as is done is confined to the Betterment locations. Sheep and goats are kept for meat, milk and skins. The price for goats—particularly white goats—is high (c. £5 each) as there is a steady demand for them for ritual purposes. Wool and goatskins are sold to the traders. Of equines, only mules and donkeys are used for draught purposes, but there are very few of the former. Horses are almost exclusively used for riding and many social occasions end with horse racing. Livestock are watered at rivers, dams, bore-holes and springs but, although there are over a hundred permanent watering points in the district, they are not sufficient because of bad distribution. Over-grazing is an important problem but in the camped Betterment areas the rooigras is returning.'

p. 49

Xhosa: gifts at marriage

'Apart from the passing of the *ikhazi* or marriage cattle from the family of the groom to that of the bride certain other gifts of cattle are made by the bride's father viz. the *impothulo*, *inqakhwe* and *ubulunga* beasts. The *impothulo* beast accompanies the bridal party (*uduli*) to the groom's home and is given to "decorate" the bride and provide for the *uduli* on its arrival. It is in the nature of a contribution towards the marriage feast. The *inqakhwe*, either a cow or a heifer in calf, is given by the father to supply the bride and her children with milk, while the *inkomo yobulunga* is a sacred beast which stands in a special relationship to the health and well-being of the wife. It is always a cow or a heifer and remains the woman's inalienable property. Its tail hairs are used to make a necklace which is worn to ward off evil. (For further details see J. van Tromp "Xhosa Law of Persons" pp. 51-4.) Today, among most Christians, furniture (usually a bedroom suite) is given by the bride's father in place of these cattle.'

TERMS

isicheme muzzle for calves to prevent them from sucking, D, general 343

isingxobho 1. thin membrane inside an egg; fig. a covering, sheath, as a holster for a gun, D. 2. muzzle for calves, X 344

umtya 1. something to bind with, as a small band, thong, cord, D. 2. thong to tie cow's hind legs for milking; anything used similarly, X, general. 3. bow-string (X—Lichtenstein 1811 1: 656, *ummuhĩja* 'Bogensehne') (a widely distributed Bantu root, for 'leather strap') 345 (244, 407, 680, 858)

- isisinga* 1. loop or noose of a small thong with which one leg of young calves or goats is fastened; trap, snare, D, general. 2. of sinew, X. 3. thong, grass or monkey rope, Mp. 4. rope of sedge (*imizi*) to catch cattle to be killed, Bo. 5. noose, in any form of trap (T-Makalima) **346** (219, 482)
- umkhala* 1. cord or thong drawn through the cartilage of the nostrils, or a small stick fixed in the same way, to keep a calf from sucking, or to guide a pack-ox in riding; hence, a bit, bridle, D, general. (This is an old term of cattle people in southern Africa, denoting nose-strap for cattle, cf. Sotho *mogala*, Venda *muhala*, Zulu *umkhala*. It is needed esp. to catch hornless animals). 2. the modern sense of 'bit, bridle' is now the best known, X. 3. necklace, Bh. 4. beadwork strap under chin, T **347** (847, 1094)
- iqegu* pack-ox, or ox used for riding, D **348** (1091)
- inqaluka* 1. pack saddle, D. 2. thong round belly of beast for rider to hold on to, Bo Mp. 3. mostly unknown **349** (1092)
- inqgalo* 1. thong by which rider is secured from falling off a bullock when training it, D X Bh Mp. 2. nose-strap (synon. *umkhala*) passed through nose of beast; bridle; beadwork strap round head and under chin, T general **350** (1093)
- iqamesi* 1. long thong for tying milk-sack on pack-ox, D X. 2. for tying other things also (Mzamane). 3. plaited cord of sedge (*imizi*) Bo. 4. also girth for horse, Xes Bh. 5. neck or waist ornament of sedge (*imizi*), T. 6. (or *iqamisi*) bangle made of eight strands of split twisted rush or grass, T **351**
- inviko* 1. goad for bullocks, D Mp. 2. parrying-stick, X Mp. The latter is the more likely original meaning, cf. -vika Zulu and Fgo 'parry' **352**
- uviko* 1. pointed pole, D. pointed stick or goad (X-McLaren 1915). 2. goad, Bo **353** (489)
- umngcoyazana* 1. nice little stick carried when racing bullocks, D, unknown, but one Hlu said only used by girl driving away *ikhazi* cattle to reject suitor (Mzamane) **354**
- umkhombe, umkhumbi* 1. wooden trough, hollowed out longitudinally on the upper side of a log of wood, used for various purposes; manger; canoe, boat, ship, D X Mp and others. 2. obsolete since beginning of nineteenth century in sense of 'boat, ship', X and not confirmed now **355** (531, 1101)
- imbenga* 1. milking-vessel of rushes, D. 2. apparently a word now forgotten, as nobody was found who knew it. Cf. Zulu *imbenge* **356**
- ithunga* (-thunga sew) 1. plaited basket used as a milk pail, D T (Lichenstein 1811 **1**: 655). 2. any vessel used as milk-pail, whether wood, or pottery, general **357**
- isitya* (from -tya 'eat'). 1. vessel for eating and drinking from; baskets, plate, dish, basin, cup, etc., D, general. 2. *sihtja* milk-basket (X-Lichtenstein 1811 **1**: 655). 3. beer basket of palm leaf, Mp Xes. 4. food basket, Mp Xes **358** (541, 548)
- iqhamthwa* 1. (Hlu) milk-sack, D: 523. 2. store; private room of a chief, D: 347. 3. not confirmed **359** (10)

isibozi 1. old skin bag for churning; a churn, D (X-Soga 1937) 2. calabash for making butter by shaking (not bag, which was *invaba*) according to very old X man in Willowvale (regularly derived noun-agent from *-bola* 'go bad' or *-boza* 'make go bad' therefore 'curdler') 360

invaba leather milk-sack with bottle-like neck, D, general 361

intsuba 1. skin of animal, fig. skin bag for curds (i.e. *invaba*), D X (X-Holman, X-Shaw). 2. *hlonipha* for *invaba*, Bo. 3. another name for *invaba*, confirmed by miscellaneous informants 362

indlwana yenkuku fowl-coop, D, general 363

umgonqo (-gonqa remain always at home) 1. nD. 2. fowl-nest in hut, Bh 364

inqoloba 1. nD. 2. fowl-coop, Xes only 365

indlu yenkuku fowl-house, T 366

DISCUSSION

The Cape Nguni are a pastoral people, and in early times were predominantly so. They have possessed cattle and dogs from time immemorial, and probably goats as well. Some of the tribes maintain they had a small breed of domestic fowl, and this is confirmed by the earliest authors. Some Xhosa at least had a few sheep fairly early (see Almada p. 34), presumably obtained from the Hottentots (see term 656) and later all the tribes had them from European sources. Makalima and some eastern Mpondo think there was formerly a small indigenous breed of pigs but this is not confirmed. Horses and pigs (and cats) came from the European settlers at the Cape. Wild birds were never caged.

Animal husbandry is the men's domain, and, despite Paravicini's isolated statement that chasing stray cattle is women's work, women have nothing to do with any animals except pigs and poultry. The Mpondo consider women definitely dangerous to all others.

CATTLE

Cattle have always been, and still are, by far the most important of the domestic animals. In former times they provided the staple diet of milk, and some meat; they provided the staple material for clothing, their horns were made into utensils, they were the standard of wealth and the main item of the bride price (*lobola*); they were the only means of transport as riding- and pack oxen (Pl. 36: 1-2, Pl. 37: 2); they provided the great sport of cattle-racing (see especially Soga 1932: 371-376) either as an object in itself or as part of the festivities at weddings or other feasts, and some herds were trained exclusively for it. Above all they were associated with the ritual life of the tribe. Though the flesh was eaten, cattle were seldom killed without some additional reason, for example, as a sacrifice to the ancestors, to celebrate a feast or honour a distinguished guest, or to provide a skin. The Bomvana had, and still have, sacred herds set aside for ritual purposes and it is stated by Soga that the Xhosa used to have such, but they do so no longer.

Latterly, through overstocking, the cattle have given less milk and, in any case, although milk and meat are still the favourite foods, a more varied diet is available; cotton cloth and modern clothing have replaced skins, coined money has ousted other forms of currency except for the payment of certain fees; restriction of movement to combat East Coast fever has caused the decline or cessation, in most areas, of cattle-racing; and horses or vehicles are available for transport. Cattle are, however, now used in ploughing and for dragging the sledges of garden produce, and still maintain a strong ritual and prestige value. Cattle get their food entirely from grazing. None is grown for them. They are herded by boys on the grazing land common to the group (Pl. 36: 3), and at night are confined to the kraal of their owner's homestead. Herd-boys control them by whistling through a double reed whistle, or one bought at the store (Pl. 122: 4). The cattle are trained to obey the signals. In addition, the boys carry thin rods, pointed at one end, which were also used as goads when riding. Fleming describes these as about 1 cm thick and 180 cm long, but the ordinary stick (*intonga*) that is always carried may be used as well, and is more common today.

For closer control, thongs or plaited grass ropes or, according to the Hlubi of Herschel, a plaited cord of the hair of the animal's own tail, are used as bridles or tethers and to tie the back or front legs of cows during milking (Pl. 37: 1). The thong used for this latter purpose is kept with the milk-pail, and not used for anything else. Until recently, when a bridle or a tether was needed it was attached to the ends of a cylindrical piece of wood about 15 cm by 3 cm, which was passed through the cartilage of the beast's nose, between the nostrils (Pl. 39: 4), and left permanently in position, stopped with a peg at each end. Alternatively, the bridle itself might be passed through the nose and fastened with a slip-knot, without being attached to the piece of wood. According to informants in many places this practice has gone out, and the alternative is to tie the thong round the horns. For riding, for which boys started to train them as calves, another thong was passed round the belly of the ox for the rider to hold on to, and no saddles were used. Thongs or ropes were also used to tie milk-sacks or other burdens on to the oxen.

Calves were tethered by the foreleg, and to stop them sucking from their mothers, might be fitted with a muzzle woven of thorns and sedge stems, or have a sharp stick put through the cartilage of the nose.

PLATE 36

Cattle.

1. Xhosa riding an ox, c. 1850 ('Caffre') (Walker 1851, pl. 14).
2. Xhosa family on the move, c. 1805 ('Kaffers on a march', Daniell 1820).
3. Thembu cattle herdsman; Baziya, Umtata 1935 (photo W. T. H. Beukes) (TM 35/107).
4. Thembu men, showing what is worn under blankets; Umtata 1935 (photo W. T. H. Beukes) (TM 35/195).
5. Bomvana milking-scene; Elliotdale 1935 (photo W. T. H. Beukes) (TM 35/142).



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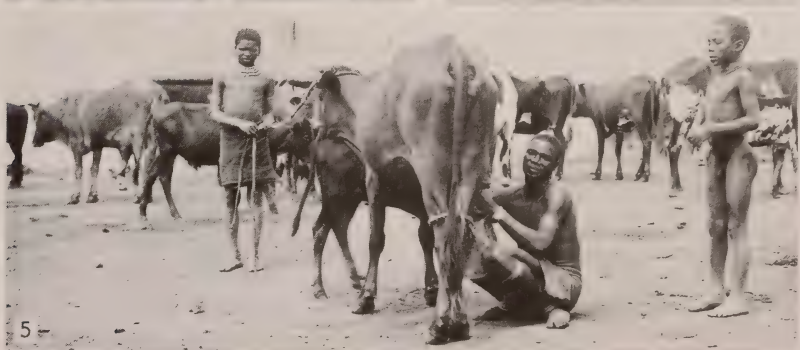
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Cows are milked twice a day in front of the kraal (Pl. 36: 5, Pl. 37: 1). Great importance has always been attached to the milker. Formerly it was only amongst common people that each man milked his own cows. At the homestead of a man of rank the work was entrusted to a professional milker, whose position was a very honourable one. Nowadays there appear to be no such professional milkers. Amongst the Xhosa each man is said to milk his own cows. But amongst Bomvana, eastern and western Mpondo, and Mpondomise one man in each homestead does all the milking, collects the calabashes from the huts, and returns them filled. In a Mpondomise homestead visited by the authors he also gave its ration to the waiting cat. Some informants say this is the same everywhere. This combines the duty of milker with that of keeper of the milk containers, mentioned by many authors of the last century, a duty which devolved on one man in each homestead, so that no one else, not even a chief himself, might touch them.

The milk-pail (*ithunga*), used by Xhosa, Thembu, and Hlubi until the beginning of this century, was a closely coiled basket made of sedge stems (Pl. 37: 3-4). These are no longer used and store-bought buckets or cans have taken their place. Bomvana, Mpondo, Bhaca and Xesibe used, and all but the latter still used in 1948, a wooden pail, which was also known to the Xhosa (Pl. 38: 1-4). Several species of wood were used. Soga says a soft wood, especially *umhlangwe*, was used by the Xhosa; other Xhosa informants mentioned *umsenge* (*Cussonia spicata*, cabbage tree). The Bhaca also used a pot, as did the Zizi a century ago (Pl. 38: 5). In 1956 informants said that a wooden pail was preferred by many even where metal buckets were available, because the latter rust (W. D. Hammond-Tooke pers. comm. 1956).

Milk is not used fresh, except possibly by children and dogs. After milking it is poured into the container in which it is to curdle into *amasi*, thick curds, in which form it is eaten. Until quite recently, in well-to-do families throughout the tribes, the container was a sack (*invaba*) (Pl. 39: 1, 6) made of two rectangular pieces of raw ox- or goat-hide, with the hair removed and the fleshy side outward, sewn together with thongs and having an opening at one corner which was tied firmly with a thong. The size varied according to requirements, but cannot often have been as great as that mentioned by Backhouse as 120 cm

PLATE 37

Cattle, milking, and milking-utensils.

1. Milking; note back legs tied and calf standing near, Mpondomise; Tsolo 1955.
2. Pack-ox; note bridle and girth, Xhosa c. 1850 ('Amakora Man') (Walker 1851, pl. 15).
3. Milk-basket, diameter 370 mm, Gonaqua Hottentot, 1776, obtained by Sparrman from the Gonaqua, who traded such baskets from the Xhosa. (State Ethnographic Museum, Stockholm 1799.2.8). For close-up of fabric see Shaw & Van Warmelo (1974, pl. 27: 1).
4. 'Amakosa Milk Basket', drawing attributed to Charles Bell, c. 1850 (Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh 1914.67, now in Cape Archives).



by 90 cm. In poor families a calabash, fitted with a stopper, was used instead (Pl. 38: 6), and according to Kay the *amasi* from them did not taste as good as that from the sacks. Nowadays milk-sacks are still used by *abakhwetha*, and are made from the skin of the animal slaughtered at the beginning of the school, but elsewhere they are rare, if found at all, and calabashes are in general use. Store-bought stone-ware vessels may also be used, but according to Fox the *amasi* from them does not taste as good as that from the calabashes. In some cases a hole and stopper may be put in the base of the calabash to let out the whey, but this seems to be a matter of individual preference and not at all common. The whey is usually poured off. Otherwise the container may be shaken from time to time to keep an even consistency. Some authors and informants stated that the milk containers were never washed, others that they should not be washed more than once every few weeks, as the sour milk left in helped to curdle the new. This again seems to be a matter of individual preference. Fox states that a new calabash takes a little time to season, but once seasoned it lasts for years.

According to Fleming, in the large homesteads of the last century the milk-sacks were kept in a special hut, but today, and presumably in small homesteads formerly, each hut has its calabash, which is kept on the man's side.

In all the tribes, babies have always had their own small calabashes, surrounded by a strapping of thongs by which they can be carried on a journey (Pl. 64: 3).

Both sacks and calabashes could be used as churns by hanging them up and swinging them to and fro. The butter was not eaten, but used to anoint the hair or the skin.

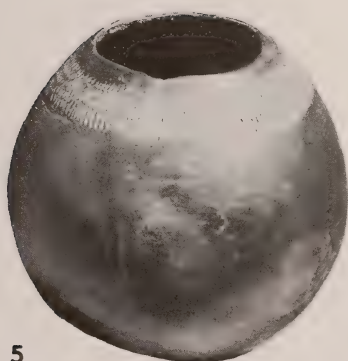
On the death of the head of the family the milk-sacks or calabashes were destroyed. According to a Xhosa informant, that belonging to the head was buried with him. For the death of any other member they were merely emptied of their contents. This latter appears to be the same for all today.

(Cook (1931: 118, 123) gives an account of the customs connected with milk among the Bomvana in the 1920s and it is probable that those of all tribes were the same, or even more extensive, in former days. Hunter (1936) similarly gives many instances of Mpondo prohibitions on drinking milk.)

PLATE 38

Milk-pails and utensils.

1. *ithunga*, 280 mm, Mpondo; Lusikisiki 1948.
2. *ithunga*, 335 mm, Bomvana; Elliotdale 1935 (TM 35/391).
3. *ithunga*, 250 mm, Mpondo; Bizana 1901 (SAM-248).
4. *ithunga*, no measurements, Bomvana; Elliotdale 1948.
5. *ithunga*, diameter 210 mm, Bhaca; Lugangeni, Mt Frere 1948.
6. *idliwa*, for milk, 335 mm, Mpondo; Moyeni, Libode 1968.



GOATS AND SHEEP

It has been said that goats are the cattle of the poor man. According to Hunter the Mpondo in 1932 did not milk them, but informants in 1955 said that they did, and the other tribes do. Their flesh is eaten, their skins are used, they are used in barter and *lobola*, and they are, more often than cattle, used as a ritual sacrifice.

Sheep, on the other hand, have no ritual importance. They are kept purely for food, their skins and, since the introduction of woolly sheep, their wool. Some Xhosa informants said that they were milked too, and that the milk was considered a delicacy. Wool and goat-skins are sold to traders.

Both sheep and goats are herded by small boys not yet old enough to herd cattle. At night they are kept in their own kraals separate from the cattle, or tied up in the huts.

OTHER DOMESTIC ANIMALS

Pigs

Pigs are kept solely for their meat (Pl. 40: 5-6). They have no other importance and like fowls, may be looked after by women. A wooden trough (*umkhombe*) is used for feeding them (Pl. 52: 8).

Fowls

Fowls are kept for their flesh and eggs, and have no ritual importance. In the daytime they roam at will, but at night are generally, but not invariably, confined in a wicker fowl-coop (Pl. 39: 2-3, 5; Pl. 40: 3). Often wicker nests are placed in the huts to encourage them not to lay astray. (Pl. 40: 1-2).

Horses

Horses are used primarily for ordinary riding, but in Pondoland and the Ciskei horse-racing is very popular. Horses are ridden with bit and bridle, but no stirrups, and only an ox or sheep skin, if anything, to serve as a saddle.

The Mpondo use them as a rare and highly prized part of *lobola*.

PLATE 39

Milk-utensils and fowl-coops.

1. *imvaba*, milk-sack, longest side 512 mm, 'Kaffir', c. 1886 (British Museum 86.11.25.8).
2. *indlwana yenkukhu*, fowl's nest, Bomvana; Nkanya, Elliotdale 1948.
3. *indlwana yenkukhu*, Bomvana; Guse, Elliotdale 1948.
4. *umkhala*, bridle or nose-strap, with peg through septum, Xhosa c. 1850 (Walker 1851, pl. 15) (compare Pl. 37: 2).
5. *indlwana yenkukhu*, fowl-coop, Mpondo; Mbotyi, Lusikisiki 1948.
6. *imvaba*, milk-sack, 723 mm, Thembu; no locality, no date (McGregor Museum 604(36)).



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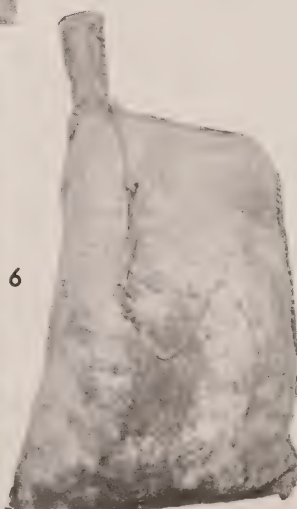
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Dogs

Dogs have always been kept as hunters. The majority, and the only sort seen today, are mongrels, of the sort that were used in rounding up the game with the beaters. The Xhosa used to have a large greyhound type of special hunting dog, which since hunting has died out is no longer seen. It is recorded that these latter were specially cared for and had their own skin sleeping-mats in their masters' huts, but the majority of dogs fend for themselves and have little attention paid to them. A kennel is built rarely (Pl. 40: 4), and for a bitch and her litter only. Dogs do not wear collars.

TOOLS

SOURCES

1593 Lavanha (1597) p. 235

At Umtata R.: axe

'Usaõ vasos de barro secos ao Sol, e de madeira lavrados com humas machadinhas de ferro, as quaes saõ como huma cunha metida em hum paõ, e com as mesmas cortaõ o mato.'

(p. 294 'They use vessels of clay dried in the sun, and some of wood carved with small iron axes, which are like wedges set in a piece of wood; with these they also clear the thickets.')

1776 Hallema (1932) p. 134

Xhosa: lancet

'... ons ... vonden, dat hij gelijk de Joden besneden was. Volgens zijne beduidenis omtrend de groote der kinderen geschiedde dit op hunne 6 of 7 jaren met een blank geslepen assegaaij, door den vader of een ander zonder onderscheid.'

1776-7 Gordon (1776-95)

Xhosa: awl

Sketch.

1797 Barrow (1806) p. 162

Xhosa: awl

'Their bodkin is a piece of polished iron. . . .'

1802-6 Alberti (1810a) pp. 53, 62, 151, 152

Xhosa: tools

p. 53

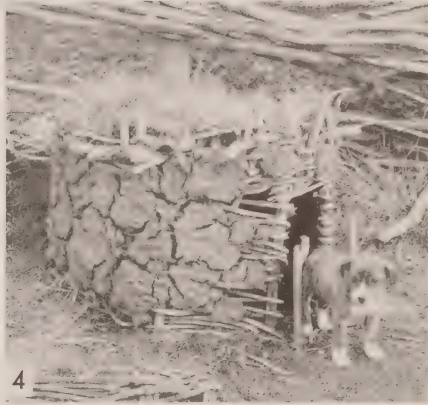
Xhosa: adze

'... voorts, met behulp van eene hand-bijl, waarvan de steel tot dit bepaald

PLATE 40

Fowl's nest, dog-kennel and pigsty.

1. *inkatha*, coil of grass, used in huts as nest for fowls, Fingo; Dwessa, Willowvale 1960.
2. Fowl on nest against wall inside hut, Mpondo; Mpimbo, Ngqeleni 1958.
3. *indlwana yenkukhu*, fowl-coop, Xhosa; Willowvale 1948.
4. Plastered dog-kennel for bitch with pups, Mpondo; Mpimbo, Ngqeleni 1958.
5. Low barrier across threshold to keep pigs out of hut, Mpondo; Mgwenyana, Libode 1958.
6. Pigsty (*ihoko* from Afrikaans *hok*), Mpondo; Mpimbo, Ngqeleni 1958.



gebruik wordt afgenomen, zoo lang geschraapt, dat de huid . . . verdund worde. . . .’

p. 62

Xhosa: uses of awl

‘Aan dit hals-sieraad bij de Mannen hangt nog doorgaans op de borst een kleine ijzeren Priem in eenen koker, dienende zoo wel ter vervaardiging van kleederen en melk-korven, als ter uitrukkinge van eenen doorn, dien men in den voet treedt, en tot andere einden meer.’

p. 151

Xhosa: hammer, tongs, chisel

‘Tot eenen Hamer dient een Riviersteen, of ook somtijds een stuk ijzer welk de gedaante van eenen stompen kegel heeft, zonder steel. De Tang bestaat uit een gedeeltelijk gespleten stuk taai Hout,

Eindelijk bedient men zich van eenen Beitel, om het koper of ijzer door te slaan, en het geprikte aan de werpspiesen te vervaardigen, welk daaraan nu en dan te zien is.’

p. 152

Xhosa: axe

‘De Bijl zelve heeft de gedaante van eenen breeden beitel; zij is 6 Duim lang; de vlakke breedte aan het einde, alwaar de snede is, bedraagt omtrent 2 Duim, en neemt naar den anderen kant langzaam af. Tot den doorboorden steel, waarin men deze bijl steekt, dient niet slechts een zeer taai, maar tevens aan het doorboord einde bijzonder kwastig hout, ten einde bij het gebruik niet te splijten.’

1803–6 Lichtenstein (1811) p. 463

Xhosa: hammer

Nothing more.

1819–29 Moodie (1835) p. 259

Xhosa: hammers

‘We saw the smith make several assagays in a very short time, with stones of different shapes for hammers.’

1824 Ross p. 212

Amangwane: tongs

‘The smiths use tongs. He knew the purpose of our tongs.’

1825–29 Kay (1833) p. 133

Xhosa: hammer, axe

‘In addition to this, the *Umkandi* makes a small description of hatchets, which, although most inefficient in the estimation of a European, serve every purpose for which the natives want them.’

(1829) Rose p. 178

Xhosa: awl

Nothing more.

1829 Boniface p. 34

Xhosa: axe

‘Arrivés au bord de la mer, nous ne fûmes pas peu surpris de voir que la troupe des Incendiaires s’était beaucoup accrue. Partout sur le plain, on voyait des tas de bois brûlans ou brûlés; et des Sauvages occupés avec de petites haches à briser tout ce qui leur tombait sous la main, pour en détacher les ferrures ou le cuivre.’

(1833) Morgan p. 43

Xhosa: smith’s tools

‘The only tools are various kinds of hard stones, as hammers and anvils.’

Flexible boughs of green wood for holding the hot iron—and bellows formed of an entire buckskin. . . .’

1834*b* Bonatz p. 350

Thembu: awl

‘A small strap is frequently attached to the upper part of the kaross, from which is suspended a leathern sheath, containing an iron needle about six inches long.’

(1836) Martin p. 153

Thembu: awl

Nothing more (taken from Bonatz 1834*b*).

1836–44 Döhne (1844) pp. 9, 36, 37, 38

Xhosa: tools

p. 9

Xhosa: axe

‘Mittelst einer Axt und durch Feuer machen sie dann oft einen kleinen Wald so total nieder, dass man nach 2 Jahren nicht mehr sieht, was dagewesen.’

p. 36

Xhosa: hammer

Nothing more.

p. 37

Xhosa: axe, awl

‘Eine andere Arbeit der Eisenschmiede sind ihre Beile und Nadeln. Das Beil, ebenfalls von blossen Eisen, ist etwa 4–6 Zoll lang, an der Schneide 2 und am Ende 1–1½ Zoll breit und ohne Oehr. Die Schneide, deren Seite etwa einen reichlichen Viertenzoll dick ist, ist länglichrund und von 2 Seiten kurz zugeschliffen; das Ende ist etwas dünner und wird in einen Stiel von hartem Holz eingeschlagen, so dass es durch den Stiel geht und auf der anderen Seite etwas heraussteht. Diese Beile sind vermöge ihrer Härte und Form so stark, dass sie nie ausbrechen; auch die Gerber bedienen sich ihrer. Die Nadeln sind von verschiedener Länge, selten 1 Fuss lang, und von der Dicke eines dicken Strohhalmes. Die Spitze ist etwas kurz zugefeilt und das Ende bunt ausgezackt. Sie brauchen dieselbe zum Vorstechen beim Nähen und zum Herausziehen der Dornen aus den Füßen.’

p. 38

Xhosa: axe

‘Dann wird die Aasseite mit Beilen, nach Art des Schlichtens bei unseren Gerbern, so lange geschabt, bis die Poren der Haare zum Vorschein kommen.’

(1853) Fleming p. 108

Cape tribes: axe, knife

‘Knives and hatchets are never used in fighting, and are not much employed by them, save in cutting wood, or hunting.’

(1856) Fleming p. 204

Cape tribes: awl

‘Their snuff boxes, which are ingeniously made, and are of various forms and devices, have always attached to them a picker, or long-pointed instrument, with which they stir the snuff, when it becomes dry. . . .’

1863–66 Fritsch (1872) pp. 67, 71

Xhosa: tools

p. 67

Xhosa: knife, awl

‘Messer sind ursprünglich im eigentlichen Kafferlande nicht gebräuchlich gewesen, indem die Klinge der Assegai auch bei friedlichen Verrichtungen als schneidendes Instrument benutzt wurde; jetzt sind solche von europäischem

Fabrikat ziemlich verbreitet. Der andre für den Haushalt nöthige Apparat von Werkzeugen und Geräthen ist ebenso einfach wie die Waffen. Ein vielgebrauchtes Instrument in den Händen der Männer sind lange, eiserne Nadeln oder besser Ahlen, welche besonders für die Fellarbeiten zum Vorbohren der Löcher dienen und die häufig, in mannigfach verzierten Scheiden am Halse getragen werden.'

p. 71

Xhosa: hammer

Nothing more.

1845-89 Kropf (1889) pp. 107, 112, 113

Xhosa: axe, hammer, awl

Nothing more.

(1881) Nauhaus pp. 345-346, 347, pl. 9: 6

Cape tribes: tools

pp. 345-346

Cape tribes: branding-iron

'An vielen war die Musterung markirt durch schwarze und weisse Streifen, — andere Gefässe waren tief schwarz gefärbt. Die schwarzen Streifen und ganze schwarze Färbung stellt der Kaffer her durch Bestreichung der betreffenden Stelle mit Fell [it is likely that *Fell* is a misprint for *Fett*], über welche er dann mit einem heissen Eisen so lange hin und her fährt, bis er die gewünschte Bräune oder Schwärze erhält.'

p. 347

Xhosa: adze

'Fig. 6. Ein Däxel, 33 cm gross. Die eiserne Klinge, von der Form gewisser Steinkeile, ist quer in das verdickte Ende des Holzschafes gesteckt. Man benutzt ihn zum Bearbeiten der Felle. Diese werden in senkrecht stehendem Rahmen aufgespannt und die Kaffern schaben, resp. kratzen nun die innere Seite der Häute mit dem Däxel, den sie dabei mit beiden Händen führen.'

(1894) Ratzel 2 p. 17

'Kaffer': awl

Figure.

(1896) Brownlee p. 347

Xhosa: axe

'... a triangular piece of iron, from one to two pounds in weight, served as an axe, and its equivalent in barter was an ox. ...'

(1904) Kidd pp. 16-17 pl. 92, legend

Mpondo: razor, thatching-needle

pp. 16-17

Mpondo: razor

'In Pondoland the children have their hair cut in the most fantastic patterns, reminding one of nothing so much as poodle dogs, the shaving of the hair being done by means of a piece of broken glass or old hoop iron sharpened up for the purpose.'

pl. 92, legend

Mpondo: thatching-needle

'A woman is standing inside the hut pulling through the wooden needle which the woman on the roof pushes from above.'

(1917) Aitchison p. 18

Xhosa: knife

'The assegai, or spear, often did service as a knife, although Native blacksmiths used to make a rough knife (called "*isityetye*" by the Amaxosa), from a small flat piece of iron, well sharpened and attached to a handle. This rude

instrument, besides the assegai, was in constant use. Nowadays knives can be obtained from the local traders. . . .'

(1919) Aitchison p. 675

Xhosa: stone smoother

'On the day after the feast, the integument [of a goat] was smeared over with red clay, and after being pegged out to dry was carefully rubbed over with a smooth stone.'

(1919) McLaren p. 441

Xhosa: chisel, smoother for pots

'To pick or sharpen a stone is *xola*, and the pointed cold chisel with which this is done is *in-xola*. . . . The potter, usually a female, took a lump of this, and with her hands and a piece of wood laboriously moulded, *bumba*, the clay into the shape desired. . . .'

1925 Thompson p. 495

Cape Nguni: knife

'The operation [of removing the finger joint] is performed on all children as a tribal mark. . . . A relative on the paternal side must perform the operation with some sharp instrument, which is hidden and never used again.'

Hlubi: knife

'The males have the terminal joint removed from either the little or middle finger of the right hand, and the females have the terminal joint of the left ring finger removed. The operation is done in infancy by the mother or grandmother with a sharp knife, which must then be broken and buried.'

(1928) Brownlee p. 181

Fingo: knife

'The Surgeon, after cautious and diplomatic suggestion, showed me the lancet with which the operation [circumcision] was to be performed. It was the blade of an assegai, the shaft of which had been replaced by a wooden handle. The blade was razor sharp and was carefully wrapped in a bandage and carried in a leathern sheath. I was told that this instrument had been preserved from ancient times and used from year to year as occasion required. Its well-worn shape and the reverent manner in which it was handled went to confirm the statement that it, along with the office of surgeon, had been handed down from father to son for many generations.'

(1932) Soga pp. 405-406

Xhosa: axe

Nothing more.

1932 Hunter (1936) pp. 73, 100

Mpondo: axe smoother

p. 73

Mpondo: axe

'Formerly when the country was much more wooded, fields were probably frequently made in bush land, and clearing with the primitive axes made by Pondo smiths must have been very heavy work. Now European-made axes are used.'

p. 100

Mpondo: pot smoother

'The sides are made by building ring upon ring. The potteress shapes the walls as she builds. The whole is smoothed with a wetted chip of calabash, and the pot set to dry in a hut.'

(1934) Anon. p. 150

Xhosa: stone for sharpening

Photograph: sharpening hoe with stone.

1945 Makalima chap. 9, pars. 14, 17, 34, 37, 42, 44

Fingo, Thembu, Mpondomise: tools

par. 14

Fingo, Thembu, Mpondomise: hammer, whetstone, chisel

'Isando siyenziwa ngelitye le nyangane elilukuni. . . . *Amatye okulola amazembe* kuketwa ilitye elinkum-nkum, ingabi eliti xa kulolwayo linkumke. . . . *Iziqandulo* zenziwa ngelitye lenyangane elingqukuva.'

[A hammer is made of granite which is a very hard stone. . . . *Stones for sharpening axes*. Friable stones were picked out, not hard ones like granite. It was a stone which when used for sharpening, crumbled into pieces. . . . *Iziqandulo*, burring stones for sharpening grindstones were made from lumps of granite.]

par. 17

Fingo, Thembu, Mpondomise: axe, knife

'*Izinto ezenziwe ngomti* zenziwa ngokuqingqwa ngezembe nangemela kugudiswe kwangemela kuba kaloku izinto ezinje nge pleyini zokugudisa zazi ngeko kudala.'

[Things made of wood are carved from the tree with an axe and knife. The knife is also used to smooth them because in the olden times there were no planes.]

par. 34

Fingo, Thembu, Mpondomise: axe, spear

Nothing more.

par. 37

Fingo, Thembu, Mpondomise: hammer

'Intsimbi iti yaku bashushu ikandwe ngenye intsimbi nokuba kunge litye ide ibe sicwecwe ibe ngumkonto.'

[When the iron is hot it is beaten with another iron or with a stone until it is flat and made into an assegai.]

par. 42

Fingo, Thembu, Mpondomise: knife, awl

'*Umxaka—Umxaka* xa wenziwayo uyalolwa ngezitshetshe zokuxhola, ekutiwa zintshengeca. . . . *Umvambo—wenziwa* apa esiswini ngezilanda.'

[The ivory arm-ring . . . is carved with knives specially made for that purpose. They are sharp edged stones. . . . Tattooing is done on the stomach with a needle.]

par. 44

Fingo, Thembu, Mpondomise: knife

'*Ukusetyenzwa komti—Xa kusetyenzwa umti uyaxholwa ngentshengeca*. Amabhunguza, nenduku, namacepe omti enziwa kwangezintshengeca.'

[A tree (wood) is worked with sharp-edged stones. Knobkerries, sticks, and wooden spoons are also carved with sharp-edged stones.]

1949-62 Hammond-Tooke (1962) pp. 76, 271

Fingo, Xesibe, Bhaca: knife

p. 76

Bhaca: knife

'Practically all Bhaca children have the operation of face-incision (*chaza*) performed on them, a custom shared with the neighbouring Xesibe and some

groups of Mfengu. . . . Cuts are usually made on the cheeks lengthwise with a sharpened piece of iron called *igcaguba*, usually by an old woman of the kraal.' p. 271

Bhaca: knife as lancet

'These preliminaries over, the *inyanga* takes a sharpened iron (*igcakuba*) and makes nicks on the scalp, hair ridge, base of throat . . . ' [of each member of *umti* in case of lightning].

(1966) Jansen p. 74

Xhosa: knife

The *ingqithi* custom . . . in which the last portion of one of the fingers is amputated . . . appears to be a very old custom among Xhosa-speaking peoples. . . . Originally, like circumcision, it was performed with an assegai (*umkhonto*), but at present an ordinary knife bought in a shop is used.'

1971 Gitywa p. 141

Xhosa: axes, awls

'The weapon smith also manufactured simple axes, *amazembe* or *isixengxe* and awls, *izilanda*, from iron.'

TERMS

ingxabela (-*xabela* hack to pieces) axe or other large cutting instrument, D Bo Bh 367

isixengxe 1. small axe, D. 2. for cutting meat, X. 3. men's axe, Xes. 4. with narrow blade, Bh. 5. not known, Mp. 6. modern weapon clandestinely made on the mines 368 (253, 400)

isixhaxha 1. axe-helve, D. 2. part of handle inside the metal, X Mp 369

izembe piece of iron, 2 to 3 ins broad at edge, running to a point which was put through a handle; axe, D, general. Derives from the common Bantu root -*lembe* 'hoe, axe', cf. Sotho *selêpê* 'axe', Venda *dzembe* pl. *malembe* 'hoe', Tsonga *lembe* 'year, i.e. hoeing season' 370 (401)

umphini handle, haft, of axe or hoe, D, general 371

isikhandelo 1. anvil D. 2. stone on which to pound medicine Mp. 3. burring stone to give tooth to grinding-stone Xes. 4. unknown X Bo (from -*khanda* forge, lit. 'something to forge on') 372 (135)

isibazelo (from -*baza* 'sharpen to a point', but the original Bantu meaning is 'carve'). 1. block or anvil on which one sharpens points, D. 2. wooden block on which to steady wooden objects being carved, Xes Hlu 373 (154)

inyatyhoba (cl. 9) awl, D, general 374 (180, 248)

iqampu 1. awl, D. 2. not confirmed 375

izilanda 1. needle 4 to 6 cm, eyeless, for making holes for sinew thread, removing thorns, loosening tobacco in pipe, D, general. 2. (wooden) needle for making hats, Mpm, Mp, or aloe thorn or iron, Mpm. 3. fish-hook bought in store, X 376 (181, 251, 494)

inkxola (-*xhola* chisel out or off; carve roughly; pick a millstone, i.e. burr grindstone to sharpen it), chisel, gouge, D (X-McLaren 1915) but hardly known 378 (138, 269)

- isixholo* chisel, gouge (from *-xhola*) but, like *inkxola*, not much used 379 (139, 270)
- ingqandulo* (*-qandula* peck, dress stone for grinding) hard stone or iron bar used for trimming the grinding-stone, D, general 380 (271)
- isiqandulo* 1. nD. 2. burring stone to sharpen grindstone, Bo X 381
- intlabo* any instrument for piercing with, chisel, awl, D (from *-hlaba* 'stab, pierce', but not confirmed as being a word that is used) 382
- impehla* 1. boring insect D. 2. also male fire-stick Mp. 3. auger, gimlet, drill, Bo Mp (modern, from verb *-phehla*) 383
- isando* hammer, see term 136 (Shaw & Van Warmelo 1974: 121) *isando* 384 (136)
- igwane* 1. nD. 2. stick with hook for pulling things down, Mp. 3. hook suspended from rafter, for hanging things from, Mp 385 (85)
- igwegwe* 1. anything to hook with, hook or crook, D Mp T. 2. fish-hook, hooked stick but not hook on trek chain, T 386
- isigwegwe* 1. anything to hook with, hook or crook, D. 2. unknown except one Mp who said 'bow legs' 387
- ugwegwe* 1. nD. 2. hook to pull down dead wood out of tree, X. 3. not generally known 388
- inyembe* 1. small arrow of the Korannas; whistle; barbed hook, D. 2. barbed spear, Xes Bh. 3. navy-blue bead (X-McLaren 1923: 21). 4. unknown to most people 389 (404, 780, 1055)
- ibhoso* large knife, carving or bowie knife, D (with misprint b for bh) (X-McLaren 1915), general west of Mthatha River and *ibhozo* east of it. Not derived from a verb, as the form of the word suggests, and origin not clear 390
- ibhozo* 1. nD. 2. large knife, Mp Mpm Xes 391
- imela* (an old word, cl. 9, probably derived, though in an unusual manner, from Afrikaans *mes*) knife, general, still used by some old heathen people, but *isitshetshe* now commonly used instead. 392 (922)
- intshengece* (pron. *intjengece*) 1. sharp-pointed stone, flint for cutting with, D X Mp Xes. 2. sharp-edged (not pointed) knife or sword, X Bo. 3. sharp stone for gouging out wooden utensils, (T-Makalima) 393 (155, 268)
- isibazo* (from *-baza* 'sharpen to a point', actually a widely-distributed Bantu verb denoting to 'carve'). 1. nD. 2. chisel, Xes Bh. 3. adze, Hlu 394 (140)
- isitshetshe* knife, D, general, by extension also 'razor' 395 (928)
- umbeso* 1. nD. 2. knife, Xes. 3. *hlonipha* of women for *isitshetshe* 'knife' Mp (from Afrikaans 'mes') 396
- umbese* 1. hoop; grass bracelet made and worn by children, D. 2. child's grass bracelet (X-McLaren 1915). 3. knife, Mp Bh T and misc. others, most of whom also use *isitshetshe*. 4. *hlonipha* for 'knife' used by women and *abakhwetha* X (from Afrikaans 'mes') 397 (876)

- utulo* 1. lowermost layer of thatch on a house, D; thatch X. 2. thatching needle, X Bo Mp Xes Bh 398 (54)
isigangatho stone for making a floor even and smooth, D X Mp, but not general 399

DISCUSSION

The tools used by Cape Nguni craftsmen were not complicated, but there are a few that are made to a certain design for a specific purpose. For the most part they have been described with the crafts for which they were used, but for convenience they are listed together here. Those that were made were made by men.

ADZE/AXE

The commonly used generic term *izembe* referred to one tool which could be used variously (Pl. 41: 7). The iron blade was wedge-shaped, 4 to 8 cm wide at the cutting edge and 10 to 15 cm long (Pl. 41: 2). Its point was put through a hole in the centre of the haft head, to protrude at the back. It could be inserted in the same plane for use as an axe, or, in a different haft, at right-angles for use as an adze. The wooden haft was short, according to Nauhaus (1881) 33 cm, with a fairly heavy head and a narrow central part flanging slightly at the grip.

Izembe was used as an axe for cutting down trees, and for cutting up the wood to required size. As an adze it was used for shaping and carving wooden objects, and for scraping skins. For the latter use the blade was sometimes taken out of the haft.

This tool was still used as late as 1971 by the few remaining skin-workers, but for all its other purposes, a stronger store-bought axe and a knife are used. Axe handles of the European pattern may be made for axe-heads bought at the store.

A smaller, narrow-bladed axe (*isixengxe*) was known and, according to Xhosa informants, was used for cutting meat. The term *isixengxe* is also used for the illegal modern weapon made on the mines (see p. 320).

ANVIL

The anvil (*isikhandelo*) used by smiths was a large flat pebble or small boulder chosen for its suitable shape and not artificially shaped. According to Mpondo, Xesibe and Bhaca informants, *isikhandelo* was a stone on which to pound medicines or anything else. The word means literally 'something on which to place an object in order to hit it'.

According to Xesibe informants the word *isikhandelo* is now used for the stone or, as is often now the case, the pointed iron crow-bar, with which the surface of a grinding-stone is prepared and roughened.

A wooden block (*isibazelo*) may also be called an anvil. Points might be sharpened on it, or, according to Xesibe informants, objects might be steadied

on it while being carved, or, according to Mpondo, it was the base on which wire was rolled when wire bangles were made.

AWL

Inyatyhoba is a substantial iron point with the butt inserted in a heavy wooden handle, in the same plane (Pl. 41: 1). It was used for making the holes for the thread in sewing skins, or in basketwork, or for any heavy piercing work.

Isilanda is a thin iron point which sometimes ends in a small knob at the butt, and sometimes has the butt inserted in a light wood or reed handle (Pl. 41: 3-4, 9). The point was almost always inserted in a wooden, reed, or leather sheath, by which it was attached to a cord and hung round a man's neck or attached to his cloak, or hung on his upper arm. The awl itself and the sheath sometimes had incised decoration. The length of the point was on the average 15 cm but they have been seen up to 30 cm. This awl was also used for sewing skins or baskets, or for removing thorns from the feet, or loosening tobacco in the pipe or snuff in the snuff-box, or for tattooing the skin.

Both types of awl are still used today. They are now often made from the spoke of an umbrella. According to Thembu and Mpondomise informants, *isilanda* may also be a wooden point or a thorn, or a wooden or iron needle, and be used by boys when making basketwork hats.

Xhosa use the term *isilanda* for the modern fish-hook.

Bhaca named the awl with which holes are made in the rind of a calabash to mend it, *isungulo*, which is the Zulu word.

CHISEL

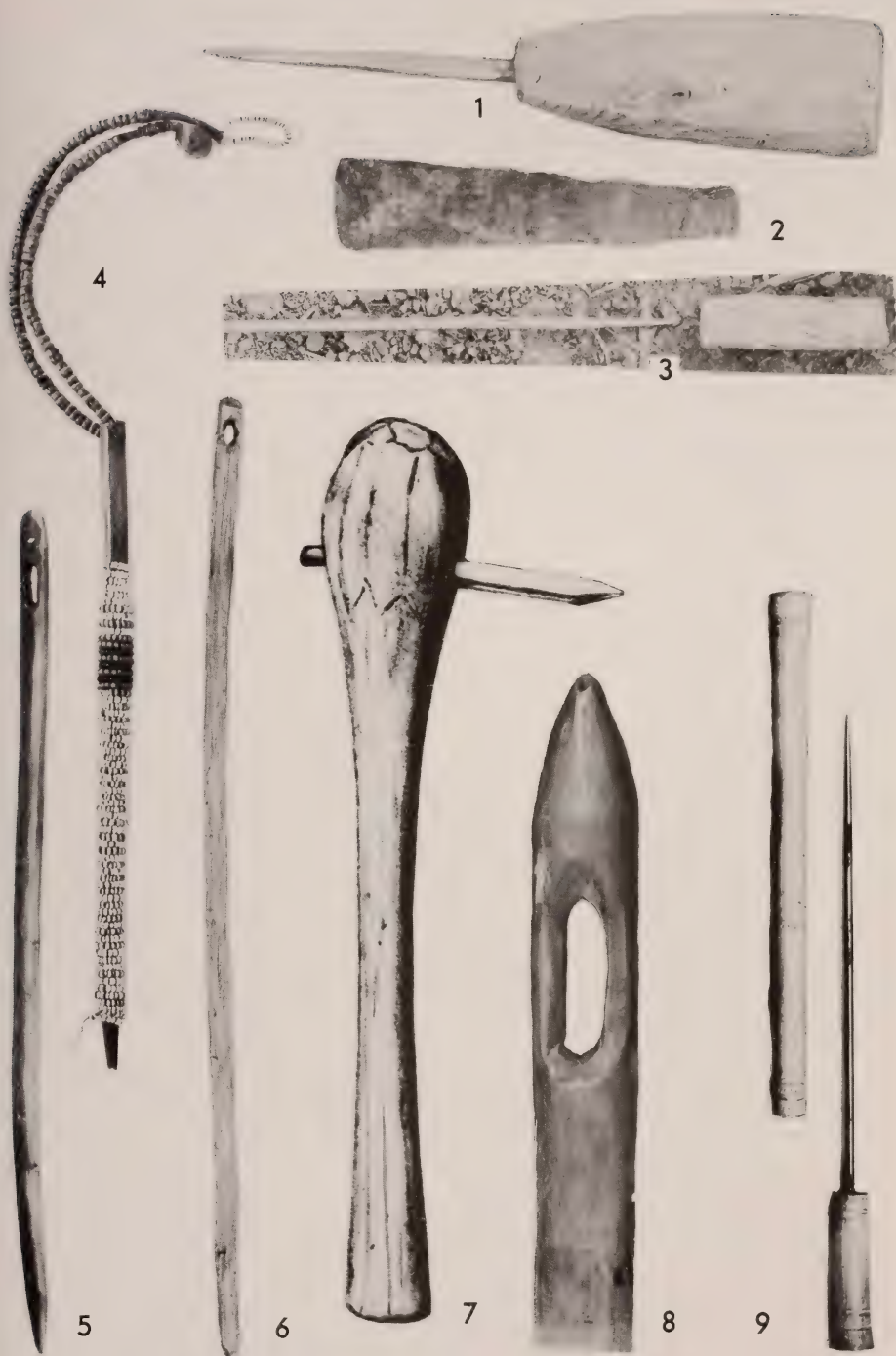
Alberti stated that a chisel, presumably *inkxola*, or *intlabo*, was used for cutting metal and for incising the tangs of spear-heads. There is no other mention of that type of chisel, nor was one seen, but Hlubi informants claimed to know it and McLaren gives the name *inxola* to a chisel for shaping stone.

A stone burrer (*ingqandulo*) with which the surface of the lower grinding-stone was roughened by pecking, is still, however, used, though it has in most places been superseded by an iron bar.

PLATE 41

Tools.

1. *inyatyhoba*, 139 mm, Xhosa; Willowvale 1948.
2. Adze blade, 80 mm, found in cave at Cala (Alb. no no.).
3. *isilanda*, wooden handle 38 mm, Xhosa; Willowvale 1948.
4. *isilanda*, 200 mm, Xhosa; Victoria East 1937 (FH 9).
5. *utulo*, 531 mm, Xesibe; Mt Ayliff 1944 (EL 1003).
6. *utulo*, 531 mm, Xesibe; Mt Ayliff 1944 (EL 1002).
7. *izembe*, 330 mm, 'Däxel der Kaffern', c. 1880 (Nauhaus 1881, pl. 9(6)).
8. *ulutulo*, 760 mm, Xhosa; Bojeni, Willowvale 1948.
9. *isilanda*, 160 mm, Xhosa (Alb. E470).



A store-bought chisel was trimmed and roughened for use by a Mpondo wood-carver visited in 1969.

DRILL

The use of the term *impehla* or *impehlana* (a boring insect) for a drill is not reflected in the literature, and although modern Bomvana and Mpondo informants claimed to know it, the only drill generally seen is the store-bought variety, which is called *ibola*.

GOUGE

This tool (*inkujana*, Xes; *isibazo*, Xes, Bh) which was used for hollowing out wooden utensils, was apparently known only to Xesibe and Bhaca.

HAMMER

The hammer (*isando*) is mentioned only in connection with smithing, and was usually a suitably shaped hard stone, though a piece of iron might also be used. There was no shaped tool.

HOOK

This is not a made tool, but any hooked object (*igwegwe*) suitable, for example, for hooking down an inaccessible branch, or for suspending from the hut roof to hang things on.

KNIFE

Despite the number of terms translated in the dictionary as 'knife', it is generally stated in the literature that the Cape Nguni had no knives until they obtained them from European sources. The true knife in the sense of a single or double edged metal blade hafted in a short wooden handle, was certainly lacking in an indigenous form. Such a knife, like the word *imela*, still sometimes used for it, probably came from the Dutch *mes*. All the functions of a knife could be performed by a spear-blade, its shaft replaced by a short wooden handle. Such knives were used for ritual as well as general purposes. Ritual knives might either be kept exclusively for the purpose, as for circumcision, or be destroyed after use, as in the case of removal of the finger joint.

Isitshetshe is the term now commonly used for the store-bought knife, and it and the other terms probably have the general meaning of a cutting instrument. Some are now applied specifically to the larger knives obtainable from stores for cutting bush, and other heavy work.

One term that is specifically used for a cutting instrument of stone is *intshengece*, though Xhosa informants knew the word only as meaning something sharp, not necessarily stone. Thembu informants knew it as a stone that was used to prepare the grinding-stone, or to carve ivory arm-bands or wooden objects. Some Xesibe informants knew the term as meaning any suitable sharp stone for cutting soft roots of trees, for example the root of *umsenge* (*Cussonia spicata*). It is not possible to say whether the term originally referred, as

apparently now, to a sharp-edged stone flake, or to a shaped stone tool. If it was the latter there is now no memory of it. In this survey the only stone flake seen that was used as a tool (Pl. 59: 4) was used in the 1940s by a midwife to sever the umbilical cord. Other midwives are said to have used a sharp sliver of cane (*ubengu*) for this purpose.

A modern knife, according to Tyrrell, is worn by a Bhaca girl as a symbol of virginity.

NEEDLE

The needle (*utulo*) is a flat piece of wood or bone, pointed at one end and having a large eye at the other to take the thatching-rope. It is used for sewing the bundles of thatch on to the roof-frame. According to Kidd, one woman stands inside the hut and another is on the roof and the needle is passed back and forth between them. Information generally seems to be that modern thatch is sewn, while old-style thatch was tied, but Kidd's photograph is of old-style thatch. At all events, the needle is evidently a newer item, possibly introduced by the Fingo (Pl. 41: 5-6, 8).

SMOOTHER

The smearing of floors with a mixture of clay and dung, and the smoothing of them thereafter with a stone (*isigangatho*) to get a hard surface is general practice.

There is also a smoother for pottery, which may be a small stone, or a piece of calabash rind, or wood.

TONGS

According to Alberti, a piece of tough and pliable wood was split to make a pair of tongs for the smith. Morgan states that the wood was green. There is no name for it and it does not appear to be known now. According to Ross the immigrant tribes knew iron tongs (*?udlawu*, term 137), and an example of 'Kaffir tongs', collected in 1868, is in the British Museum.

MISCELLANEOUS

A horn with the point flattened on one side is used to roll wire round a core, when making wire bangles.

WHETSTONE

Several authors report that a friable stone was used for sharpening iron blades. This practice is still known. There seems to be no name for a whetstone as such. A friable stone was in general use for cleaning and softening skins.

SPECIALIZED TOOL-KITS

Present-day workers have specific tool kits, partly of bought tools and partly made. A Thembu of Mqanduli, in 1935, used a home-made iron knife for cutting, a store-bought file and a home-made wooden form for shaping, and a stone anvil to work on when making bangles of metal wire wound round a hair coil (TM 35/348). Another had pliers, cutters and a horn tool.

A Mpondo pipe-maker, visited near Ngqeleni in 1969, had, in addition to store-bought tools, two drills (*ibola*) which he had made himself, and two applecorer-shaped tools (*isixholo*), one made by himself and one bought from someone else. Another had a store-bought saw, axe, and knife, and a home-made gouge (*isixholo*) and chisel.

WEAPONS

SOURCES

GENERAL

- 1686 'Stavenisse' (Godée Molsbergen 1922) p. 94 Xhosa: shield, spear
 'Dragen schild en assegaij waarmede sij hunne vijanden de Makenanen (note: Abatwa—Bantoewoord voor Boesmans) die pijl en boogh gebruiken en hun groten afbreuk doen, wederstaan . . .'.
 1686 'Stavenisse' (in Bird 1888) p. 42 Xhosa: shield, spear
 Same in English translation.
 1686 'Stavenisse' (in Sutherland 1845) p. 307 Xhosa: shield, spear
 Same in English translation.
 1752 Beutler pp. 307–308 Xhosa: spear, club, shield
 'Haare geweeren bestaan uyt assagayen waarvan agt of thien in een bondel sijn te samen gevoegd mitsgaders in een klijn kirrij, sijnde een stuk taay hout met een knoop aan de eene eijnde waarmede se handig weeten om te gaan en de vogelen in de vlugt dood te gooyen; behalven dat gebruyken se nog in den oorlog teegens de Bosjesmans een schild van het vel eenes os gemaakt, waarmede sy de pylen haarer vyanden die daar teegens stuyten afweeren.'
 1776 Hallema (1932) p. 133 Xhosa: spears, shield
 '. . . der pijlen van de Bosjesmans, . . . en tegen wien ze slegt gewapend zijn, als gebruikende alleen assegaijen of werpspiesen van circa 5 voet lang, van ligt hout, aan 't vooreind voorzien van eene ijzere spies, een pink dik of plat geslepen met eenen scherpen punt, of als eene ronde elst, scherp gekarteld of ook wel vierkant-gekartelde hoeken; (des te kunstiger, daar zij eenen steen tot aanbeeld en eenen steen tot hamer hebben:) waarom zij dan ook schilden met zich voeren. . .'
 1776–7 Gordon (1776–95) Xhosa: shield, spears, club
 Sketches.
 1782 Dalrymple (1785) p. 25 Mpondo: club, spear
 [they] 'had reddish sticks, seemingly dyed, with a wodden [*sic*] knob at the end, and lances. . .'.
 1782 Hubberly pp. 68, 71, 74, 105, 110
 Mpondo, Xhosa, Gqunukhwebe: spears, shields
 Nothing more.

1791-7 De Jong (1802) 1 p. 191

'Caffre': spear, bow, arrow

[Speaking of the 'Caffres' of whom he saw a group at Stellenbosch and whom he distinguishes from Bushmen and Hottentots.] 'Hunne wapenen zijn meest de assagaai, een spies, die zij met zeer veel juistheid en snelheid weten te werpen, voorts pyl en boog, die op grooter afstand dient, en een zwaarder assagaai of piek, wanneer zij handgemeen zijn.'

1796 Stout (c. 1810) p. 18

Thembu: spear, club

Nothing more.

1797 Barrow (1806) 1 p. 415

Xhosa: spears

'... his party was surprized among the thickets by a large party of Kaffers, who attacked them hand to hand with the iron part of their Hassagais, the wooden shaft being previously broken off.'

1800 Van der Kemp (1804) p. 444

Xhosa: sticks, spears, clubs

'Men always, but women never, walk with a stick five feet long in their hands, and two or three assegaais and a club.'

1802-6 Alberti (1810a) p. 77 and pl., p. 187

Xhosa: weapons

p. 77

Xhosa: presentation of weapons

[Speaking of closing ceremony of the initiation school.] 'Na dezen gehouden en maaltijd, worden de Jongelingen door hunne Vaders en Oomen met Werp spiesen en Knodsen begiftigd, waarbij hun door dezelve, ook bij monde van 's Vorsten Beambten, onder het oog wordt gebragt, dat "zij zich voortaan als Mannen zullen hebben te gedragen:" dat men "hun daarom de wapenen in handen geeft, opdat zij het Opperhoofd, aan wien zij trouw en gehoorzaamheid zijn verschuldigd, behoorlijk zouden beschermen enz."'

p. 187

Xhosa: offensive and defensive weapons

Nothing more.

1803-6 Lichtenstein (1811) 1 pp. 355, 395, pl. 455

Xhosa: spear, club, shield, poison

p. 395

Xhosa: weapons, no poison

'Ihre Waffen, Hassegayen und Knotenstock (Kirri): bei einigen Schilder. Vergiftung der Waffen von allen verabscheut.'

pp. 355, 455

Xhosa: weapons

Nothing more.

1806-15 Carmichael (1831) p. 288

Xhosa: spear, club, fencing-stick

'Every Caffre carries in his hand a bundle, consisting of five or six Assagays, a Kiri, and a long taper stick, of hardwood, which serves to kindle their fire, and decide their private quarrels.'

c. 1813 Campbell (1815) p. 369

Xhosa: weapons

Nothing more.

c. 1824-5 Smith p. 387

Xhosa: spears, clubs

Nothing more.

- 1815-37 Shaw (1840) p. 61 Xhosa: spear, club, shield
Nothing more.
- 1829 Shaw p. 198 Xhosa: spear, sticks
Nothing more.
- 1829 Holman (1834) 2 p. 267 Xhosa: shield, spear, club, stick
Nothing more.
- (1832) Anon p. 151 Xhosa: spear, club, shield
Nothing more.
- (1833) Morgan pp. 36-37 Xhosa: spear, shield, property of chief
'The assagai or javelin is the property of the chief, and cannot be parted with except with his express consent, not even when it is made entirely at their own expense; so also is the shield and war feathers . . . '
- 1834b Bonatz p. 351 Thembu: spear, club, shield
'If they engage in any thing, it is in the chace. For this, they arm themselves with assagays (light missile darts), and with kirris (sticks with or without knobs), which they cast at their game. They only make use of a shield when they go on the lion or tiger-hunt, or into the field of battle.'
- 1834-5 Godlonton (1835-6) pp. 133, 141 Cape Nguni: weapons
p. 133 Xhosa: spears, stones
'The enemy threwed down assegais and immense stones upon their assailants, and that with such effect as to repulse them . . . '
- p. 141 Fingo: shields, spears
Nothing more.
- (1836) Martin p. 157 Thembu: spear, club, shield
Nothing more. (Taken from Bonatz 1834b.)
- 1837 Döhne p. 62 Xhosa: spear, club
Nothing more.
- 1820-56 Shaw (1860) p. 413 Xhosa: weapons in hut
'The master's shield and bundle of assagays or javelins will be found near the part of the hut where he usually sleeps, so as to be at hand, should he be disturbed by robbers or wild animals during the night.'
- c. 1850 C.B. (? Charles Bell) sketches 'Kafir': shield, spear
- 1851b Bell 2 p. 42 Thembu: rock-throwing
Nothing more.
- 1843-1882 Stow (1905) pp. 206-207 Xhosa: spears, shield
'The respective methods of fighting of the Kaffirs and Bushmen differed considerably. The Kaffirs used assagais, which they could not employ with any certain effect at a greater distance than twenty or thirty paces. Of these weapons they did not carry into the field more than three or four, so that they were soon disarmed in case their antagonists were bold and nimble enough to

pick up these weapons as soon as the Kaffirs had hurled them. They used a shield of ox hide large enough to cover their bodies completely, on shrinking themselves into a smaller compass. When they were in actual engagement they shifted their bodies continually from one side to the other, so that they could not easily be hit, taking care all the time to keep their assagais in readiness to throw at any unguarded part of their antagonists.'

1864 Stanford (1858-89) 1 p. 21 Thembu: weapons
'Some of the footmen carried shields and assegais.'

1866-7 Wangemann (1868) p. 281 figure 'Kaffir': weapons
Nothing more.

(1927) Poto Ndamase pp. 118-119 Mpondo: weapons
Nothing more.

(1945) Makalima chap. 9, pars. 12, 14, 33, 34, 35 Xhosa, Thembu: weapons
pars. 12, 14, 33, 34 Xhosa, Thembu: guns, spears, sticks, arrows
Nothing more.

par. 35 Xhosa, Thembu: handling of spears
'Izixobo kufuneka zixonywe entla, zingatsitywa ngabantu ababhinqileyo. Akufuneki izikali zipatwe ngelicala libukali. Asipatwa isikali ngapandle koba kuyiwa elutshabeni nase nqhina naxa ke kuhlatywa umkosi.'

[Weapons must be hung up in the rear part of the hut opposite the door, women must not step over them. Weapons should not be handled by the blade. Weapons are not taken outside unless people are going out to meet their enemies or to a tribal hunt or if the alarm has been raised.]

AXES

1803-6 Lichtenstein (1811) 1 pl. 3 Xhosa: axe
Figure.

(1829) Rose p. 53 Cape tribes: axes
'War hatchets are sometimes to be seen, the weapon of distant hordes, the handles of which are formed from the straight horn of the rhinosceros.'

1945 Makalima chap. 9 par. 34 Xhosa, Thembu: axes
'Umsebenzi wengqanda, nengcola, nentshuntshe, nedlaka, udini kwane zembe zonke zizixobo zemfazwe. Pofu izembe lona likwasebenza nokucanda kanti umkonto okwahlaba nehagu.'

[The . . . spear . . . and the axe are all war weapons. But the axe is also used for chopping and the assegai is also used for slaughtering a pig.]

1949 Hammond-Tooke (1953) p. 84 Bhaca: axe
' . . . the young men seize the bull . . . and throw it. The chief takes an axe and with it gashes the chest of the prostrate beast . . . '.

BOWS AND ARROWS

1788 Von Winkelman (1788-9) pp. 70-71

Xhosa: not used

'Die Kaffern führen keine Pfeile und Bogen, wie die nördlich wohnenden wilden und räuberischen Busch Hottentotten. . . .'

1792 Best pp. 75-76

Xhosa: used against Bushmen

'The Kaffers, the black folk who live near the Cape of Good Hope, are tall, well-made and strongly built, with short woolly hair and protruding lips. The Government maintains many of them, armed with bows and arrows, to keep the so-called Bushmen away from their properties.'

1796-1801 Renshaw (1804) p. 23

'Kaffree': poisoned darts

'An officer of the 81st regiment of foot, 21 privates and a drummer unfortunately fell in with a large body of Kaffrees, armed with poisoned darts, and, overpowered by numbers, were every soul slain.'

(1802) De Jong 1 p. 191

'Caffre': bows and arrows used

'Hunne wapenen zijn meest de assegaai . . . voorts pyl en boog die op grooter afstand dient'

1863-6 Fritsch (1872) p. 224

South African tribes: bows and arrows, discussion

'Unter den hier beschriebenen Stämmen der A-Bantu sind es die Herero allein, welche Pfeil und Bogen wirklich regelmässig benutzen. Man sieht solche Waffen nur zuweilen, wie erwähnt, in den Händen der Be-chuana, und sehr selten in den Händen eines Zulu oder Xosa, welche eine entschiedene Abneigung oder besser Verachtung gegen dieselben an den Tag legen, als lediglich für unkriegerische, gering geschätzte Stämme, wie für Buschmänner passend.'

(1919) McLaren p. 445

Xhosa: bows and arrows, discussion

'The bow, *isa-peta*, and arrow, *u-tolo*, were well known from conflict with the Bushmen, but seem among the Xosas to have been used only by children. Boys fitted their arrows with a tip, *igcwilika*, of barbed ironwood or sneeze-wood, or of metal. They used them mainly for shooting mice.'

(1932) Maingard p. 713

Cape tribes: bows and arrows: discussion

Nothing more.

1945 Makalima chap. 9 par. 14

Fingo, Thembu, Mpondomise: bows and arrows, description

'*Izapeta zentolo*, zenziwe ngo zungu, umti otambileyo nozingati. Isapeta yinto eluluti nje, olusuke lwagotywa laza lagcinwa ngomtya ukuba lungoluki. . . . Intolo zazisetyenziswa kudala, zisenziwa nge ngobiso, ngomti ka gqonci wehlali. Lendawo isisikali ke yona yenziwa ngoluti lomtati, oluloliweyo.'

[The bows to shoot arrows were made of a soft flexible stick (*uzungu*, *uzingati*). The bow is just a stick which is bent and kept under tension by a thong. . . . Arrows were used in the old days, and bows made of Underbush (*ugqonci*) wood from the forests. The sharp end of the arrow was made of pointed sneezewood.]

1953 Anon. p. 9

Mpondo: bows and arrows

'The bow and arrow was never part of the hunting equipment of the primitive Bantu, as far as is known. Yet in an isolated part of the Eastern Cape . . . there are young Pondo tribesmen who hunt with nothing else, and this is not an innovation. The art of making and handling bows and arrows has been handed down from father to son through generations. . . . These Pondo hunters are found in the forests below Lusikisiki. . . . The bows they use are similar to those of the Bushmen, but much bigger, and the arrows are carried in hide quivers and are tipped with finely shaped, razor-sharp splinters of bone. The hunters themselves are very shy and do not often show themselves to the few Europeans who venture into the forests.'

CLUBS AND STICKS

1752 Beutler p. 307

Xhosa: description of club

Quoted above, p. 284.

1782 Carter p. 23

Mpondo: knobbed sticks

' . . . all they got from the plunderers in return, were blows with their lances, or with knobbed sticks, about three feet long, which they generally carried with them.'

1782 Dalrymple (1785) pp. 23, 25
p. 23

Mpondo: knobbed sticks

'They are sometimes out for 3 or 4 days from their hutts, they feed their Dogs with what they catch, not eating it themselves, and only bringing home a little on their knob sticks.'

p. 25

[They] 'had reddish sticks, seemingly dyed, with a wodden [*sic*] knob at the end . . . '.

1782 Hubberly p. 117

Gqunukhwebe: fencing

'We often had dancing and cudgelling, which parties I sometimes joined. One time there being visitors, they prevailed on me to play with them but not being accustomed to their mode of the game in holding the stick by each end, he hit me some hard blows over the head, etc., which made the spectators shout.'

1788 Von Winkelman (1788-9) pp. 71, 72
p. 71

Xhosa: description of clubs, sticks

' . . . einem kurzen, fingerdikken [*sic*], hölzernen Stock mit einem daran geschnittenen runden Knopf. Er ist höchstens 2 Fuss lang und heisst gewöhnlich Knopf Kiri zum Unterschied des andern langen Stocks, der schlegt weg Kiri (Stock) genannt wird.'

p. 72

'Die Knopf Kiri dienen ihnen zum Schlagen und zum Werffen [*sic*]. Ein guter Schlag mit dem Knopf dieser Waffen—in dem die ganze Schwere ruht—

auf dem Kopf eines Menschen oder Thiers, tödtet sicher. Auch gebrauchen sie solche nebst den langen Kiri beim Hüten ihres Viehs und wenn sie es weiter treiben. Sie werfen nemlich gewöhnlich mit erstern das seitwärts laufende [*sic*] Vieh.'

1797 Barrow (1806) 1 p. 154

Xhosa: description of clubs

'... the keerie ... is a stick about two feet and a half long, with a round knob at the end about two inches in diameter, and very weighty, being the root of some shrub.'

1803 Paravicini di Capelli p. 139

Xhosa: description and use of clubs

'De kirry, een ander wapen eenige overeenkomst met een knods hebbende, is een ronde stok een vinger dik en drie voeten lang, aan welks eene eynde een ronde bal gegroeyd en verder door konst gesneden is. Zy gebruyken dit als men man tegen man stryd, en brengen zich met deze knods vreeslyke slagen toe; handig weten zy vogels en klein wild met deze kirry dood te werpen.'

1803 Howen, three paintings

Xhosa: clubs

1802-6 Alberti (1810a) p. 188

Xhosa: description of club

'De Strijdknods is een Stok, doorgaans $2\frac{1}{2}$ Voet lang en 10 Lijnen dik. Aan het eene einde is een gestreepte Uitwas, bijkans van eene vuist dikte. Bij mangel van zoodanige knodsen uit de gewone houtsoorten worden zij door kunst vervaardigd. Met eene verwonderlijke behendigheid weten sich de Kaffers in het tweegevecht van dit wapen te bedienen, daar zij den vijand daarmede geduchte slagen toebrengen en de zijnen kunstmatig leeren afwenden.'

1803-6 Lichtenstein (1811) 1 pp. 355, 456, 460

Xhosa: clubs

p. 355

Xhosa: mention

Nothing more.

p. 456

Xhosa: in hunt and agriculture

'... sie treffen damit in ziemlicher Entfernung. Auf der Jagd gebrauchen Sie daher den Kirri eben so viel wie die Hassagay. Uebrigens dient er ihnen auch als Ackergeräth zum Auflockern der Erde.'

p. 460

Xhosa: in fighting

'... ins Handgemenge, wo die Hassagayen nicht mehr gebraucht werden, sondern wo der Kirri endlich das Gefecht entscheidet.'

1806-15 Carmichael (1831) p. 288

Xhosa: club and fencing-stick

'The *Kiri* is a sort of walking-stick, about three feet long, with a large knob at the end. By a particular art in throwing it, they can kill a hare, antelope, or other small animal, at thirty yards' distance. Every Caffre carries ... *Assagays*, a *Kiri*, and a long taper stick, of hardwood, which serves to kindle their fire, and decide their private quarrels.'

1821-4 Thompson (1827) 2 p. 361

Xhosa: club

Nothing more.

c. 1824-5 Smith p. 387

Xhosa: club

Nothing more.

- 1820–31 Steedman (1835) p. 39 Xhosa: stick at smelling out
 Quoting conversation with Shaw: 'The wise woman having arrived at Pato's kraal, at least seven hundred men and women assembled, and forming themselves into a large circle, the former commenced preparatory ceremonies by striking on the shafts of their lances with their *intonga*, or fencing sticks. This was done in regular time . . .'
- 1825–9 Kay (1833) pp. 130, 173, 189, 269 Xhosa: clubs, sticks
 pp. 130, 269 Xhosa: mention
 Nothing more.
- p. 173 Xhosa: club at smelling out
 Nothing more.
- p. 189 Xhosa: sticks at a wedding
 'All had long staves in their hands; these were held in a perpendicular position, giving to the whole body, when moving up and down, a very singular appearance.'
- (1829) Shaw p. 198 Xhosa: fencing-sticks
 Nothing more.
- 1829 Holman (1834) 2 p. 267 Xhosa: club, stick
 Nothing more.
- (1832) Anon. p. 162 Xhosa: iron club
 'His [Gaika's] cheeks and lips were painted red; and he held in his hand an iron *kiri* . . . one of his captains announced that it was the king.'
- 1835 Alexander (1837) 1 pp. 388, 394, 395 Xhosa: club, sticks
 p. 388 Xhosa: club
 'Tied up with the assegai is commonly a short stout stick with a large knobbed head, called by the Kaffirs themselves *indookoo*, and by us keerie.'
- p. 394 Xhosa: fencing-sticks
 'The Kaffir amusements are various. One of these is fencing with long staves, having a bundle of assegais in the left hand, and a kaross on the left arm, on which to receive their antagonist's blows. I found them also capital single-stick players.'
- p. 395 Xhosa: club in hunting
 ' . . . and knocking down hare and partridges with their keeries, or clubs, at which the little herd-boys are very expert.'
- 1834–44 Döhne (1844) p. 25 Xhosa: women carrying sticks
 ' . . . ein Geschrei erhoben, das den Frauen ein Zeichen und eine Aufforderung ist, den Männern nachzugehen, wobei sie sich der Stöcke als Waffen bedienen. Ebenso bewaffnet gehen die Weiber umher, wenn ihre Männer mit dem Inkosi auf einem Raubzuge abwesend sind.'
- 1820–56 Shaw (1860) pp. 359, 461, 462 Xhosa: clubs, sticks
 Nothing more.

1851-2 King (1853) pp. 170-171

Xhosa: club

'Game they often kill with the knob-kerrie, a short club, two or three feet long, generally made out of an olive stock, or shaped out of rhinoceros' horn, which they throw with wonderful force and accuracy and can knock down a man as well as kill a hare or buck, at twenty or thirty yards, with the greatest certainty.'

(1853) Fleming pp. 98, 102-103
p. 98

Cape tribes: club, description and use

Cape tribes: number carried

'Their assagais and knob-keeries they carry in a bundle in the left hand. Of the former, they usually (in time of war) have seven—of the latter they always have two.'

p. 102-103

Cape tribes: description

'The "Knob-keerie" above-mentioned deserves a little notice. It is merely a stick, about four feet in length, and an inch in diameter, terminated at one end by a knob or round ball. These are usually made from young trees of the wild olive (*Olea Verrucosa*, or *O. Ferruginea*) the bend at the root being formed into the knob. They are also made sometimes of the Assagai Wood (*Curtisia Ferruginea*), the Kaffrarian Pear (*Pyrus Africana*), and various other native trees. They make use of them, principally, in killing game, or in defending themselves against reptiles. . . . They use this stick in this way with great precision, seldom failing to strike what they throw at, and frequently killing a very small bird or animal, at the distance of twenty, thirty, and even thirty-five yards. . . .'

(1856) Fleming, pp. 207-208

Cape tribes: club with lead in head

'They also carry with them a "knob-kerrie", . . . terminated at one end by a knob or round ball. These are sometimes scooped out and the hole is filled with lead . . .'

1863-66 Fritsch (1872) p. 66

Xhosa: club, rhino-horn club

' . . . seltener findet man im eigentlichen Kafferlande *Kiris* aus dem Horn des Rinozerosses, welches Thier in diesen Gegenden beinahe schon gänzlich ausgerottet ist. . . .'

1866-7 Wangemann (1868) pp. 281 (fig.), 628-629

'Kaffer': clubs, sticks

Nothing more.

1877-8 Norbury (1880) p. 8

Xhosa: club

Nothing more.

(1887) Matthiae p. 11

'Kaffir': club

Nothing more.

(1904) Kidd pl. 11

Mpondo: club

His pl. 11.

(1914) Schweiger p. 64

Xhosa, Fingo: stick

'Sie werden hernach mit ihren neuen weissen Decken bekleidet und erhalten einen Stab (*umngqay*) als Zeichen ihrer Mannbarkeit.'

(1919) McLaren p. 445

Xhosa: sticks, clubs

'... the general name was *in-duku*. The *induku* was usually a stick with a knob, *isi-kanda*, of moderate size, which could be used either for throwing at game or a foe, or in hand-to-hand conflict. The gripping end of the knob-kerrie, *um-xolo*, was often notched in a fine lozenge pattern, so as to give a good hold.

Among the knob-kerries were the *i-bunguza* or *i-gqudu*, a kerrie with a large head and short handle for throwing at foes or game; the *i-gqeba*, a kerrie for cracking skulls; the *injikijane*, a kerrie designed to pierce the skull when thrown. The *isa-gweba*, lit. the settler of disputes, was a short fighting stick, with or without a knob. . . .

Beautiful walking-sticks, *um-simelelo*, were made out of Kaffir ironwood, *um-simbiti*, of which the heart-wood is dark red, turning to a glossy black. These were usually decorated with ornamental patterns, notches, grooves, rings, spirals, or with carvings of animals, such as snakes, lizards, baboons, human heads, etc.

Dancing sticks were decorated by being covered up with beadwork in a variety of patterns and colours.'

(1927) Poto Ndamase pp. 119, 121

Mpondo: clubs, sticks

p. 119

Mpondo: always carried

Nothing more.

p. 121

Mpondo: walking-sticks

'*Intonga yokusimelela*. Endaweni yemikonto namaquku ebepatwa ngapambili, ngoku kusetyenziswa intonga zokusimelela zomsimbiti nezitengwa evenkileni.'

[Instead of assegais and knobkerries which used to be carried formerly, people now use walking sticks of umsimbiti wood and others bought in the stores.]

1928 Anon. p. 41

Xhosa: sticks, clubs

'One saw on the table the sticks and the bunguzas that the young men had employed to break one another's heads. The sticks were made of hard wood; the bunguzas were ugly looking instruments, shaped at the top in the form of a ball, three inches or so in diameter, on a stick eighteen inches long. They resembled drum sticks which drummers employ for beating large drums; only they were roughly made of hard wood and had no artistic device on them. . . . There are two kinds of these weapons, the one an imitation of a large drum-stick, the other the same with a knife nine inches long embedded in the knob. The second is a fearsome-looking weapon and is used by herd boys to bring down birds that fly low, or game that rises from the ground. It is also employed and has been employed to kill an enemy or to make a faction or location fight somewhat interesting.'

(1932) Soga pp. 170, 312, 313

Xhosa: sticks, clubs

p. 170

Xhosa: sticks on visit to diviner

'A company of men or women, or a mixed company of both may often be seen marching along in single file, carrying long sticks (*imi-nqayi*) in their hands. The serious attitude of the party, the formation in which they walk, the significant *imi-nqayi* indicate that they are on their way to a diviner (*igqira*).'

pp. 312-313

Xhosa: sticks, clubs

'As weapons of offence the boys carry several sticks; these are *in-duku*—a knobbed stick, an *um-nqayi*—a long pointed stick without a knob (*Eleo-dendron velutinum*), for use in single combat. This stick is pointed at the striking end so as to cut into the flesh on striking. Besides these is carried a *bunguza*—a short cudgel with a large round and fluted head. This is the most dangerous weapon of the armament. It is used at close quarters to disable an opponent, and is occasionally thrown with violence against an enemy who is beyond the reach of the ordinary fighting sticks. Should the *bunguza* hit fairly the person aimed at, it will either kill or disable him. When the fighting crowd, which from the nature of its weapons cannot fight in a compact body, separates itself into a series of duels, the principal fighting weapons used are the *umnqayi* and the *induku*. The former is not thrown but kept in hand throughout the fight for striking with. It is used along with another but shorter stick, the *induku*. The latter is carried in the left hand by the middle, a certain length projecting above and below the hand, and used for parrying. Both portions above and below the hand are made use of. As a protection to the hand, the cotton blanket is wound round both the parrying hand and the centre of the stick held by the hand, otherwise a blow on the hand would disable the fighter . . . '.

(1932) Brunotti pp. 126-127

Xhosa: fencing-sticks

Nothing more.

1932a Godfrey p. 24

Xhosa: stick

'*The Umsimbiti Walking-stick*: Among the farewell gifts bestowed upon Inspector Ferguson on the occasion of his retiring on pension at the end of 1931 was a beautifully carved walking-stick, cut from the *umsimbiti* tree, *Millettia caffra* Meisn. East of the Kei, where this tree occurs as a coastal species, such ornamental sticks are in great demand. They figure conspicuously at these times when the native women are attending their women's meetings and conferences, and on such occasions they serve almost as a badge of membership. Rev. D. B. Davies informs me that the carrying of an *umsimbiti* walking-stick on a journey performs for its bearer the same function as the casting of a pebble on the *isivivane* (or wayside heap of stones found still in certain localities) with an ejaculatory prayer for success in one's undertaking. The *umsimbiti* walking-stick serves as a walking-prayer, the fortunate carrier of such a stick is bound to be blessed.'

1932 Hunter (1936) p. 410

Mpondo: boys' sticks

'Small boys begin to carry sticks at about five years, and from that age are constantly fighting one another with sticks.'

(1937) Soga p. 45

Xhosa: sticks

'Kuba ubuko umnqayi iyintongana yamatamsanqa nenzuzo apata yona umntu ekuhamba-hambeni pakati kohlanga. Ze kuti xa kusemdudweni bapate iminqayi bonke. Xa sukuba kusiyiwa kwendiswa, indoda ibipata umnqayi wayo. Nokubana baya kuvumisa ibikwa ngumnqayi intonga epatwayo. Kuba induku le yona yintonga yasenquna xa kuzingelwa inyamakazi kupela. Isigweba, intongana emfutshane, ibiyeyokugibisela nokugalela intaka. Xa sukuba kusiyiwa emagqireni ibiba yiminqayana emnyamana nemihlana epi-tweyo, ingeminqayi mikulu.'

[There was the *umnqayi* the long pointed stick, which was a little stick of good luck and gain, which a man carried when he went to and fro amongst the people. And then, at marriage festivities all the men carried *iminqayi*. When a man took his daughter away to be married, he carried his *umnqayi*. When the men went to consult a witch doctor, it was the *umnqayi* also which they carried. The *induku* knob stick was carried only in hunting parties when the men went out to hunt game. The *isigweba* short stick, was for throwing at and hitting birds. When the men went out to consult doctors, it was the little black fine *iminqayi* that they carried, not the big ones.]

1945 Makalima chap. 9 pars. 12, 14

Xhosa: clubs, sticks, woods used

par. 12

Nothing more.

par. 14

'Intonga namabhunguza zizona zinto ke bezisenziwa kakulu ezi kwa Xosa, zibe nanamhlanje zisenziwa. Intonga ngumnqayi eye ote tswi, ze lona ibhunguza libe negqudu kwelacala lingapaya. . . . Amabhunguza namagqudu enziwa ngomsimbithi nomtati, nogqonci, nomnonono nomnqayi. . . . Intonga yenziwa ngeminqayi, nayo yonke eminye imiti enje ngo gqonci, umnquma, umbovana, umtentsema, umlungu-mabele, umzane, uzwati, usitshane, isitoboti, neminye ke. Ezinye ziya qoqwa zibe ntle kunene.'

[Sticks and knobkerries are things which the Xhosas particularly used to make and still do. Sticks are made from *Eleodendron velutinum* (*umnqayi*) wood. It is a straight long stick whereas the knobkerrie (*ibhunguza*) is a short stick with a big knob on the one end. . . . Knobkerries and short sticks with knobs are made of Kaffir ironwood (*umsimbithi*), sneezewood (*umthathi*), underbush (*ugqonci*), roodebesje (*umnonono*) and *umnqayi*. . . .

Sticks are made from the forest tree (*umnqayi*) and such other trees as the underbush (*igqonci*), wild olive tree (*umnquma*), the thorny climbing plant *umbovana*, the Cape plane or redwood (*umtentsema*), knobwood (*umlungu-mabele*), the white ironwood (*umzane*), the fire-stick (*uzwati*), Kaffirboom (*usitshane*), the species of *Cryptocarya*, *isitoboti* and others. Some of them are filed away and they become very fine indeed.]

(1964) Louw pp. 98-99

Cape tribes: clubs

- p. 98 Mpondo: clubs
 'Ibhunguza knobkerrie with plain head . . . *Igqola* . . . *Igqudu* . . . *Iwisa*. . .
 All these four names for knobkerries are interchangeable. The custom of having
 different names for the same thing is called *ukuhlonipha*. . . '
- p. 99 General: clubs
 Nothing more.

KNIVES

- (1853) Fleming p. 108 Cape tribes: knives not used as weapons
 'Knives and hatchets are never used in fighting, and are not much employed
 by them, save in cutting wood, or hunting.'

QUIVERS

- 1851 Baines (1842-53) 2 p. 250 Fingo: spear quiver
 ' . . . a party of mounted Fingoes, whose assegais, stuck in a quiver over the
 left shoulder and rising several feet above their heads, gave them the appear-
 ance of lancers and betokened the open character of the country from which
 they came.'
- 1851b Bell p. 40 Xhosa, Thembu, Fingo: quivers
 'The mounted men carry their assegais stuck in a sheath on their backs,
 the shafts standing up high above their heads.'
- 1845-89 Kropf (1889) p. 118 Xhosa: quiver
 ' . . . auf dem Rücken den langen ledernen Köcher für die Spiesse, deren
 es lange Wurf- und kurze Stoss-spiesse giebt, die mit der rechten Hand geführt
 werden . . . '
- 1877-8 Norbury (1880) p. 47 Xhosa: quiver
 'When the Amaxosa are at war, a considerable proportion of the men,
 perhaps a third, carry some fire-arm, of which one sees the most extraordinary
 variety, from the old flint-lock brass-mounted musket to the present Snider
 rifle, and every one carries a bundle of assegais, the blades of which are encased
 in a kind of quiver of bullock's hide.'
- (1919) McLaren p. 448 Xhosa: quiver
 Nothing more.
- (1932) Soga p. 78 Xhosa: quiver
 'The complete bundle of assegais carried by a warrior or hunter is called
isi-rweqe. The quiver for holding these is *umpongolo*.'
- 1949 Hammond-Tooke (1953) p. 78 Bhaca: spear quivers
 ' . . . men arrive from out-lying areas. They come on horseback, and on
 foot. . . All carry sticks or spears, those on horseback carrying them in a
 skin scabbard behind the saddle. . . '

SHIELDS

1752 Beutler p. 308

Xhosa: shield

Quoted above, p. 284

1776 Hallema (1932) p. 133

Xhosa: description and use of shield

'... waarom zij dan ook schilden met zich voeren, die met den eenen hand op den grond voor zich gehouden, hen op de hurken zittende tegen de pijlen dekt. Deze schilden zijn van beestenvellen, en als een in de lengte doorgesneden cylinder gemaakt omtrend 4 voeten hoog.'

1776 Swellengrebel p. 13

Xhosa: shield

Nothing more.

1776-7 Gordon (1776-95)

Xhosa: shield

Figure.

1782 Carter p. 18

Mpondo: shield of elephant hide

'But coming the next day to a very large village, they found there the three natives just mentioned, who had collected together three or four hundred of their country-men; who were all armed with lances, and targets made of the hides of elephants.'

1782 Dalrymple (1785) p. 24

Mpondo: shields

Nothing more (just hide, not elephant hide).

1782 Hubberly p. 74

Mpondo: shields

'Those natives that had not got targets went off to a village just by and brought them. They being made of strong hides, about four feet long and two broad, shielded them completely, so that the stones we threw had not the least effect on them, they very seldom missing us. . . .'

1788 Von Winkelman (1788-9) pp. 71, 72

Xhosa: shield, description and use

p. 71

Xhosa: description of shield

'Sie bedienen sich so denn auch noch eines grossen Schildes als schirmende Waffen, den sie in der linken Hand führen. Er ist von unterschiedlicher Länge und Breite, aber allzeit oval, und besteht aus einem getrockneten Ochsenfell, wovon die haarigte Seite auswärts dem Feind entgegen gehalten wird. Diess starre harte Fell ist seiner Länge nach in der Mitte an einem langen Stock wozu sie öfters ihren langen Kiri nehmen mit Riemchen fest gebunden; sie greiffen [*sic*] den Stock so denn in der Mitte und führen auf diese Weise den Schild in der Hand. Bissweilen stecken sie auch ihre Assagais in die—noch am Schildstock besonders angebrachten Riemchen und schieben ihre Feldschu [*sic*] gleichfalls daran. . . .'

Dasjenige Schildfell, so ich von einem ihrer Fürsten erhandelte ist 5 Fuss lang und 2½ Fuss breit, und ist aus einer weissen Kuhhaut verfertigt [*sic*].'

p. 72

Xhosa: use of shield

'Ihres Schildes bedienen sie sich bei ihren Zügen oder bei Veränderung

ihrer Kraale; bei ihren grossen Jagden und im Krieg. Sie wissen damit fliegende Lanzen durch Behendigkeit und Künstlich [*sic*] schiefe Haltung derselben treflich [*sic*] aus zu lencken.'

1797 Barrow (1806) p. 154

Xhosa: shield

'In battle they receive the point of the hassagai upon an oval shield about four feet in depth, made from the hide of a bullock.'

1800 Van der Kemp (1804) p. 441

Xhosa, Mbo: shape of shields, hunting

'When the men go to war, or to hunt lions, they use shields of an oblong square form, two of which are cut out of one ox-hide; whereas the Imbo use circular ones, of which only one can be made out of a hide.'

1803 Janssens p. 157

Xhosa: making shields

'Op zyde van de hutten waren drie mans bezig leedere schilden te bereyden, zy snyen derzelve overal rond, en slaan met een ronde steen een lange tijd op het leder, dat op de grond legd, om het schild de concaviteit te bezorgen; zy scheenen hierin zeer handig en yverig.'

1803 Howen, three paintings

Xhosa: shields, clubs

1803 Paravicini di Capelli pp. 103, 139
p. 103

'Kaffer': shields

Nothing more.

p. 139

'... hunne schilden . . . ; zy dragen dit schutzel aan de linke arm, zynde er aan de binnen zyde van het schild houvasten door de welke zy den arm steken.'

1802-6 Alberti (1810*a*) pp. 158, 188, pl.
p. 158

Xhosa: shields

Xhosa: shield in hunting

'Men werpt alsdan eene menigte spiesen, zoodanig dat het dier vergramt en op den eenen of anderen Jager toespringt. Deze valt terstond op den grond neder, doch bedekt zich met zijn schild. Op dit oogenblik snellen anderen toe en doorsteken het dier.'

p. 188

Xhosa: description of shield

'Het schild wordt van eene Ossenhuide bereid. Nadat dezelve uitgespannen en alzoo gedroogd is, wordt zij met eenen ronden gladden steen, uit het midden naar de kanten, zoo zeer gebeukt en uitgerekt, dat zij eene langwerpige vlak holle gedaante ontvangt. Daarna snijdt men dezelve langwerpig rond, zoodanig dat zulk een Schild $4\frac{1}{2}$ Voet hoogte en de, ter bedekkinge van het lijf noodzakelijke, breedte erlangt. Eindelijk, wordt een stok van middelmatige dikte aan de holle zijde van het Schild, in de lengte, met riemen zoodanig vast gemaakt, dat hij, aan beide einden, eenige Duimen lang uitsteekt, ten einde daarop te kunnen steunen en tevens in het midden ter bescherminge vast te houden. Ieder weerbaar Man is verplicht, zich zelf een Schild aan te schaffen; doch tevens hetzelfde aan het Opperhoofd der Horde af te leveren, die dezelve allen in eene daartoe afzonderlijk bestemde hut, tot op het tijdstip van noodig gebruik, doet bewaren.'

(See also Alberti 1810*b*: 27 (pl.), 76–77, 89 (English edition).)

1803–6 Lichtenstein (1811) 1 pp. 355–356, 395, 419, 455–456, pl. 3

Xhosa: use and description of shields

pp. 355–356

Xhosa: description of shield

‘Besondre Abwechselung gewinnt es auch noch durch den Gebrauch der Vertheidigungswaffen. Diese bestehen in einem grossen Schilde aus einer gehärteten und rund geschnittenen Ochsenhaut, die an der innern Seite durch ein hölzernes Kreuz aus einander gesperrt und daran gehandhabt wird, und aus einem kurzen Knüppel von Hassagayenholz, der so geschnitten ist, dass ein Theil der dicken Wurzel dieses Stammes den Knopf der Keule bildet.’

pp. 395, 419, 455

Xhosa: use of shields

Nothing more.

1810 Read (1813) p. 304

Xhosa: shield in hunting

Nothing more.

c. 1813 Campbell (1815) p. 367

Xhosa: shield

‘Nothing is more disgraceful among the Caffres than for a man to lose or throw away his shield. One of our Hottentots when in Caffraria, observed a Caffre who was as clever as any of them, yet never allowed to associate with them, and often wondered what could be the reason of his disgrace—the Caffre told him it was because he had once thrown away his shield to save his life.’

1821–4 Thompson (1827) 2 p. 364

Xhosa: shield in lion hunt

Nothing more.

c. 1824–5 Smith pp. 258, 387

Xhosa: uses of shields

p. 258

‘Kaffir’: shields at wedding

‘. . . the bride being in the middle. Behind again are two old women and on the side opposite the young people and between them and the kraal, walk the men with their shields carrying along side of them lengthways instead of perpendicular and close in contact so as to prevent a view being obtained of the procession. As the shields are not generally deep enough it becomes necessary for the youngsters to bend forward in order to effect a more complete concealment.’

p. 387

Xhosa: shield as sunshade

‘When the weather is very warm and chief men at a distance from properly adapted trees make shades of shield which are held over them by their people.’

1820–31 Steedman (1835) p. 58

Xhosa: shields at chief’s village

Nothing more.

1825–9 Kay (1833) pp. 65, 287

Xhosa, Thembu: making, use

p. 65

Xhosa: shields, making and description

‘. . . Pato’s hamlet. . . Here there were a number of naked warriors, chiefly young men, busily employed in making shields . . .’

p. 287

Thembu: shield in medical practice

'On this occasion there were only two men present, one of whom was employed as a kind of drummer, beating with a small stick upon an exceedingly large shield.'

1829 Bain p. 103, note 54

Mpondo: shield

'The Kaross of the Amapondo which, by the way, he hardly ever wears, though composed of the same materials as that of the Caffre is much smaller. His arms are nearly similar but his shield, for every day use, is only a strip of cow hide about 3 feet long by 9 inches broad.'

1829 Holman (1834) 2 p. 267

Xhosa: shield

Nothing more.

(1832) Anon. p. 151

Xhosa: shield

Nothing more.

(1833) Morgan pp. 37, 46

Xhosa: shield belongs to chief

p. 37

'... so also is the shield and the war feathers; these latter articles are kept in the possession of the chief, and are a symbol of his authority over them. They are trusted to the warrior only during the time of service, and are restored by him when the war is over. ... On their left arm they carry a large oval shield made of the dry undressed hide of an ox; it is about five feet high and three feet wide. ...'

p. 46

Xhosa: shield at marriage

'... the dancers. Here they stand concealing their bodies with their shields, which are placed upright by each other, thus preventing the spectators from observing what is done behind them.'

1834 Godlonton (1835-6) p. 141

Fingo: shields

'... 47 Fingoes in their complete war equipments. ... When they came through the drift they held their shields over their heads, so as to cover and protect the whole person from anything thrown down upon them while crossing it.'

1834 Gardiner (1836) p. 13

Mpondo: shield as shade

'On my return, the following day, I found Faku sitting in great state under the shade of shields held up to protect his head from the sun.'

1835 Alexander (1837) 1 pp. 388-389, 390, 2 p. 110

Xhosa, Fingo: shields

1 p. 388-389

Xhosa: description of shield

'The oval shield, *intonka*, which completes the equipment of a Kaffir warrior, is of hide of all colours, five feet in height, and is bound to a stick a little longer. This shield covers the warrior in fighting with men and lions; when set on edge, it shelters him at his fire from the wind; and is a roof under which he sleeps with his comrade, closely together, in the field. To frighten their

antagonists, the Kaffirs spring about, shaking their light shields, and beating them with their knees. . . .'

p. 390 Xhosa: shield useless against bullets

' . . . and as the shield is no protection against a bullet, the Amakosa, in fighting with our people, generally disencumbered themselves of that ineffectual defence.'

2 p. 110 Fingo: shields

Nothing more.

(1836) Mart'n p. 157 Thembu: use of shield

Nothing more.

1836 Butler (1841) p. 7 Xhosa: height of shield

Figure.

820-56 Shaw (1860) p. 388 Xhosa: shield

Nothing more.

1842-7 Ward (1848) pp. 249-250, 251 Fingo: shields

p. 249 Fingo: sleep under shield

'At dawn, he rose to reconnoitre, and, looking below, beheld, as he imagined, an immense herd of cattle. As the sun advanced, lighting up the valley, a solitary figure stepped out from the supposed herd, and, springing on an ant-heap, waved an assegai, and probably spoke, though nothing could be heard. Each shield of bullock's hide then gave up its armed warrior, who had been sleeping beneath its shelter. . . .'

p. 251 Fingo: shield as drum

'The Fingoes bear enormous shields . . . sometimes beating time on them as on a drum. . . .'

1842-7 Ward (1851) p. 100 Fingo: large shield as drum

No hing more.

c. 1850 I'ons Fingo: shield

Figure.

1848-52 Baines 17(10) ?Fingo: shields

Figure.

1851 Baines, painting Mpondo: shield

'Camp of 1st & 2nd Division at Butterworth'.

1851-2 King p. 63 Fingo: shield as drum

' . . . their deep voices, accompanied by regular tapping on a shield of oxhide. . . .'

1852 Baines 1842-53) 2 pp. 288, 290 Mpondo:, Hlubi shields

p. 288 Mpondo: shields

' . . . they had the satisfaction of seeing several hundred white shields of the Amapondo in dangerous proximity to the fugitive herds.'

p. 290, note 25

Hlubi: shields

'And their shields, each formed of the entire hide of an ox, the colour of the hair and the various devices marking the tribe or division to which the owner belonged, were extended on a staff adorned with black ostrich plumes, or, for more convenience of carriage, detached and rolled round it. Three or four of them, supported by each other, formed a convenient hut under which the owners stretched themselves upon the ground and awaited the next demand upon their energy. They belonged to a sub-tribe of the Amapondo called Amaghubi, and the name of their chief was Ooloodidi.' (His editor's note: 'The name of the tribe is Amahlubi and of the chief Ludidi.')

(1853) Fleming p. 108

Cape tribe: shield abandoned

'They have now quite abandoned the use of shields (made of oxhide), and seldom, if ever, in warfare carry more than a blanket, and a bundle of about seven assagais.'

1863-6 Fritsch (1872) p. 66

Xhosa: description

Nothing more.

1845-89 Kropf (1889) pp. 114, 117

Xhosa: shields

p. 114

Xhosa: making of shield

'Die Schuhmacher sind auch zugleich Anfertiger der Schilde aus Ochsenfell. . . .'

p. 117

Xhosa: boys with shields

'Schon von klein auf beginnen die Knaben, mit Schild und Knüttel bewaffnet, gegeneinander zu 'ämpfen. . . .'

1843-1882 Stow (1905) pp. 234, 235

Cape Nguni: shields

p. 234

Xhosa: shields

'The great shields adopted by the foremost Kaffirs proved impervious to the tiny reed shafts of the Bushmen. . . .'

p. 235

Xhosa, Thembu, Mpondo: shields

'We shall consider. . . . The pastoral and more warlike Coast Kaffirs, the Ama Xosa and other frontier tribes, armed with javelins or assagais and immense shields cut from an entire ox hide. . . . The Abatembu and Amampondo tribes, with assagais, clubs and oval shields. . . . The Amazulu, Matabili and Natal tribes, with large oval shields. . . .'

1872 Weitz (1873) p. 187

Mpondo: shields

(saw the Pondo army pass by) 'the infantry carrying shields of ox-hide. . . .'

c. 1888 Bodley (1891) p. 238

Mpondo: shield

'At last he consented to a compromise. The warriors were not to wield their assagais and shields, but only their clubs.'

(1927) Poto Ndamase p. 119

Mpondo: shields

'Izihlangu bezigcinwa kweyazo indlu ekutiwa yintanga. Lendlu ibinga-

baswa kuba abantu bebefuna zihlale zizihle izihlangu zabo, kuba bezisenziwa ngezikumba ezimhlope.'

[The shields were kept in a separate hut called *intanga*. No fire was made in this hut because people wanted their shields to remain clean as they were made of white skins.]

1932 Hunter (1936) pp. 101, 407, pl. 25

Mpondo: shields

p. 101

Mpondo: description

'Shields were made of untanned hide. Each man tanned and sewed with sinew his own dress and that of his sisters and daughters, but a specialist was called in to cut a skirt or a shield.'

p. 407

Mpondo: size

'Each man had an oval shield, about four feet by two, made of ox-hide.'

pl. 25b

Mpondo: shield

(1945) Tylden p. 33-35

General: use of shields

p. 33

Tylden, quoting Moodie (1888 2: 408) who quoted unpublished papers of Fynn (1826) states of the Zulu, 'on the march, when no fighting was expected, the shield was rolled up and carried on the man's back'.

p. 35

'The Xosas, Fingoes . . . soon discarded the shield when they obtained muskets and later rifles, and sketches and pictures of the Kaffir wars from 1845 onwards show that the shield was only used by men who had no firearms.'

SPEARS

1554 Perestrello p. 157

Bashee R.: wooden and iron spears

'Na tarde deste mesmo dia apparecêraõ sobre hum cabeça, que perto de nõs estava, obra de cem Cafres com muitos pãos tostados nas mãõs, que estas saõ as suas principaes armas, e algumas azagayas com ferros.'

(p. 225 'On the afternoon of the same day there appeared upon a headland close to us about a hundred Kaffirs with many wooden pikes with their points hardened in the fire in their hands, for these are their principal arms, and some assegais with iron points. . . .')

1593 Lavanha (1597) p. 235

Umtata R.: spears

'E na guerra servem-se de Azagayas. . . .'

(p. 294 'In war they make use of assegais. . . .')

1679 Schreyer p. 62

Hottentot (for comparison): spear

'A throwing spear is 7 or 8 feet long, in front as thick as a thumb, at the rear end quite thin. Into the thick end they stick an iron, half a foot long and four fingers wide, which at thirty paces they can throw right through a man.'

1752 Beutler pp. 307, 308, 310

Xhosa: spears

- p. 307 Xhosa: number carried
 'Haare geweeren bestaan uyt assagayen waarvan agt of thien in een bondel
 zijn te samen gevoegd. . . .'
- p. 308 Xhosa: aim
 '... deese assagaayen kunnen se boogsgewijs op 60 a 70 treeden van haar
 werpen en dat met sulc een kragt dat men werk heeft om naderhand de assagaay
 met beyde de handen uyt de grond te trekken, dog se werpen deselve so gewis
 niet als de Hottentotten met haare boogen pylen schieten.'
- p. 310 Xhosa: use at circumcision
 '... de jongetjes worden ... besneeden, hetwelk word verrigt door een oud
 en verstandig man, met een breede en scherpe assagay.'
- 1776 Gordon (1776-95) Xhosa: spears
 Figures.
- 1776 Hallema (1932) p. 133 Xhosa: description
 'Deze ijzere spies is aan de houten schaft vast verbonden door eene band
 van basten peesen, vooral wilde.'
- 1778 Van Plettenberg p. 48 Xhosa: spears
 Nothing more.
- 1782 Carter pp. 18, 72 Mpondo, Xhosa: spears
 p. 18 Mpondo: spears
 Nothing more.
- p. 72 Xhosa: spear practice
 '... arranged in two lines on opposite sides of the lawn, one of the men
 rolled, with all his strength, from the top of the descent, a wooden ball; and
 so expert were they, that in its passage they would lodge their lances at it.'
- 1782 Dalrymple (1785) p. 25 Mpondo: spears precious
 'Afterwards the natives brought sweet potatoes to exchange for the lance
 staffs and sticks they had thrown at our people.'
- 1782 Hubberly p. 74 Mpondo: spears
 'Being either not willing to destroy us or loose the iron off their lances,
 they took from them the shafts which being pointed and hard, they levelled
 amongst us, and wounded several, one of which entering the ear of Mr Newman
 he instantly fell down and was stunned by it.'
- 1788 Von Winkelman (1788-9) pp. 69, 70, 71, 72 Xhosa: use and description
 p. 69 Xhosa: always carried
 'Kein Kaffer geht selbst in die Hütte seines Vatters, ohne in seiner Rechten
 einige Assagais (in ihrer Sprache, *n'kont' ho*) zu tragen. Diese Lanzen verfertigen
 sie selbst.'
- p. 70 Xhosa: description of four sorts
 'Die Lanzen der Kaffern sind gewöhnlich 5-6 Schuh lang, und mit Steinen
 sehr künstlich geschmiedet. Es gibt vielerlei Arten derselben, wovon ich aber

nur 4 verschiedene Gattungen gesehen habe. Die eine Art, welche auch die gemeinsten zu seijn scheint, besteht in einem eisernen Spiess, der in der Mitte einen Zoll biss 5 Liniën breit, -spizig—an beiden Seiten geschärfft—under der Länge nach auf der einen Seite tief, und auf der andern erhaben geslagen ist. Die Länge der eigentlichen Lanze oder des schneidenten Theils ist 5–6 Zoll. Sie verlängert sich denn in einem polirten 12–14 Zoll langen eisernen Stab, der ganz cylindrisch und durchgehends 1 Linie dick seijn mag. An dessen Ende ist er auf eine gewisse geschikte Weisse in eine ohngefehr gleich dicken hölzernen Queüe oder sehr spitzig auslaufenden Stab von etwa 4½ Fuss Länge, eingebrannt. An dieser Stelle ist er dan mit einer Sehne oder einem Riemchen fest umwunden. Eine andere Art ist die, dass die eigentliche Lanze bei 8–12 Zoll lang und am Ende ihrer Fläche mittelst einer kleinen zugespitzten Verlängerung in den hölzernen Stab so eingefügt ist, dass beinahe die schneidende Fläche unmittelbar auf dem Queüe aufsitzt. Übrigens ist bei allen in der Form der eigentlichen Lanzen kein merklicher Unterschied.

Die dritte Art ist die künstlichste, schönste aber auch zugleich die gefährlichste. Die eigentliche Lanze ist zwar den übrigen gleich, nur ist der eiserne cylindrische Staab der eersten Art, bei dieser vierekkigt geschmiedet und hat an den vier Ekken viele scharfe, abwärts stehende wiederhaken, die alle ganz regelmässig eingehauen sind. Diese Gattung wird unter die theuersten gerechnet, weil ihnen ihre verfertigung am meisten Mühe kostet.

Die vierde Art hat gar keine schneidende Lanze sondern statt derselben steckt ein eiserner cylindrischer Staab, der wie eine Nadel zugespizt ist, in den hölzernen Queüe. Sie können also blos damit stechen, aber nicht schneiden.'

p. 71

Xhosa: aim and range

Nothing more.

p. 72

Xhosa: uses

'Diese Waffen sind in jedem Sinn ihre Mordgewehre. Sie morden öfters ihre Gefangenen, ihre Zauberer und ihre Feinde langsam damit; sie tödten damit Elephanten, Löwen, und wilde Büffel; sie schlachten damit ihre Ochsen und Kühe, kurz sie gebrauchen sie überall um zu tödten und zu zertrennen. Sie vertreten auf dieser Art die Stelle der Messer, wovon aber die 3te Art wegen ihren Wiederhaken, ausgenommen ist.'

1796 Stout (1810) pp. 12, 18

Thembu: spears

p. 12

Thembu: spears

Nothing more.

p. 18

Thembu: spears poisoned

'This is a spear of about four feet six inches in length, made of an elastic wood and pointed with iron, which the natives contrive to poison so effectually that if it wounds either man or beast, death is the inevitable consequence.'

1797 Barrow (1806) 1 p. 154

Xhosa: throwing and aim

'Such an instrument is called by the Hottentots a hassagai, but the Kaffir name is *omkontoo*. In throwing this spear they grasp it with the palm of the

hand and raising the arm above the head, and giving the shaft a quivering motion to find the proper point of equilibrium, it is delivered with the fore-finger and the thumb. At the distance of fifty or sixty paces they can throw at a mark with a tolerable degree of exactness; but beyond that distance they have no kind of certainty.'

1796-1801 Renshaw (1804) p. 19

'Kaffer': accuracy

Nothing more.

1803 Paravicini di Capelli pp. 87, 139

Xhosa: spears

p. 87

Xhosa: accuracy

'Eenige toonden ons het werpen met hassagayen, maar het kwam ons voor dat zy of de kunst willen verbergen of minder juist met dit wapen treffen kunnen als wy verwagten; wy verbeelden ons dat men eene aankoomende hassagaay met een hout zeer goed zoude kunnen afslaan; hunne verste afstand was zestig treden en dan zeer ongewis.'

p. 139

Xhosa: spears

Nothing more.

1803 Van Reenen p. 197

Xhosa: spears

'Their weapons consist solely of assegais, of which each Kafir carries from ten to twelve, and which they cannot throw further than fifty paces.'

1802-6 Alberti (1810a) pp. 75, 113, 158, 182, 186-187

Xhosa: use and description

p. 75

Xhosa: circumcision

'De besnijding zelve geschiedt met de punt eener kleine en zeer scherpe werpspies, welker steel intusschen, gemakshalve, slechts omtrent 1 Voet lang is. Na het verrigte, steekt men het mesjen, welk alleen tot dit oogmerk dient, in den grond in het water, tot dat alle besnedene volkomen hersteld zijn, waarna die bezitter zulks tot verder gebruik wederom tot zich neemt.'

p. 113

Xhosa: reaping

'De Gierstairen [*sic*], rijp geworden zijnde, worden met werpspiesen afgemaaid, op eenen hoop verzameld en met droog gras en doornen bedekt.'

p. 158

Xhosa: lion hunt

Nothing more.

p. 182

Xhosa: spears as reward and currency

'... voor dezen rechterlijken bijstand eene evenredige boete aan het Opperhoofd voldoen, waarvan de Beampste al mede voor zijne moeite beloond wordt, en of zelf een rund, of wanneer deze niet worden afgegeven, ééne of meerdere Werpspiesen ontvangt.' (His note: 'Reeds te voren is aangemerkt, dat die Werpspiesen niet alleenlijk tot wapenen dienen, maar nog daarenboven het gebrek aan geld vervullen.')'

pp. 186-187

Xhosa: description and range

'... het overige gedeelte vormt den Steel of het Hecht, zijnde zulks,

nabij het Lemmer 8, en bij langzaam aflopende verdunning aan het beneden-einde 2 Lijnen dik. . . .

Kling en Hecht worden vereenigd, door het agterste puntige gedeelte der eerste met gesmolten harst in het laatste te voegen, en daar ter plaatse, alwaar de inlassching geschiedt, met een peeskoord te omwinden.

Ene Werpspies, beitelsgewijze naar de kunst gerigt, draagt gewoonlijk 70 tot 80 schreden ver. . . .

p. 187

Xhosa: fighting tactics

‘Gevaarlijkst, echter, is dit wapen in de hand des onverschrokkenen, die zich daarvan bedient om te doorsteken, en tot dat einde op de volgende wijze te werk gaat. De zoodanige, namelijk, houdt zijnen Bundel doorgaans van 10 tot 12 Werpspiesen in de Linkerhand, werpt de eene na de andere op zijnen vijand, loopt intusschen op denzelfen los, en neemt alsdan, zoodra hij nabij denzelfen is, eene of andere van den grond op, waarmede hij hem doorsteekt.’

(See also Alberti 1810b: 40, 57, 76, 87, 88–89 (English edition).)

1803–6 Lichtenstein (1811) 1 pp. 426, 448, 455, 456

Xhosa: use and description

p. 426

Xhosa: circumcision

Nothing more.

p. 448

Xhosa: reaping

Nothing more.

p. 455

Xhosa: wood for spear-shaft

‘Der Schaft wird aus den schlanken Stämmen der *Curtisia faginea* gefertigt und hat in der Nähe der Spitze etwa die Dicke eines Fingers, nach unten aber läuft er zur Dicke eines Federkiels aus.’

p. 456

Xhosa: currency

‘Noch muss ich erwähnen, dass die Hassagayen bei ihnen zugleich die Stelle des Geldes vertreten und der gemeinste Handelsartikel sind, mit dem sie alle übrige Güter bezahlen oder nach welchem sie deren Werth zu schätzen und zu benennen pflegen.’

1806–15 Carmichael (1831) pp. 288, 289

Xhosa: spears

p. 288

Xhosa: description, manufacture, use

Nothing more.

p. 289

Xhosa: spear as knife

‘. . . they broil their beefsteak and carve it with the Assagay, holding one end in the left hand, and the other between their teeth.’

1821–4 Thompson (1827) 2 p. 361

Xhosa: spear in hunting

Nothing more.

1819–29 Moodie (1835) pp. 248, 259–260

Xhosa: manufacture

p. 248

Nothing more.

pp. 259–60

‘. . . the assagays are fashioned in a variety of ways, according to the uses to which they are applied. Most of them were made without shanks, to be used in war, or for killing small animals; others were formed with long shanks, for killing elephants or buffaloes, and some were barbed and notched in a very curious manner.’

c. 1824–5 Smith pp. 47, 250, 350, 388, 427

Xhosa: use and description

p. 47

Xhosa: throwing the spear

‘The assegay is the only manufactured weapon they employ in their war and that they generally throw at a distance of 50 or 60 yards. They sometimes break the handle short and (stick) with it. . . . They have also some with a barb at each side behind which they use more in hunting than in war, because they do not fall from the animal. . . . They sometimes throw it above the hand at other times under it which sometimes is regulated by their situation but more generally by fashion or by the proficiency of the thrower in one way or the other.’

p. 250

Xhosa: declaration of war

‘When any offence is considered as sufficient between the kaffirs to lead to war the aggrieved nation’s captain sends a hassegay to the chief of the oppressor and if he receives it and returns another that is a declaration of war, if however he will not receive it but sends back the man then it is an open confession of his refusing the contest from fear.’

p. 350

Xhosa: circumcision

‘The instrument with which the operation is performed is a small hassegay, very sharp and fixed in a wooden handle about six inches long reserved entirely for the purpose.’

p. 388

Xhosa: different sorts

‘Spear their chief weapon and have several different forms some jagged others edge even. What kill oxen with large about fourteen inches long in all about $\frac{3}{4}$ inch wide. . . . Have one quadrangular use in making baskets karosses leather bottles pouches and used like a stiletto. . . . (Iron) set in a wooden haft or handle about three and a half or four feet long bound round with thin cord or grass matting or leather sheath. . . .’

p. 427

Xhosa: butt of shaft

‘Many of the kaffirs have the extremity of the handle of one or two spears furnished with an iron thimble three or four inches in length and with the free apex ending in moderately sharp points used to assist them in digging for small roots etc. out of the ground.’

1820–31 Steedman (1835) pp. 24, 59

Xhosa: elephant hunt, war dance

Nothing more.

1825–9 Kay (1833) pp. 76, 133, 350–351, 353

Xhosa, Mpondo: uses

Xhosa: wooden spears in circumcision school

p. 76

'Sham fights were amongst their principal amusements; and in these, shields, with wooden spears, were used.'

p. 133

Xhosa: manufacture

Nothing more.

pp. 350-1

Mpondo: used as harpoon

'Some of the clans kill them [hippopotamus] by means of poisoned darts, which are their best substitute for fire-arms; for of the latter they are wholly destitute. These are eighteen or twenty inches long, pointed with sharp pieces of iron, loosely fixed into strong handles, six or seven feet in length. The latter, of course, give force to the darts, and immediately drop off the moment they have entered, leaving the barbs with all the poison about them, to work their way into the inside of the animal.'

p. 353

Mpondo: broad blade

Nothing more.

(1829) Rose p. 53

Xhosa: description of spear called *izaka*

Nothing more.

1829 Holman (1834) 2 pp. 267, 350-351

Mpondo: description

Nothing more.

(1833) Morgan pp. 36-37

Xhosa: property of chief

Quoted above, p. 286.

1835 Alexander (1837) 1 pp. 388, 389, 395

Cape Nguni: description

p. 388

Xhosa: description of four sorts

'The natural arms of the South African Kaffirs are assegais (*umkonta*) or javelins. These are tied up with two thongs in a bundle of seven or eight together, with a walking staff to keep them straight. The shafts of the Amakosa assegais are slender, five feet long, and taper off to the butt; in order that they may quiver in the air, and in passing through the object at which they are thrown. The blades are of various shapes. The common one (*ingola*) is shaped like a laurel leaf, with a smooth round neck; which is let into the wood of the shaft, and neatly tied round with wetted thong. The elephant assegai (*intshuntsha*) has a blade eighteen inches long; the *inganda* is shaped like a long spike, and used both as a projectile, or for making holes in sewing the kaross or milk-skins; and the *izaka*, or man-killer, has a jagged neck, and inflicts a most dangerous wound. Common assegai wounds are not difficult of cure; not so that of the *izaka*, which is only used in the most deadly and vindictive strife.'

p. 389

Xhosa, Thembu, Mpondo: break shaft for stabbing

'When they wish to stab at close quarters, they break off the blade from the shaft. Some of the Amatembie and Amaponda javelins of this kind are barbed like a harpoon. . . .'

p. 395

Xhosa: hunting

Nothing more.

1820–56 Shaw (1860) p. 369

Xhosa: in place of table-knife

‘In like manner, it was curious to see how they managed to eat without knives, forks, plates, or dishes. The headman of the circle, taking up one of the long slips of flesh described above, and putting part of it with his left hand into his mouth, cut off, with a large javelin which he held in his right hand, as large a morsel as was agreeable to himself, or at least convenient for him to masticate. He then passed the remainder of it to the person next him; who having performed the same pleasant operation passed it on in turn to his neighbour, and so on round the circle.’

1837 Döhne p. 62

Xhosa: description

Nothing more.

1838–40 Walker (in Backhouse & Taylor 1862) p. 364

Mpondo, Amagwane, Xhosa, Thembu: spears

‘The Amapondo and Fitcani do not carry a bundle of assegais to hurl at the foe as do the Amakosa and Amatembu, but use one or two only, of shorter length, and adapted for close combat.’

1836–44 Döhne (1844) pp. 36–37

Xhosa: description of eight sorts

‘Es giebt deren acht Sorten: 1. die *Intshuntshe*, vom Stock bis zur Spitze etwa 14 Zoll lang und 1 Zoll oder etwas darüber breit; 2. *Isigixa*, 10 Zoll lang, mit einem 3 Zoll langen, runden Halse hinter der Schneide; 3. die *Irwana*, 8 Zoll lang und ohne Hals; 4. die *Isaka*, mit einer 6 Zoll langen Schneide und 6 Zoll langem, viereckigem Halse, der ringsum kleine Zähne oder Widerhäkchen hat; 5. die *Inkondschane*, mit 3 Zoll langer Schneide und 2 Haken (wie ein Pfeil); 6. die *Ingola*, mit 5 Zoll langer Schneide und 8 Zoll langem Halse; 7. die *Iqoqa*, mit 4 Zoll langer Schneide und 6 Zoll langem bunt ausgezacktem Halse; 8. die *Ingqando*, 10 Zoll lang, überall vierkantig, wie ein grosser Pfiemen, mit 3 Zoll langem Halse. Sie werden an einen 5 Fuss langen, dünnen Stock, von der Dicke eines Ladestocks, befestigt. Der Stock wird zu dem Ende oben gespalten, und das 1½ Zoll lange, vor dem Halse stehende glatte Ende wird, wie bei uns die Messer, in die Spalte eingeschoben und mit einem feinen Riemen, der vom Harnwusch des Ochsen gemacht wird, fest umwickelt. (Je nachdem Einer geschickt ist, wirft er 60–100 Schritt weit mit demselben; selten aber trifft er wirklich das Ziel. . . .)’

(1845) Sutherland pp. 101–102

Xhosa: shaft discarded for stabbing

Nothing more (taken from Barrow 1806).

1842–7 Ward (1848) pp. 124, 175

Xhosa: sorts of spear

p. 124

Xhosa: imported from England

‘Even assegais made in England have been sent out here, but the Kaffirs object to our manufacture of iron, as being too malleable preferring that prepared at their own primitive forges.’

p. 175

Xhosa: stabbing spear

‘. . . hands ready to seize the short destructive assegais at their feet (note,

these are used when compelled to close with the enemy) the warrior of the Amatola (Gaika). . . .'

1842 Baines (1842-53) 1 p. 51, 52-53

General: description and use

p. 51

General: evaluation of spear as weapon

Nothing more.

pp. 52-53

'Kafir': spears carried

'The number of assagais carried by a Kafir seldom exceeds six or eight and of these some are mere angular pointed spikes; others are formed with small oval blades, generally of six or eight inches in length by one in breadth, hollowed on one side only of the central rib so that the plane surface on one side [of] the weapon is opposite the concavity on the other, and connected with the shaft by a shank about a quarter or three-eighths of an inch in thickness and from six to ten or more inches in length, and one with a blade of about fifteen inches in length, and altogether of heavier make, is usually reserved to be broken short should it be required for use in closer conflict. The head of the assagai is attached to the shaft by the insertion of the tang while still hot into the thick end of the latter, which is then neatly bound with sinews, and over these is sometimes drawn four or five inches of the skin of a calf's tail which, contracting as it dries, perfectly secures the fastening from the possibility of accident.'

p. 53

Xhosa: bundle of spears

'Several turns of a riem, or leather thong, wound spirally round and permanently attached to a rod of equal length with the assagai, receives the smaller end of the shaft, and the bundle is secured by the grasp of the hand, or, when not in use, by a small fastening near the blades. The only name I have heard applied to this rod is "assagaique"; but the word assagai is seldom or never used among the Kafirs, a separate name, description of its use, being applied to every variety of the weapon they carry, and indeed is supposed to be altogether foreign to their language.'

1851 Baines (1842-53) 2 pp. 223, 290

Cape Nguni: spears

p. 223

Xhosa: spear

'The Kafirs now charged, yelling with anticipated triumph, and wrestled hand to hand with the overburdened and wearied soldiers, whose unwieldy weapons were but ill fitted to defend them against the broken-shafted assagai of the naked and athletic savage.'

p. 290

Hlubi, Mpondo: spears

'Their assagais were larger and broader in the blade than those of the Kafirs. Some were barbed like a harpoon, others had jagged or bearded shafts, the points of which, sometimes arranged in four rows along the angles, turned each a different way.'

1851 Bell (1851b) 2 p. 48

'Kafir': spear

'The Kafir immediately threw his assegai which went through the sentry's

leg at the calf, and to pull it out afterwards the weapon had to be pulled right through.'

1851-2 King (1853) pp. 90, 171

Xhosa: use and description

p. 90

Xhosa: spear tactics

Nothing more.

p. 171

Xhosa: description

'... each one in war-time carries a bundle of seven, loosely tied together by a long thong or rheim of hide attached to a long "charm stick". One of these is large and heavy, for stabbing, with a broad blade or iron head a foot or eighteen inches long, and a shaft much shorter and stouter than the rest, which are used for throwing. ...'

(1853) Fleming pp. 98, 107

Cape tribes: description

Nothing more.

(1856) Fleming pp. 207, 208-9, 215

Cape tribes: description

pp. 207, 208-9

Cape tribes: use

Nothing more.

p. 215

Cape tribes: to enable women to enter kraal

'... if married, to bring her husband with her, or nearest male relative, if not, to the gate of the enclosure. He then lays his assegai on the ground, the point being inside the entrance, and the woman walks in on the handle of the weapon. This is considered as a passport of entrance, and saves her from punishment. ...'

1863-6 Fritsch (1872) pp. 62-63

Xhosa: spear

Nothing more.

1845-89 Kropf (1889) pp. 99, 112-113

Xhosa: use, manufacture

p. 99

Xhosa: slaughtering

'Beim Schlachten eines Rindes wird ihm in freien Laufe ... mit einem Spiess ein Schlitz in der Magengegend beigebracht. ...'

pp. 112-113

Xhosa: manufacture, varieties

Nothing more.

1877-8 Norbury (1880) pp. 47, 49-50

Xhosa: spears

p. 47

Xhosa: six sorts of spears

'... each weapon possesses a distinct name; there are six at least, called 'Gnola, 'Gnana, 'Gnanda, Izaka, Iskilta, and Isigexla; they manufacture them from old horse-shoes, files or any old metal, and they keep them very sharp by rubbing them against stones.'

pp. 49-50

Xhosa: boys practice

'The Kaffirs are warlike from their earliest years; even the young children practice throwing the assegai, by rolling a large bulb along the ground, and hurling sharply-pointed sticks at it when in motion; this is a favourite pastime with the boys when tending the cattle.'

1880 Hastings (1879 *sic*) p. 480

Thembu: short spears

'Even women came with their short spears in order to lend a hand at the killing' [of the missionaries].

(1888) Moodie p. 275

Xhosa: stabbing with shaft broken short

Nothing more.

(1907) Sim p. 231

Transkei: wood for shaft

'*Curtisia faginea* (Assegai; Dutch—assegai-hout; Kafir—*Umgxina*). It takes its English and Dutch names from its supposed use as handles for assegais, but it does not seem to be now used for that purpose.'

(1919) McLaren pp. 442, 444

Xhosa: description of different sorts

p. 442

Gives the same varieties with the following points not noted by others: '... *irwana* ... used also as a cutting instrument e.g. in circumcising boys' '... *in-konjane* ... specially used in hunting.' 'A stabbing spear, *i-ncula* ...'. 'A dancing assegai, *i-qoqa*, with a blade 4 in. long, and a neck of 6 in., richly ornamented with notching.'

p. 444

'The shaft, *ulu-ti*, of an assegai ... was rendered pliant by holding it over a fire, *tshisa*, and manipulating it with the hands, and was carefully balanced for use.'

(1928) Brownlee p. 181

Fingo: circumcision

'The Surgeon, after cautious and diplomatic suggestion, showed me the lancet with which the operation was to be performed. It was the blade of an assegai, the shaft of which had been replaced by a wooden handle.' (See p. 275).

(1929) Nauhaus p. 3

Xhosa: circumcision

Nothing more.

(1931) Cook pp. 55, 81, 113

Bomvana: ritual use

p. 55

Bomvana: circumcision

'He uses a short, flat assegai called *irwana*. Usually a new assegai is used for each school. It is left in the hut (*itonto*) when the latter is burnt at the concluding ceremonies. What assegai is used and what happens to it seems to depend, nowadays at least, on the operator himself.'

p. 81

Bomvana: at ceremony for woman to drink sour milk

'If, however, the husband has not got a beast available he himself places a dish of thick milk on the floor in front of the woman. Next to this is placed his fighting spear (*itshimtsha*) [*sic*]. He then takes the assegai and puts it away while the woman takes the dish and consumes the contents without more ado. She could not touch this spear before the ceremony as only those who have the right to drink milk at the kraal may touch the man's spears.'

p. 113

Bomvana: ritual killing

[At a sacrifice.] 'An assegai which has a short handle and a long, broad

blade, is used to cut the beast. This is known as the *Umkonto wokuhlaba* (the spear for stabbing). It is reserved solely for this purpose and is handed down from father to son, the Great Son being the heir. It is kept in the Great House. A man can bring a case against a guardian who refuses to deliver this spear on his attaining his majority. After it has been used it is not wiped, but is thrust into the old manure in the cattle-kraal.'

(1932) Soga pp. 78-79

Xhosa: description of types

'The complete bundle of assegais carried by a warrior or hunter is called *isi-rweqe*. The quiver for holding these is *umpongolo*.

1. *Isi-Nkempe*. A stabbing assegai, for use at close quarters. It has a broad blade attached to a short handle or haft. It is also called *u-dini*.

2. *I-Jozi*. A stabbing assegai, with a blade as broad but longer than the *isi-nkempe*.

3. *I-Rwana*. A small-bladed weapon for throwing either in war or hunting. It is also used as the surgical instrument in circumcision.

4. *In-Tshuntshe*. Typical throwing assegai with a longish blade but narrow.

5. *Isi-Gixi*. Also carrying a long blade but with a short stem.

6. *I-Rwantsa*. A short blade with a long rectilineal stem, the latter serrated along the whole course of its four edges.

7. *I-Zaka*. The blade, somewhat long, is barbed towards the base.

8. *I-Ngcola*. Having a very short blade and a long stem.

9. *IngQanda*. This is a four-sided instrument. A piece of iron about a quarter of an inch thick; instead of being round is rectilinear. At one end it is filed away to a point. It sometimes has nicks cut in the edges to give it a better hold on piercing an object. Besides being used for war and hunting it is also used as an awl to pierce holes in hides which have to be sewn. From its shape and solidity when it strikes a bone it generally smashes or pierces it. On account also of its shape it offers less resistance to the air in its flight than does the flat-headed type.

10. *I-Rwantsi*. This is like the *rwantsa* above mentioned except that the stem or iron haft which also is four square has no serrations but while hot, in the process of formation, is given one or two twists by the blacksmith so that the stem is fluted.'

1932 Hunter (1936) pp. 96, 248, 407

Mpondo: use

p. 96

Mpondo: fishing spears

'Gathering shell-fish is the work of women, and they may take any other fish they come across in the pools, but spearing is properly the work of men. Pronged spears are use for fishing, and men go in parties at night with torches of sneezewood.'

p. 248

Mpondo: ritual killing

'In every *umzi* there is a spear specially used for ritual killings.'

p. 407

Mpondo: number carried

'Each man carried a bundle of light long-handled spears for throwing and a short-handled long-bladed spear for stabbing. One man might have perhaps

fifteen throwing spears, and when these were exhausted those thrown by the enemy were picked up and returned.'

1945 Makalima chap. 9 pars. 12, 14, 33, 34

Xhosa: list and description

pars. 12, 33, 34

Xhosa, Thembu: spears listed

Nothing more.

par. 14

Xhosa, Thembu: description of spear called *inkonjane*

'Inkonjane luhlobo lomkonto oti intsimbi le yenziwe ibe nencam ezininzi. Lento yenzelwa ukuze umkonto lo ungapumi lula xa uhlabe into nokuba ngumtu.'

[The spear with a barbed head is a kind of assegai whose blade has many points. This is done so that the assegai should not come out easily if a thing or a person is stabbed.]

1949 Hammond-Tooke (1953) p. 84

Bhaca: sacrificial bull killed

'... a bull ... is immediately seized by the young men and thrown to the ground: ... Today the beast is promptly despatched with a spear: formerly a sharp spear was taken and one of the forelegs cut off at the knee joint. ... At a further sign ... the young men again seize the bull ... throw it. The chief takes an axe and with it gashes the chest of the prostrate beast. ...'

1949-62 Hammond-Tooke (1962) p. 84

Bhaca: ritual spear

[At end of *intonjane* initiation] 'The goat is thereupon returned to the stock-kraal and stabbed by the father with the special spear kept in all kraals for ritual killings.'

TERMS

isixengxe, 1. small axe, D. 2. for cutting meat, X. 3. men's axe, Xes. 4. with narrow blade, Bh. 5. not known, Mp. 6. modern weapon clandestinely made on the mines **400** (253, 368)

izembe piece of iron, 5-7,5 cm broad at edge, running to a point which was put through a handle; axe, D, general. Derives from the common Bantu root *-lembe* 'hoe, axe', cf. Sotho *selêpê* 'axe', Venda *dzembe* pl. *malembe* 'hoe', Tsonga *lembe* 'year, i.e. hoeing season' **401** (370).

igcwilika 1. sharp tip of an arrow, which may be a piece of tin from a tin dish or a needle-pointed piece of hard wood, D 518. 2. Unknown, probably erroneous for *icwilika* 'steel for striking fire', general **402**

ingobiso (from *-gobisa* cause to bend) 1. nD. 2. bow, western Mp. 3. bent stick supporting stone of fall trap (*umgibe*), and bent stick holding up stone cover of trap built like small hut, Mp **403**

inyembe 1. small arrow of the Korannas; whistle; barbed hook, D. 2. barbed spear, Xes Bh. 3. navy-blue bead (X-McLaren 1923: 21). 4. unknown to most people **404** (389, 780, 1055)

utolo 1. arrow, headed with barbed ironwood, sneezewood, or tin, D X T Mp. 2. bow and arrow, Bo. 3. bow used by boys, X (cf. Smith c. 1824-5 *yatula* bow) **405**

- umtolo* 1. nD. 2. arrow, Xes Bh (Lichtenstein 1811 1: 656 'Bushman bow') **406**
- umtya* 1. something to bind with, as a small band, thong, cord, D. 2. thong to tie cow's hind legs for milking; anything used similarly, X, general. 3. bow-string, (Lichtenstein 1811 1: 656 *ummuhtjā* 'Bogensehne') (a widely distributed Bantu root, for 'leather strap') **407** (244, 345, 680, 858)
- isaphetha* (old meaning of verb is 'bend') 1. bow for shooting arrows, D T but mostly not known. 2. any dry twisted cord, therefore bow-string, Xes. 3. bird snare of cow tail noose (T-Makalima) **408** (479)
- isiphetha* 1. bow for shooting arrows, D X-Cisk. 2. *sipeeta* 'bosjesmans-bogen' (X-Lichtenstein 1811 1: 656). 3. any dry twisted cord, therefore bowstring, Xes. 4. not confirmed **409** (472)
- ibhunguza* 1. cudgel with large head and short handle for throwing at game, D X Bo T Hlu. 2. short heavily-knobbed stick; club, cudgel, knobkerrie (X-McLaren 1915) 3. with fluted head (X-Soga) **410**
- iqqebha* (-*qebha* smash, break skull or window with stick) 1. knobkerrie, club, D, (X-McLaren 1915). 2. not confirmed **411**
- igqola* stick with big knob; club, D Hlu (Griqualand East) only **412**
- igqudu* 1. short stick with big knob, D X Mp and all of Griqualand East; club, knobkerrie (X-McLaren 1915). 2. stick with small knob, Mp Xes Bh **413**
- impondla* (-*phondla* take the outside off; sharpen pole) 1. nD. 2. sharp-pointed stick, Mp, but neither verb nor noun known to other good Mp informants **414**
- induku* knobbed stick or club for throwing at game or for fighting, D general **415**
- injikijane* (-*jikija* pierce hole in hard wood with blunt instrument) 1. short, large knobbed stick, D. 2. not confirmed **416**
- intonga* stick used as a weapon of assault or defence, D, general **417**
- iqakatha* (and *iqakathi* Mp) 1. nD. 2. short-handled cudgel with large head, for throwing at game, Mp Xes Bh **418a**
- iquku* 1. nD. 2. club (Mp-Poto Ndamase p. 121), Xes, T. 3. = *ibhunguza*, Bo **418b**
- isigweba*, *isagweba* 1. short stick which need not have a knob, D. 2. club for throwing, (Hlu) (X-Soga 1937). 3. club with knob off-centre, for throwing, X Bo Mp Bh **419**
- isigiqiqi* 1. nD. 2. short thick stick without knob, Bo Xes T Bh **420**
- isigxabo* (-*gxaba* throw wooden spear) 1. sharp, pointed stick, used by boys in fighting with each other, thrown like a spear, D. 2. not confirmed Transkei **421**
- ugxabo* 1. same as *isigxabo*, D. 2. not confirmed **422**
- isiqwayi* 1. little stick carried in the hand, D. 2. short, thick ugly stick, (Mzama-ne) X Bo Mp. 3. club, Bo. 4. long stick, (T-Makalima). 5. without a head, Xes Bh **423**
- iwisa* 1. (Em) short stick with knob at end for felling a man. 2. club, D Xes (from -*wisa* make to fall). Actually a Zulu word **424**

- udalo* 1. end of a stick, D. 2. sharpened point of stick, and such stick itself, used as stabbing weapon, general **425**
- udondolo* long walking-staff to support the infirm, D, general except Bo **426**
- ugqwangxe* stick or *induku* of black ironwood, D, general except Bo **427**
- ujojo* thin, long stick carried in the hand, D X Bo only **428**
- umgweba* 1. small, short stick with an oblong knob, for boys to throw with, D, general except Bh. 2. throwing-club with knob off-centre, Mp **429**
- umkhuba* strong stick or staff, D X only **430**
- umnqayi* 1. *Elaeodendron velutinum*, a forest tree furnishing the long, pointed stick without a knob, used as weapon in single conflict, and . . . in dancing; 2. the stick itself, D X Bo Mp Xes **431** (159)
- umkrolo* 1. long stick with notched edge and carved handle, (X–McLaren 1915). 2. long stick for defence, general. This word is derived from *-krola* 'carve finely'; it is not, as in D, *umrolo* 'long stick of olive, usually carried bound up with bundle of assegais, for first defence', from *-rola* 'draw out', though the meaning is more or less as under 1 **432**
- umsimelelo* long stick to lean upon for support in walking, staff, D, general **433**
- umvinqi* 1. club, D. 2. *isivinkqi* thick stick or cudgel, X. 3. *isivinkci*, *umvinkci* short stick without a head, Bo **434**
- umvinqikazi* long thick stick, D Mp **435**
- uncaba* 1. nD. 2. stick with notched head, i.e. with long V-shaped channels, Mp. 3. long stick with small knob, of men and women, Mp **436**
- uqogo* 1. strong crooked stick, D. 2. not confirmed **437**
- isigodlo* 1. the horn of an animal when severed from the head (used as a powder flask or trumpet), D Mp T general. 2. also used as part of hemp pipe, X Mp. 3. bowl of hemp pipe (Bo–Beukes). 4. whole hemp pipe (U.C.T.) Mp. 5. also medicine flask, X **438** (262, 981, 1057)
- ikhohlombe* 1. case or sheath in which assegais are carried, D Xes Bh **439**
- inkohlomba*, *inkohlombe* 1. nD. 2. quiver for spears, Mp. (Mp–Poto Ndamase) **440**
- uluthi*, *uthi* (pl. *izinti*) 1. rod, stick, wattle, lath, switch, D. 2. spear shaft (X–McLaren 1915) Xes Bh **441** (39, 457)
- umkrweqe*. 1. quiver for assegais, D. 2. bundle of spears and/or sticks, X Bo. 3. stick with small knob, Bh **442**
- uphongolo* less usual for *umphongolo*, but found in many areas widely separated **443** (508)
- umphongolo* 1. quiver for arrows or lances; (figuratively) cask, box, case, chest, barrel D. 2. manger or trough, Mp T. 3. milk-pail, Mp Xes **444** (509, 532)
- isikhatha* 1. sheath, D. 2. not confirmed **445**
- ikhaka* shield, D X Bo T only **446**
- ikhawu* 1. small shield, = *ingweletshetshe* small shield, used to cover the face in hunting, D. 2. shield, any size, Mp Xes Bh. 3. shield of any size, oblong;

- known to X who, however, say it is a Zulu word, and known to T who, however, say their real word is *ikhaka*. 4. shield also used to beat upon like a drum, Bh (Kirby) **447** (1044)
- igqoko* 1. nD. 2. small shield for boys, made of face hide, Xes **448**
- ingweletshetshe* 1. small shield used to cover the face in hunting, D. See *ikhawu*.
2. not confirmed but other meanings found: aggressive combative person, X, person of high rank, brave, T **449**
- umncongo* 1. (Em) a shield, D. 2. unknown to numerous informants of various tribes **450**
- ujilo* (-jila interweave bushes in hedge or fence, etc.) 1. fence made of wattles, woven on stakes about one foot apart; right half of an ox's or bull's skin, formed into a shield, D. 2. 'fence' confirmed by some X and Bo only, otherwise not confirmed. 3. 'shield' not confirmed **451** (18)
- amaqabelo* 1. nD, not Cape Nguni. 2. thongs across the shield at back to hold stick, Bh **452**
- isihlangu* 1. sandal cut out of the thick part of a skin; shoe or boot, D general.
2. *jetangwo* = shoe (X-Lichtenstein 1811 **1**: 656). 3. formerly a large shield, now a shoe, Xes, cf. Zulu *isihlangu* war-shield; sandal. Both meanings for this root also found in other South African languages **453** (717)
- umkhonto*, spear, assegai, D, general **454**
- intsilathi* 1. nD. 2. wet tail skin drawn over shaft, Mp, derived from *umsila* 'tail' and root *-thi* 'stick' **455** (230)
- ixokama* 1. joint where blade of assegai is joined to shaft, D; junction of blade and shaft (X-McLaren 1915). 2. hole in the shaft, X. 3. neck of spear, Xes. 4. rack for weapons, Bo **456**
- uluthi*, *uthi* (pl. *izinti*) 1. rod, stick, wattle, lath, switch, D. 2. spear-shaft (X-McLaren 1915) Xes Bh **457** (39, 441)
- umsuka* (No. 1) part of assegai inserted into shaft, D, general **458**
- umsunto* 1. nD. 2. sinew for binding top of shaft, Mp **459**
- utywino* 1. nD. 2. sinew binding round top of shaft, Bo **460** (296)
- ingcola* spear with short blade and long round neck for throwing, D, general, the most common for all purposes **461**
- intshuntshe* (pron. *intjuntje*, but cf. *intsuntshe*) 1. assegai with a long blade, D. 2. long narrow blade with no neck; heavy spear used for slaughtering and hunting the larger game, X T Bo Mp Xes Bh general. 3. sharp-pointed instrument, as bradawl or spear, X Bo panel of teachers **462**
- ingqanda* small, thin, four-sided assegai, used for boring holes in sewing a milk-sack, etc.; used also in hunting and in urging bullocks in racing, D, general except Fgo, but whilst often square in section with round neck, often also round throughout, tapering to a point **463**
- ikrwana* 1. small spear for circumcising, D. 2. small sharp spear, (X-McLaren 1915). Both meanings fairly generally confirmed. Also used for war and hunting. For circumcision, blade is removed from haft and put in short handle **464**

izaka barbed assegai, D, general 465

isinkempe 1. short assegai for stabbing; also used for cutting meat, D Bo.
2. with broad blade, X. 3. sort of matchet of hoop iron, Bo Bh. 4. knife
with short iron shank 'made of iron from axe', Xes 466

inkonjane swallow; swallow-tail mark (of ownership) in ear of domestic animal;
spear with barbed head, D and miscellaneous informants Langa, the only
ones who could describe this arrow-headed spear. All other informants
either did not know it, or knew it as a kind of spear without being able to
describe it. Often described without a name in early accounts 467

ikhamandela 1. fetter, chain for a captive, D Mp Xes. 2. old word for handcuff,
general 468

DISCUSSION

GENERAL

From the time of the earliest descriptions until the introduction of fire-arms, the weapons used by the Cape Nguni tribes were the same. There are some indications that they may have varied in style from tribe to tribe, but there is not enough evidence to show to what extent or, indeed, to confirm the fact. The weapons used both in war and in hunting were spears, clubs, sticks and shields, and the comparatively vast vocabulary may be taken as an indication of their importance in the minds of the people. A man never walked abroad without two or three spears, a club, and a stick. In war and sometimes in hunting he added a shield and an increased number of spears. In the middle of the nineteenth century, after the introduction of horses, mounted men carried their spears in a quiver slung over one shoulder. During the nineteenth century fire-arms were obtained from the Colony and in the later wars were used almost exclusively.

In the earlier accounts there is often mention of wooden spears, or sharply pointed sticks thrown like spears. It is probable that the greater accessibility of iron in the nineteenth century made these less common.

According to Stout, the survivors of the *Hercules* found the spears poisoned, and Kay records the use of poison on harpoons, but there is no further confirmation of this (nor of the use of harpoons), and, in fact, Lichtenstein expressly states that poison was never used.

Xhosa boys received their first spears and clubs as a gift from their male relatives at the end of the initiation ceremonies. According to Morgan, the spears, even if obtained at the individual's own expense, were, with the shields and war feathers, considered to be the property of the chief, and not to be parted with without his consent. There is no confirmation of this, and Morgan does not record what happened when spears were lost in fighting.

Some of the western Xhosa were in close contact with Hottentots as well as Bushmen, but, though Xhosa terms exist, there is no reliable evidence that bows and arrows were used other than by young boys. Similarly, by contact

with the Sotho to the north, a few axes were introduced. But neither bow and arrow nor axe belonged to the Cape Nguni culture.

Godlonton mentions an instance where stones were rolled down on the British storming a hill, but this is hardly a regular weapon.

Weapons were and are still kept at the back of the hut, on the men's side. They were leant against the wall or put on top of it, or stuck in the roof so that women should not step over them, and they should be ready to hand in an emergency. But while weapons belong essentially to men, instances of women wielding them do occur.

Latterly the only weapon that might be used or carried outside the homestead was a stick with a small knob, and in some areas even the knob was forbidden.

AXES

The axe (*izembe*) among the Cape Nguni was normally a tool, not a weapon. It is evident, however, that a few battle-axes came into the country from the north. Rose mentions them as 'the weapons of distant hordes', and as having rhinoceros horn hafts. A few have been preserved in museums, but with wooden hafts only, and some form of crescentic blade (Pl. 42: 1-2). A smaller axe (*izixenxe*) was said to be used for cutting meat, and this name has been given latterly to a weapon that is being made or brought back by men who have been on the mines, for use in faction fights. It is either an ordinary store-bought axe-head, reduced a little in size, or a wedge-shaped blade turned round at the narrow end to form a ring for the haft, with a wooden haft inserted. These weapons are forbidden by law and liable to confiscation (Fig. 15).

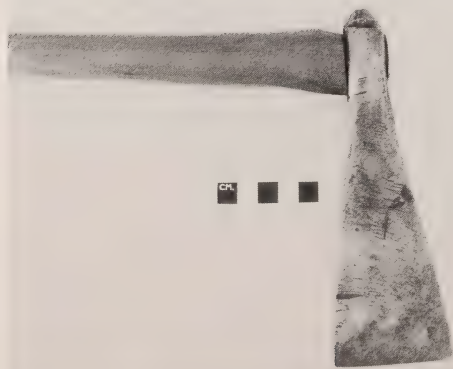


Fig. 15. Axe made on the mines; length of iron head 71 mm, Bomvana; Elliotdale 1948 (SAM-6668).

BOWS AND ARROWS

Bows and arrows were not indigenous Cape Nguni weapons of war. The two notices of their use as such refer to isolated western groups who were in closer contact with Bushmen and Hottentots, and may have adopted the weapon from them, particularly as in one case the arrows were poisoned. A note by Best (1792) that 'the Kaffers' near the Cape of Good Hope were armed by the Government with bows and arrows is perhaps a further indication that they did not have such weapons of their own. Other authors were evidently describing boys' weapons which were and still are fairly commonly used in hunting birds and other small creatures. Xhosa, Thembu and western Mpondo informants in 1955 said that they were no longer seen, but eastern Mpondo and Xesibe still knew them. However, the 1953 newspaper report of their use by Mpondo hunters was not specifically confirmed. According to a Xesibe informant poisoned arrows were at one time used for hunting game, but this is not confirmed.

The bows are made of a flexible stick; Makalima mentions *uzungu*, *uzingati* (both unknown), and *ugqonci* (underbrush, *Trichocladus ellipticus*). Arrows are made of pointed sticks, headed with a tin, wire or hardwood point, or a barbed iron head.

CLUBS AND STICKS

The club or knobbed stick (Pls 42-43) was not only one of the two most important weapons but was so generally carried as almost to be a part of dress. From the age of about five years boys begin to carry a stick (*intonga*) when away from the homestead. When they reach manhood they usually carry one or more knobbed sticks or, formerly, a club for special occasions. Special sticks (*iminqayi*) are among the presents each youth receives after initiation. There seems to have been a considerable variety of these clubs and sticks and, since it is difficult to separate them according to the presence or absence of a knob, they are grouped together here more or less according to function. It does not now seem possible to fix names to types of club or stick to the same extent as is possible for spears. Hamilton-Welsh (Louw 1964) suggests that some names for clubs are interchangeable and are due to *hlonipha* (i.e. the practice of respectful avoidance) rather than differences in type.

The heavier weapon (*induku*, *ibhunguza*), the real club (Pl. 42: 3), with a large head, 6 to 10 cm diameter, and a short shaft up to about 60 cm long, was always carried with the spears in war, and used in close combat, with the shield for parrying. It was also used in hunting, when it was thrown very dexterously at small game. Practically all the early authors remark on the skill with which birds and small animals were hit in movement at a distance of 18 to 27 m, a skill which is maintained today.

Lighter and longer clubs, knobbed sticks (Pl. 42: 4-9) and plain, roughly cut sticks were and still are carried on more ordinary occasions and particularly by boys and youths. They were used for herding, hunting birds and small

mammals, carrying goods over one shoulder (Pl. 44: 1), and for most of the purposes of a walking-stick. In addition boys often sharpened the butt of the haft for use as a digging-stick (Pl. 47: 1).

Women do not normally carry sticks except on special occasions or for support in old age, but Döhne records that they did so during faction fights, or when the men were away on raids.

One of the favourite sports of young men and boys is a fight either between two individuals or two groups, with a stick (*intonga*) (Pl. 43: 10–12) held in the fighting hand, and another, or sometimes a knobbed stick or small club, or even a bundle of spears, held in the other hand with which to parry, and having a cloak or blanket wrapped around it and the hand that holds it. In the early days a shield was sometimes used for parrying. Similarly, a long straight stick (*umkrolo*) was carried by warriors in their bundle of spears, for use as a first defence when attacked. Carmichael describes it as being tapered for use also as a fire-stick.

Sticks were always carried by men when dancing (Pl. 44: 2). When the dancers were fully armed, as for example at a smelling out, the stick was beaten against the spear shafts to mark the rhythm. When the stick alone was carried it was held perpendicularly and moved up and down. Sometimes sticks were specially covered with beadwork for dancing.

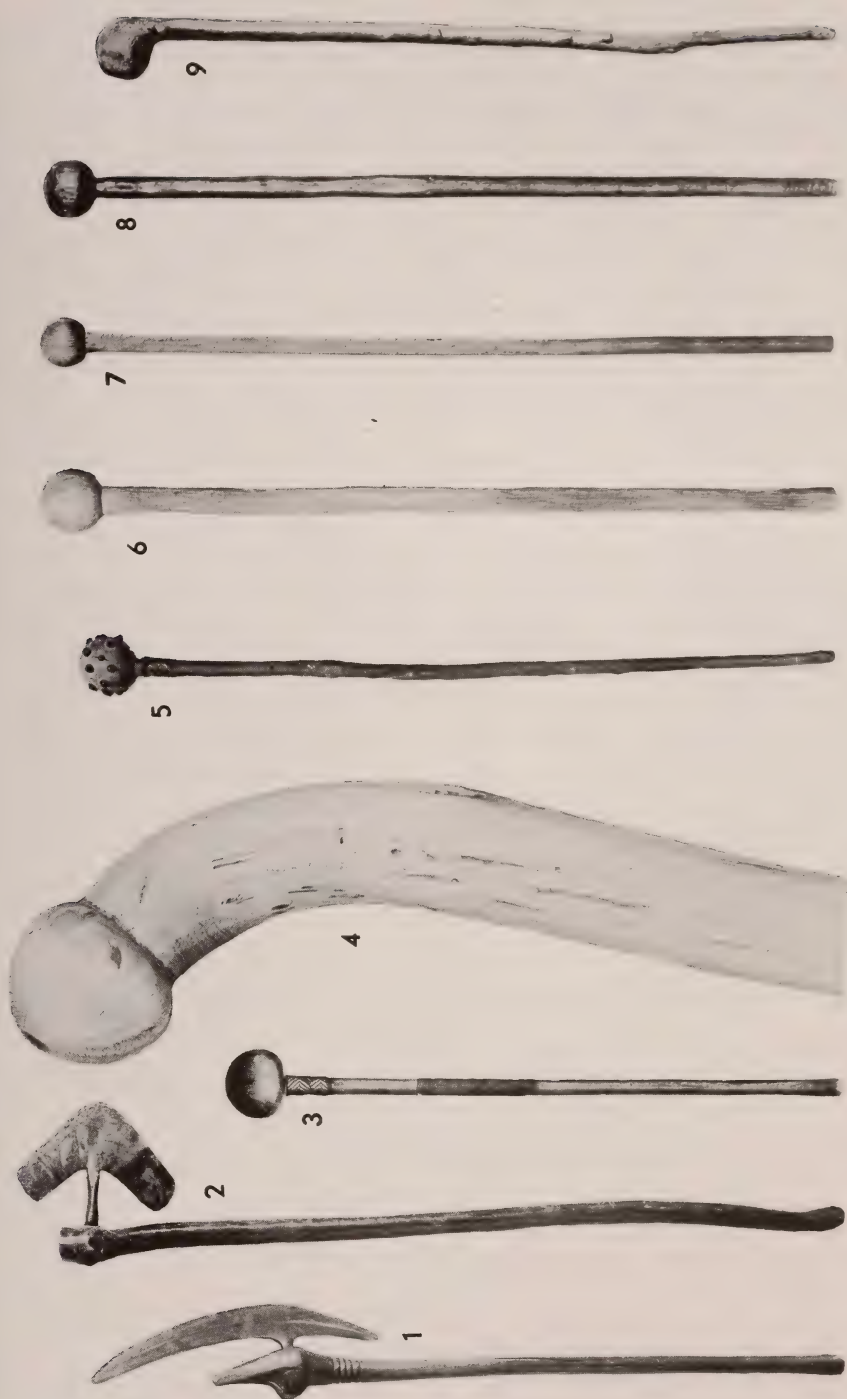
A special finely made stick (*umnqayi*) was carried as a sort of dress stick by men on all special and ceremonial occasions, and by men and women when going to consult a diviner. Chiefs and important people had them made longer and a little heavier and usually finely decorated with conventional or animal designs. Gaika is said to have had, as well, an iron 'kiri'. Elderly and infirm people used long sticks of this type as a support (*udondolo* or *umsimelelo*) (Pl. 43: 7–8). They are nowadays much seen at women's meetings. According to Godfrey, when made of *umsimbithi* (*Milletia* spp.) they act as a talisman for good luck, 'a walking prayer'.

Clubs and sticks were made by men, and a number of woods were used according to the variety of club or stick. For clubs and the finer sticks, the hard fine-grained woods were chosen, iron-wood (*Olea* spp.) wild olive (*Olea*

PLATE 42

Battle-axes and clubs.

1. Axe, 854 mm, South Sotho type; Peddie, no date (KM Z124).
2. Axe, 881 mm, said to be Xhosa; no locality, no date (KM no no.).
3. *induku*, 700 mm, Mpondo; Bizana 1935 (TM 35/445).
4. Head of *isagweba*, 960 mm, Xhosa; Bojeni, Willowvale 1948.
5. *ibhunguza*, 891 mm, Xhosa?; Alice 1944 (FH 411).
6. Club, c. 910 mm, Bomvana; Elliotdale 1948.
7. *iqakathi*, 900 mm, Mpondo, no locality, 1932 (UCT 32/34.)
8. *ibhunguza*, 870 mm, Hlubi; Mt Fletcher 1942 (FH 124).
9. *igqudu*, 860 mm, Bhaca; Lugangeni, Mt Frere 1948.



verrucosa), stinkwood (*Ocotea bullata*), assegai-wood (*Curtisia faginea*), for example. (See Shaw & Van Warmelo 1974: 140 ff.) Usually a young sapling was uprooted so that the stem could form the haft and the thicker root-wood the knob. According to Fleming, writing in the middle nineteenth century, the knob was sometimes hollowed out and filled with lead, but there is no confirmation of this. The heads of some clubs have fluted knobs (Pl. 42: 6-7), but, except for Soga's assertion that this was the *ibhunguza*, a dangerous fighting weapon, there is no indication that the fluting had any significance. The reddish 'seemingly dyed' clubs mentioned by the survivors of the *Grosvenor*, would almost certainly have been made of the *umthentsema* (*Ochna arborea*, rooihout, Cape plane) or *umqwashube* (*Cunonia capensis*, rooi-els, red els) trees, which have red heart-wood. The end of the haft had, and still has, a band of incised cross-hatching (*umxholo*) to give a firmer grip (Pl. 42: 8). The tool used for making a club would be an adze and a spear-blade, or, latterly, a store-bought knife. Occasionally clubs were made of rhinoceros horn, but by the middle of the last century the beast was becoming extinct in that area.

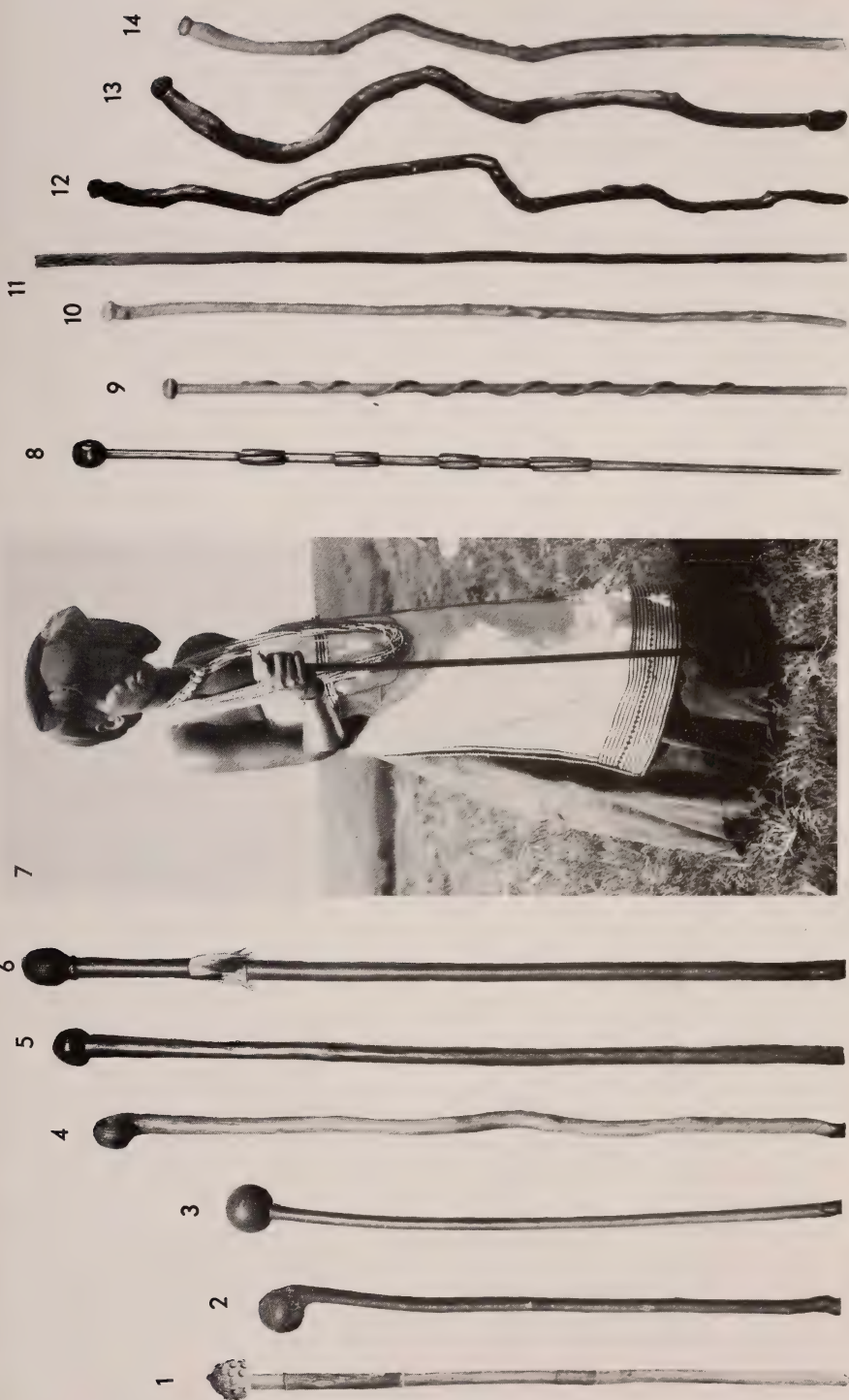
Today the clubs and sticks are used for the more peaceable of the occupations mentioned above, but the heavy fighting-weapon is forbidden, and only appears illegally, in a lighter form, but made formidable by the addition of hob-nails (Pl. 42: 5) or, as an anonymous writer in the *Blythswood Revue* records, a knife blade, 23 cm long, embedded in the knob. Most of the lighter types of club have been modified into a fairly long knobbed stick, and the criterion of its legality is that the knob be able to go into the owner's mouth. (In Flagstaff in 1955 it was said that sticks might now have no knob at all.) These are called *induku* in the west, and *iqakatha* in Pondoland and Griqualand East. Sticks may now be bought in stores which buy them from specialist makers.

The lighter knobbed stick, often crooked, with a small knob that is sometimes off-centre, is called *isagweba*, *umgweba* (Pl. 42: 4).

PLATE 43

Clubs and sticks.

1. *induku*, 860 mm, Thembu; Mqanduli 1935 (TM 35/328).
2. Club, 788 mm, Mpondo; Flagstaff 1955 (SAM-7391).
3. Club, 810 mm; locality unknown, before 1902 (SAM-263).
4. Club, 975 mm, Bomvana; Elliotdale 1948 (SAM-6674).
5. Club, 1045 mm, Bomvana; Elliotdale 1948 (SAM-6675).
6. Club, 1067 mm, Mpondo; Flagstaff 1955 (SAM-7396).
7. *umsimelelo*, held by Xhosa woman; Bojeni, Willowvale 1948.
8. *umsimelelo*, 1280 mm, Xhosa; Ntselamanzi, Alice 1942 (FH 132).
9. *intonga*, 1175 mm, Mpondo; Pondoland 1880 (SAM-6954).
10. *intonga*, 1287 mm, Thembu, c. 1880 (SAM-6932).
11. *intonga*, 1412 mm, Thembu; Bluebush (locality not traced) c. 1880 (SAM-6951).
12. Stick, 1 000 mm; King William's Town or Kaffraria (KM no no.).
13. Stick, 910 mm; King William's Town or Kaffraria, no date (KM no no.).
14. Stick, 1 150 mm; Pondoland c. 1880 (SAM-6955).



The straight stick without a knob (Pl. 43: 11) is *intonga*. It used to be run through the back of the shield.

KNIVES (see Tools p. 282)

There is no record of knives ever having been used as weapons by the Cape Nguni.

POWDER-FLASKS

The first fire-arms that were introduced during the nineteenth century were muzzle-loading guns, for which it was necessary to carry powder. An ox-horn was used as a flask, fitted with a wooden base at the large opening and a wooden or horn stopper at the small opening. A thong or cord was attached for suspension (Pl. 44: 5).

SPEAR QUIVERS

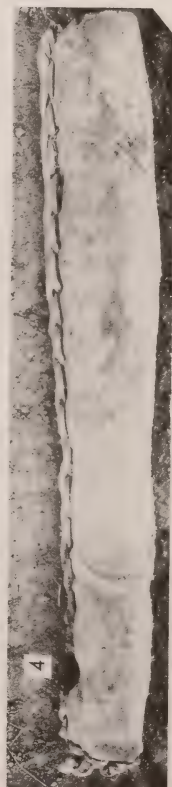
There is very little mention of spear quivers in the literature, and what there is is of late date, after 1850, as are the actual specimens that survive. The fact that the earlier authors, some of whom left very detailed accounts of weapons, make no mention of a spear quiver, suggests that at least this use of the item was adopted fairly late. In three of the seven records the people concerned were mounted and were Fingo and Bhaca, and in a fourth a Xhosa carried a fire-arm, in both of which situations there is a need to free the hand that would otherwise have carried the spears. Yet the terms exist, and, from the tribes mentioned in the literature, museum specimens and information from informants, quivers appear to have been used throughout the area. All the Cape Nguni must have encountered Bushmen using a quiver for their arrows so that the item itself must have been known from early times.

The quivers (*ikhohlombe*) (Pl. 44: 3-4) were cylinders of untanned ox-hide, sewn down one side and round the end, or sometimes having a round of hide fitted in as a base. According to the descriptions they were furnished with a strap, by which they were hung down the back over the shoulder, or by the Bhaca, fastened behind the saddle to hold spears on the march. The two examples photographed were respectively 68 × 10 cm and 30 × 8 cm. According to a Hlubi informant the size was about 50 × 10 cm.

PLATE 44

Sticks, quivers and powder-horn.

1. *intonga*, used to carry a load, Mpondo; Lusikisiki 1948.
2. Sticks, knobbed and pointed, carried in the dance, Mpondo; Lusikisiki 1948.
3. Quiver, 308 mm, 'Kaffirland', ?c. 1854 (British Museum 54.12.21.8).
4. *ikhohlombe*, 660 mm, Mpondo; Qawukeni, Lusikisiki 1948.
5. Powder-horn, 362 mm, Xhosa (Ngqika), no locality, 1915 (PEM 329).



SHIELDS

The chief defensive weapon was the shield (*ikhaka, isihlangu*) which was held in the left hand to deflect the opposing spears, or poisoned arrows if the enemy were Bushmen. In this latter case a man crouched down behind his shield so as to be completely covered on the enemy side. Boys began quite young to learn to fight with sticks and small shields. Shields were carried on lion and leopard hunts, and it was the practice for one of the hunters to fling himself on the ground under his shield, so that while the animal was occupied with him, the other hunters could attack it.

The shield could serve as a protection against the weather, and it is reported that if the Xhosa or Fingo army slept out, the men lay close together each covered by his shield. If there was no other shade available, people in the company of a chief would hold up one or more shields to shade him from the sun.

In ceremonial and dancing, particularly at weddings, the warriors carried shields, and sometimes used them as a screen, as in the bridal procession. They often beat them like drums, particularly when a diviner was being consulted.

It is recorded that in the early days shields were kept at the chief's homestead, in a separate hut, and were 'a symbol of his authority over them . . . trusted to the warrior only during the time of service, and are restored by him when the war is over'. Whether or not this applied only to war shields and a man had another shield for dress purposes is not apparent, except that according to Bain a Mpondo had a smaller shield 'for every day use'. This is not mentioned for other tribes, and from the descriptions it seems unlikely that it existed in the west. But it may well have done so in the east, and the war shield only may have been kept at the chief's place. According to Campbell it was complete disgrace for a man to lose his shield or throw it away to save his life.

The shields were made of raw ox-hide (The survivors of the *Grosvenor* describe them as being made of elephant hide, but there is no confirmation of this, even in another account of the same journey.) The few pictorial records that survive show enough different features to suggest that size, shape, and style of threading may have been characteristic of different tribal or military groups, but the early authors had little to say about this. Xhosa shields are frequently described as being large enough to conceal the body when squatting

PLATE 45

Shields.

1. *ikhawu*, shield, staff 1 170 mm, hide 945 mm, Mpondo; Lusikisiki 1935 (TM 35/395).
2. Retainer of chief, with shield (photo A. Dugmore, photographic artist, Queenstown, 1876-1879).
3. *ikhawu*, shield of diviner, 460 mm, Bhaca; Lugangeni, Mt Frere 1948.
4. Shield, presumably Xhosa, c. 1805 (Daniell 1820, part of frontispiece).
5. *ikhawu*, shield, staff 1 270 mm, hide 1 080 mm, Bhaca; Lugangeni, Mt Frere 1948.



or sitting, and the dimensions given in the earliest records are 120–152 cm length, and 75–90 cm width—very large shields (Pl. 90: 1). The Fingo are said to have carried ‘enormous’ shields, which would indicate that they were larger than the familiar Xhosa shields, and certainly Baines’s paintings of 1851–2 show them to be very large (Pl. 46). The same pictures show Mpondo shields as the same size as the Fingo, but a recent description gives their size as 120 × 60 cm, and Bain’s description of the Mpondo shield ‘for every day use’ is about 90 cm long and 23 cm wide—an unfamiliar thing indeed. That the shields of the west were generally larger than those of the east is indicated by the dimensions given, despite Van der Kemp’s statement that the Xhosa could get two out of one hide, whereas the ‘Imbo’ could get only one.

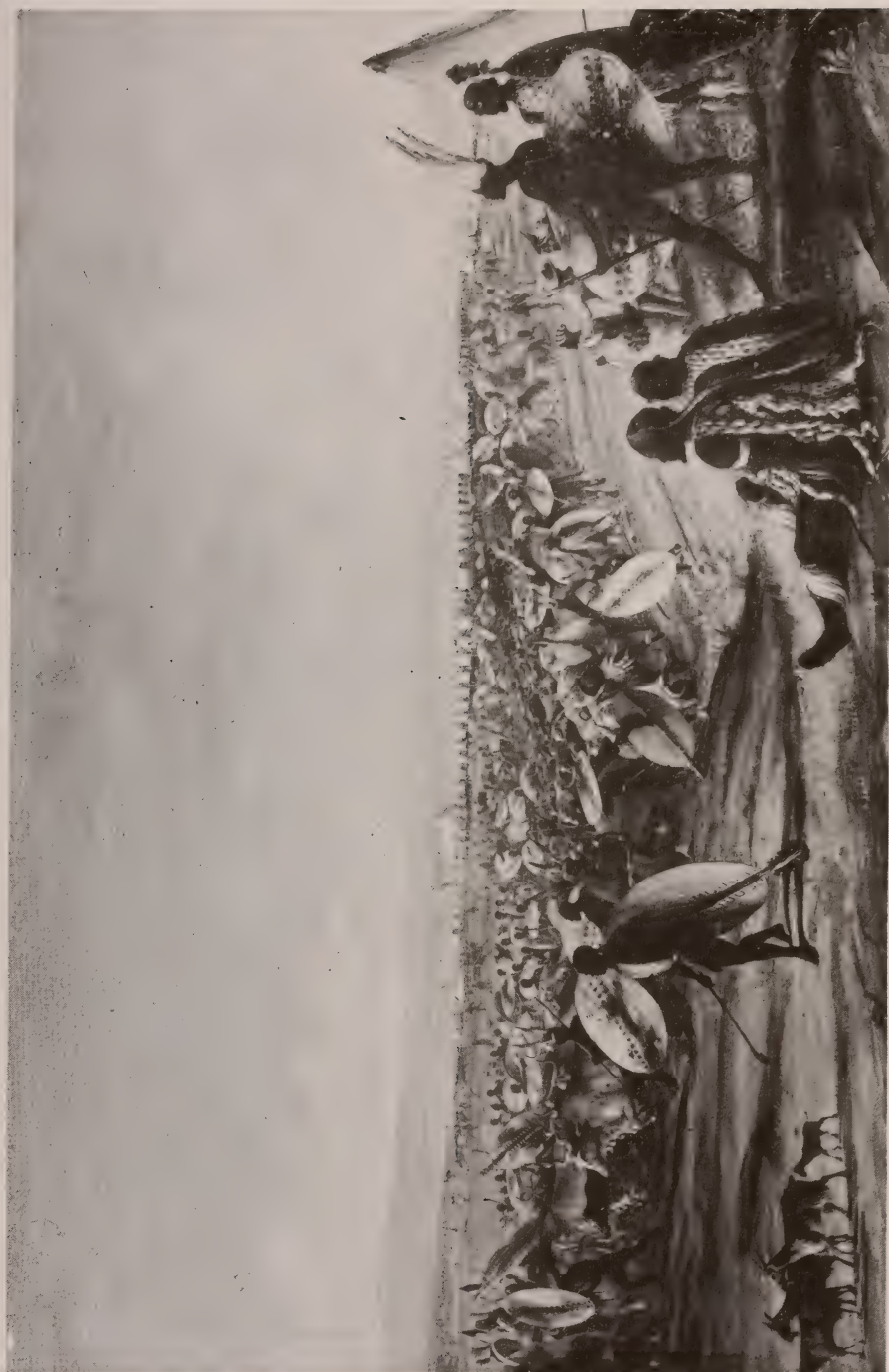
It would seem that the pointed oval shape (Pl. 45: 1, 5) familiar to us as the Nguni style, belonged to the eastern tribes and was brought to the west by the Fingo, and that the original Xhosa shape was a blunter oval, (Pl. 45: 4, Pl. 47: 6), or as Van der Kemp called it, ‘oblong square form’ as depicted by Paravicini di Capelli in 1803 and Rosel in 1811, in Alberti (1810) and Lichtenstein (1811) respectively. The Xhosa, through their early acquaintance with bullets, must have been the first to discard their shields, and it is probable that by the middle of the nineteenth century the blunter type of shield was no longer to be seen.

The only confirmed statement about the colour of the skins used for the shields is that those of the Mpondo during the last century were white. This may merely have meant having a white background, as white animals are rare, and the modern Mpondo shield (Pl. 45: 1) was not entirely white. According to Alexander, the Xhosa shield was ‘of all colours’, and Baines suggests that the colour and ‘various devices’ were an indication of ‘tribe or division’.

The hide was simply pegged out in the sun to dry before being cut, and then pounded with round stones until concave on the inside, a process which served also to toughen it. It was then cut to shape. The hair was left on and turned to the front. A double stripe in check pattern was usually made down the length of the shield by threading strips of hide, generally of contrasting colour, through holes in the shield. In some cases long strips ran vertically, in others short strips ran horizontally, but the effect at the front might or might not be the same. To these strips were attached loops of thong through which a stout stick was passed lengthwise down the centre of the back of the shield, and slightly longer than it (Fig. 16). In the note to his painting Baines states that the Mpondo shields (meaning the sticks running through the back) are ‘tipped with black ostrich plumes’. Lichtenstein states that a cross-stick was also used

PLATE 46

Shields, Fingo and Mpondo; near Butterworth c. 1851, part of painting by T. Baines (AM 283).



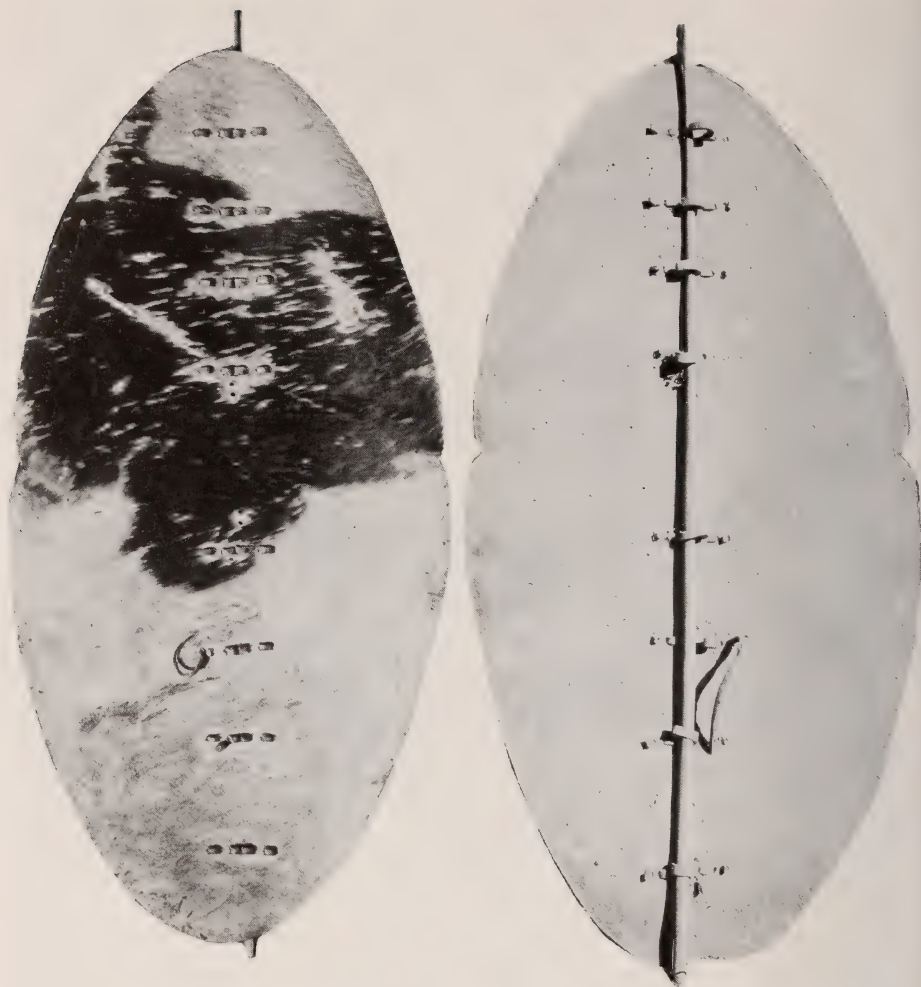
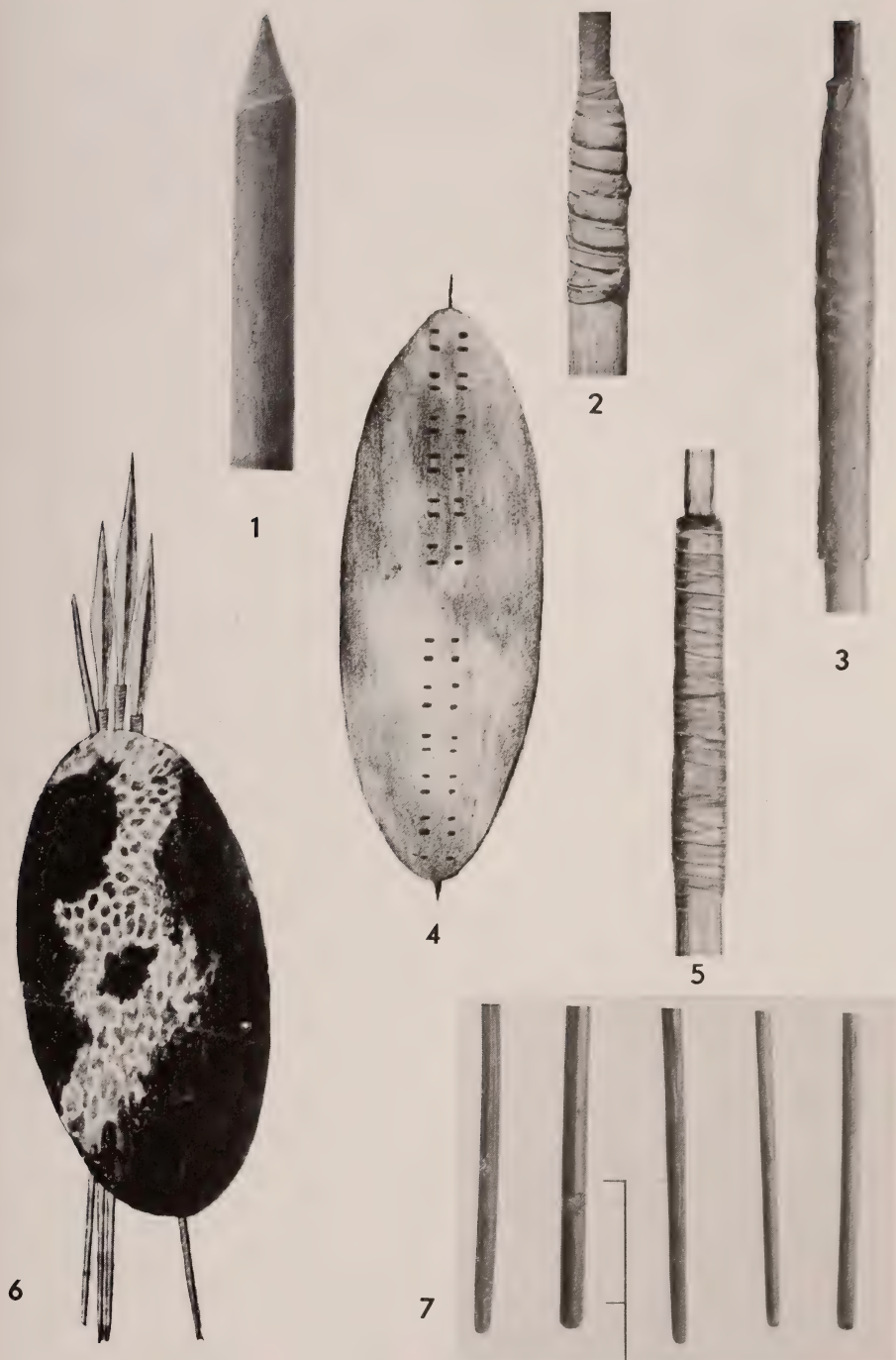


Fig. 16. Front and back views of shield, length 1065 mm, said to date from 1878, Cape Nguni (KM Y883B).

PLATE 47

Shields and spear-shafts.

1. Point of stick, diameter 20 mm, Mpondo; Flagstaff 1955 (SAM-7402).
2. Spear-shaft bound with thick sinew, Mpondo; Lusikisiki 1948.
3. Spear-shaft with skin drawn over when wet, length of binding 150 mm; Thembu; no locality, c. 1880 (SAM-6946).
4. Shield of 'Amakosa Warrior' c. 1850 (drawing by Walker, AM 4443).
5. Spear-shaft bound with thin sinew, Mpondo; Lusikisiki 1948.
6. Shield of Xhosa chief Koba, near Fish River, c. 1777 (drawing by R. Gordon, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam).
7. Butts of spears, diameters at butt, from left to right, 5, 8, 4, 5, 6 mm, Thembu; no locality, c. 1880 (SAM-6943 and others).



by the Xhosa as shown in Rosel's plate, but except for Fritsch, doubtless repeating Lichtenstein's information, there is no confirmation of this. Sometimes spears were stuck through too, and sandals tied to the loops (Pl. 45: 4). The stick was gripped at the centre and the shield could be manipulated or could swivel if hit hard.

From the descriptions of skin-working it would seem that Xhosa shields were made by specialists, who also made sandals and another rawhide commodities, but Janssens and Kay mention having seen a number of young men seated together making shields, and Alberti definitely states that every man of military age was obliged to make his own and give it into the keeping of the chief, who kept them all in a special hut. It may be that specialization occurred in later times, when shields were going out of general use. According to Hunter, modern Mpondo always called in a specialist to cut a shield.

The ineffectuality of the shield against bullets, and the extinction of lions and leopards against which it was used in hunting, started its decline. Alexander states that by 1835 it had been discarded by the Xhosa in fights against Europeans, and, according to Fleming who writes mostly about the Xhosa, no more shields were to be seen by about 1852. But Baines's paintings of 1851 and 1852 show all the Fingo and Mpondo warriors armed with shields (Pl. 46), and Weitz saw the Mpondo army carrying shields 20 years later. There is, however, very little mention of the shield in the latter part of the nineteenth century, except for a definite statement that in 1898 it was still customarily used in Pondoland.

Today shields are not likely to be seen outside eastern Transkei, and the modern specimen, which is used purely in ceremonial and particularly by the diviners, is a much smaller article, 46–108 cm in length, and 38–54 cm broad (Pl. 45: 3, 5).

SPEARS

The spear (*umkhonto*) (Pl. 48) was the most important offensive weapon, and had many other uses besides. The number usually carried by the western tribes even in peace time was seven in a bundle (*isirweqe*), sometimes tied, with one or two sticks or a club. In war more would be carried. According to Walker, the Mpondo and immigrant tribes carried one or two stabbing spears only, instead of a bundle of throwing spears, but according to Hunter, the Mpondo carried a bundle of up to fifteen throwing spears and one for stabbing.

Nowadays none is carried at all, since it is forbidden to do so outside the homestead. They are still made, however, and even bought ready-made in the black market.

The early recorders, from 1554 until well into the nineteenth century, wrote of wooden spears, or shafts, with the points hardened in the fire, as being more in evidence than iron-headed spears. Others recorded that the iron heads were removed and the shafts, only, thrown at them. This would be accounted for by the shortage of iron discussed previously (Shaw & Van Warmelo 1974: 122–3). Pointed sticks (Pl. 47: 1) were also, and in some

places still are, used instead of real spears as part of the boys' initiation training and sport. They are still used today by boys and youths in sham fights.

The iron-headed spear consisted of a tanged iron head set in a slender wooden shaft about 120 to 150 cm long, about 2 to 2,5 cm in diameter at the top, and tapering to the butt.

The tang of the head was square in section, tapering to a point and about 3,5 cm long (Fig. 17A).

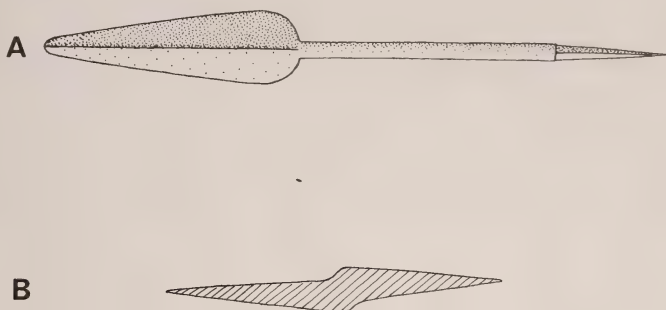


Fig. 17. Diagrams of spear-head.
A. To show square tang. B. Ogee section.

The shaft was cut with an adze or spear-blade from stems of a tough wood—*Curtisia faginea*, *Brachylaena elliptica*, *Grewia occidentalis*, and *Ehretia hottentotica* were the most commonly used. According to Winkelman, the old Xhosa spear shaft tapered to a point (Pl. 47: 7). This was said to enable it to quiver in flight when thrown with the special movement given to it by Xhosa (see p. 338). In addition it was, according to McLaren, made pliant by heating it over a fire and manipulating it. It is worth noting that Schreyer describes the Hottentot spear-shaft as tapering to a point. This may indicate borrowing, one way or the other.

According to Winkelman and some modern informants, the tang was burnt into the top of the shaft. Other authors state that the top of the shaft was split and hollowed out to receive the tang, which was then fixed in with softened resin from the candlewood tree (*Pterocelastrus tricuspidatus*). In old specimens examined, both methods appear to have been used. Each example where the split had been used had had a piece of about one-third of the circumference removed, to allow hollowing, and then replaced. Thereafter, in either case, the top of the shaft and the junction were bound tightly with a thin fibre or grass cord, or wet ox sinew (Pl. 47: 2, 5), or by having a short piece of tail-skin of an ox drawn over while wet, and bound until dry (Pl. 47: 3).

The major source of the iron used was probably, from quite early times, scrap-iron (see Shaw & Van Warmelo 1974: 122–3). Thick wire and motor-car springs are used today. The tools used by the smith were stones of different

shapes and sizes, and iron chisels (see Shaw & Van Warmelo 1974: 124-5), and according to Döhne (1844) the smith received a cow for six or eight spear-heads, though the more complicated ones were doubtless more expensive. According to Ward (1848), by the middle of the nineteenth century some spear-heads were being imported from England for sale to the people, but were not popular because they were considered too malleable.

There was a great variety in the shape and size of the heads, each having a different name, as will be seen from the accompanying figures. In all varieties, with the exception of *ingqanda*, which is a point, the blade is ogee in section (Fig. 17B) which gives it a natural midrib, and the neck is commonly round in section but sometimes square. Of them seven, but especially the first four below, stand out as being most commonly used, both in the early days, as can be judged by the descriptions of them, and from the types still known to most if not all informants today. These are:

Ingcola—a short blade and long round neck, the most common form for all purposes (Pl. 48: 1).

Ingqanda—no blade but a point, sometimes square with a round neck, sometimes round throughout and showing no difference between point and neck; used as an awl as well as a spear (Pl. 48: 2, 11).

Izaka—a short blade with a square neck each of the four edges of which was cut up into jagged teeth or tiny barbs, sometimes in alternate directions on alternate edges. This was the most dangerous fighting spear, on account of the severe wound inflicted. It would seem also to be the one referred to by Smith as being preferred for hunting as it did not fall out of the animal (Pl. 48: 8).

Intshuntshe—a long blade with no neck; a heavy spear used for slaughtering and for hunting the larger game (Pl. 48: 4).

Ikrwana—a short blade with no neck. This is the type always used as the instru-

PLATE 48

Spears.

1. *ingcola* type, blade 140 mm, Thembu c. 1880 (SAM-6942).
2. *ingqanda* type, blade 234 mm, Thembu c. 1880 (SAM-6937).
3. *inkonjane* type, blade 49 mm, no data (SAM-3177).
4. *intshuntshe* type, blade 345 mm, Thembu c. 1880 (SAM-6945).
5. *inyembe* type, blade 22 mm, Thembu c. 1880 (SAM-6939).
6. *ikrwana*, blade 215 mm, no data (SAM-2109).
7. *irwantsi*, blade c. 115 mm, no data (SAM-2586).
8. *izaka*, blade 158 mm, Thembu c. 1880 (SAM-6938).
9. *ingcola*, blade c. 150 mm, Mpondo; Qawukeni, Lusikisiki 1948.
10. *ingqanda*, blade 238 mm, Xesibe; Elubaleko, Mt Ayliff 1948.
11. *ingqanda*, blade 222 mm, Mpondo; Mt Frere 1948.
12. *intshuntshe*, blade 215 mm, Bhaca; Lugangeni, Mt Frere 1948.
13. *izaka*, blade 113 mm, Mpondo 1923 (UCT 23/169).
14. *izaka*, blade 159 mm, Bomvana; Elliotdale 1948 (SAM-6665).
15. *izaka*, blade 136 mm, Xesibe; Elubaleko, Mt Ayliff 1948.



ment for circumcision, in which case it is fixed into a short wooden handle, 15–30 cm long (Pl. 48: 6).

Inkonjane—‘the swallow-tail’ or arrowhead-shaped spear, is often described without a name in early accounts, and is well known by name only to modern informants (Pl. 48: 3).

Isinkempe—a short stabbing spear, also used for cutting meat; not mentioned early, but known now, and often as a knife.

According to Smith, the butt of the shaft was sometimes fitted with a ‘three to four inch’ pointed iron ‘thimble’ for digging roots, but this is not confirmed. Modern spears have a blunt butt to the shaft, only slightly less in diameter than the top. The reason is possibly that spears are not thrown nowadays, but used only for stabbing.

Among the western tribes spears were most commonly thrown, but Xhosa, Bomvana and Mpondo, at least, are reported to have had, in addition to the throwing spears, one for stabbing. Stabbing spears which were broad bladed and heavier were, however, used by all at close quarters and in an emergency the shaft of a throwing spear would be broken off to make a handier weapon for stabbing. The Mpondo, in fact, and the immigrant tribes, are said to have used stabbing spears more frequently than the others did.

The method of throwing, whereby the spear was made to vibrate in the hand before throwing and thereby given a vibrating motion as it travelled, has been described by many authors. The throw was generally overhand, but occasionally a telling throw was delivered underhand, the more dangerous because unexpected.

Opinions seem to have differed as to range, accuracy of aim, and avoidability. Estimates of range vary from 45 to 90 m, and of accurate aim from 18 to 70 m. The practising of aim through the pastime of rolling a ‘wooden ball’ down a slope, for the assembled company to throw their spears at, was observed among adults by the survivors of the *Grosvenor*, and among children by Norbury (1880) who described it as a favourite pastime (See Games, the rolling target game, Shaw & Van Warmelo, part 4, in preparation).

According to Alberti, a warrior threw spear after spear as he ran towards his objective, finally snatching one up from the ground, if necessary, with which to stab. Hunter stated that the Mpondo might also pick up and return the spears of the enemy, and this must surely have been general practice.

In general the lighter-bladed spears were used in war, and the heavier for hunting, but it is difficult nowadays to check the uses of each different type (and undoubtedly they differed for a purpose) since the practices of war and hunting large game have died out.

The spear is one of the most important items in Cape Nguni material culture. It was primarily a weapon of war and hunting, but, in addition to the two primary functions, there are a number of others that spears fulfilled, and in which they took the place of the knife that is missing from Cape Nguni material culture. A spear was used for executing criminals and slaughtering

stock. It is still used for ritual slaughtering of cattle. In the latter case, at least among the Bomvana, Mpondo and Bhaca, the spear used was reserved specially for the purpose, handed down from father to son and kept in the Great Hut.

Another special spear was the one kept for circumcision. This, too, was set aside for the purpose. Among the Fingo, Brownlee saw one that had been handed down with the office of operator from father to son for many generations. Cook reports, however, that the Bomvana had a new spear for each school, and that it might be burnt in the Khwetha hut at the end, according to the feelings of the operator.

Spears were used for flaying and for cutting up meat before cooking, and by individuals at meals, and for reaping the corn. The *ingqanda* was used as an awl for piercing holes, and as a goad for cattle, particularly in racing.

In addition to these practical uses, spear-heads were an important item of exchange and reward, second only to cattle. At the beginning of the nineteenth century they were described as the most common article of barter, and attained almost the status of currency.

There is a certain amount of ritual importance attached to spears, and taboos regarding women touching them. They often feature in ceremonial, particularly in the wedding ceremony. In the old days war was declared by sending a spear to the enemy chief. If it was received and another sent in its place, the declaration was accepted—if sent back the fight was refused.

There is no longer sufficient evidence to distinguish tribal differences in style, which no doubt existed. According to Baines, Mpondo and Hlubi spears were 'larger and broader' than those of the Xhosa, and according to Alexander the stabbing spears of the Thembu and Mpondo were 'barbed like a harpoon'. But no identified specimens are available to substantiate this.

FETTER

Apart from the term (*ikhamandela*—468), which is a new one to the language from the Dutch *Kommanderen*, there is no further information about the use of a fether.

HUNTING

SOURCES

1593 Lavanha (1597) p. 235

Umtata R.: dogs

'E na guerra servem-se de Azagayas, trazem cachorros capados da feicaõ e tamanho dos nossos gozos grandes.'

(p. 294 'In war they make use of assegais, and they employ gelded dogs in size and appearance like our large curs.')

1647 Feyo (1650) p. 252

?Near Umzimvubu R., 12 days north-east of Infanta: traps

'... nos metemos por hum bosque, em que achamos armadillas, & covas para elefantes. ...'

(p. 313 '... we entered a thick wood where we discovered snares and pitfalls for elephants. ...')

1752 Beutler p. 303

Xhosa: hippo stake

'... deese Caffers om de zeekoeyen te vangen gebruyken deese list, sy setten midden in het pad waardoor die dieren gewoon sijn uyt het water op het land te komen om te graasen schuyns diep in de grond een scherp puntige olijfstok wat uyt de grond met de punt na de land kant steeckende, als dat dier daarover met gemak aan land is gekomen dan maaken sy aan weerskanten van het pad een yselijk geschreeuw waarvan dat beest verschrikt wordende, sig schielijk omkeert en na het water terug gekeert sonder ergens om te sien, lopende dus met haar borst of buyk die laag neederhangen in die stok waarop se vast blyven steeken en vervolgens sterven.'

1782 Carter p. 165, note

Mpondo: elephant pit

'Here Jan Andries Holtshausen had the misfortune to fall into a pit of burnt stakes, by which he was terribly wounded in the palm of his left hand. (His note: 'A pit is dug, and large stakes are driven into the bottom that stand upright, with their upper end sharpened to a point that is hardened by fire. Branches of trees and grass are laid over the points so as to conceal them and the pit; by which the elephant is taken unawares, and falls into the snare. In this manner the natives kill that animal.')

1788 Von Winkelman (1788-9) pp. 76-77

Xhosa: hunting-drives, lion hunt

'*Jagden*. Die grossen Jagden ausser ihrem Lande sind von besonderer Art. Springböcke, die jenseits der Coernoy (dem kleinen Sonntagsfluss) und dem Buschmannsfluss, die grasreichen Hügel, Thäler und Flächen zu tausenden bedecken, und zu denen sich bissweilen auch noch Hirsche, Elenthiere etc. gesellen, sind leichte Lieblingsgegenstände ihrer Jagden. Sie bilden—so erzählten theils die Bauren, theils Hottentotten—in einer grossen Ferne ringsum diese gewaltige Heerden, einen Cordon, und rücken, jeder mit seinen Assogaïs und Knopfkiris in den Händen, stets näher zusammen, so dass sie diese Thiere in einen engern Raum zusammen drängen; sind sie dann nahe genug, alsdann begint der allgemeine Angriff, sie stechen und werffen was sie erreichen können. Das bange und schüchterne Wild sucht seinen Verfolgern durch die Flucht zu entinnen; es durchbricht daher den feindlichen Cordon, und da wo ein einziger Springbok hoch und schwebend durch die Luft springt, da springen die Tausende auch. Oft sind denn auch die Kaffern auf solchen Jagden sehr glücklich. Kleinres Wild, als Jakhals oder Goldfuchse, kleine blaue Buschböckgen und dergleichen werfen und schlagen sie meist mit ihren Kiris todt, oder fangen sie lebendig. Elephanten, wilde Büffel, Löwen und dergleichen tödten sie allein, durch ihre Assegaïs, wovon aber der Erfolg oft sehr misslich und gefährlich ist; daher sind dieses auch nur seltenre Jagden.

Die Art, wie sie in ihrem Lande die Löwen erlegen, ist fürtretlich, und macht dem National-Karakter Ehre. Ein Kaffer der die Spur eines Löwen entdekt, folgt ihm nach; komt er ihm nahe, dann sind gewöhnlich mehrere

Kaffern beisammen, die ihm nur in der dringenden Gefahr beistehen. Wer ihn zu erst entdeckt, oder den Vorsatz hatte einen Löwen zu tödten, der hat dann auch die Ehre seines Triumphs allein zu geniessen. Der Kaffer hält in seiner Linken den ledernen Schild, in seiner Rechten die Lanze. Nun nähert er sich—ganz in der Stellung der Römischen Gladiatoren, mit einer besondern muskulösen Bewegung des Kopfs und des Leibes, voll Ausdruck der grossen Begierde nach dieser Ehre, der Ungewissheit des Siegs—des Muths und des Entsezens dem vor ihm stehenden oder liegenden Löwen. Er streckt seine nervigten Arme aus, springt seitwärts—krümmt sich und lauscht—springt rückwärts. Der Anblick seines Feindes entflammt noch mehr den Muth—er nähert sich ihm, klopft stark auf seinen Schild. Jezt macht er Bewegungen, als wenn er den Löwen augenblicklich mit seinen Lanzen ermorden wolte. Er pfeift dabei sehr hell und stark—zischt mit den Zähnen—rufft—klopft wieder, biss endlich der gereizte Löwe seinen Stolz in Wuth verwandelt, und den Verwegenen durch einen grossen Sprung zernichten will. In diesem Augenblick aber hält der Kämpfer, zur Erde sinkend, seinen harten, grossen Schild ihm vor; der Löwe geschwächt durch die Weite seines Sprunges, greift nicht durch; diesen Augenblick sucht er zu benutzen, indem er dem Löwen einige Todesstiche bei zu bringen sucht; die andern eilen herbei und bringen ihn vollends um. Nicht alle beseelt dieser Helden Muth, und auch nicht alle besizen jene gewaltige Muskelkraft, um dem mächtigen Anfall des Löwen zu widerstehen, daher ereignet sich noch öfters, dass sie wirklich schon in einiger Entfernung—eine Menge von Assogaïs auf dem liegenden Feind fliegen lassen, und ihn dann bei seiner weitem Annäherung noch vollends tödten.'

1797 Barrow (1806) p. 163

Xhosa: game pits

'The elephant and the buffalo fell also in the woods by the Hassagai, but more frequently by deep pits made in the ground across the paths that led to their usual haunts. In this manner they sometimes took the hippopotamus; but the usual gait of this animal, when not disturbed, is so cautious and slow that he generally detected the snare that was laid for him, and avoided it. The more certain method of destroying him was to watch at night behind a bush close to his path; and, as he passed, to wound him in the tendons of the knee-joint, by which he was immediately rendered lame and unable to escape from the numerous Hassagais that afterwards assailed him.'

1800 Van der Kemp (1804) p. 405

Xhosa: game pit

'A young Caffree woman . . . then ran through the river into the forest, where she lost her way, and fell into a pit, in which sharp pointed poles were placed in order to catch wild beasts.'

1802-6 Alberti (1810a) pp. 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158
p. 153

Xhosa: hunting

Xhosa: hunting-party

Nothing more.

p. 154

Xhosa: hunting-drives

Nothing more.

p. 155

Xhosa: burning veld

'Heeft zulk eene gedwongene Jagt op eene vlakke plaats gehad, met dor gras bewassen, dat gewoonlijk zeer hoog is, alsdan steekt men zulks in brand, om ten minste de klingen der verlorene werpspiesen weder te vinden.'

p. 155

Xhosa: snares in fences

'De Gensen van verschillende soort worden ook in strikken, en wel op de volgende wijze, gevangen. Door eene met kreupelhout ligt bewassene streek stelt men eenige lage hekken, meestal van doornen zamengesteld, die dikwerf meer dan een uur in de lengte bedragen. In deze hekken worden op zekeren afstand openingen gelaten, waarin men strikken of sprenkels zet. Het Wild, dat rustig tiert, ver van over de hekken te springen, gaat langs dezelve henen tot eene der openingen, waarin het zich zelf verwacht.'

pp. 155-156

Xhosa: hippo stake, game pit, leopard trap

'Bij den nacht, wanneer de Zeekoeijen de rivier verlaten, om haar voedsel te zoeken, maken zij diepe vorens in het dikke wier, waarmede de hooge en steile oevers bewassen zijn. In deze diepten plaatst men spitse, in het vuur geharde, palen kruisgewijze tegen elkanderen; men keert te rug en maakt geschreeuw, waarop de weidende koeijen dikwerf in haast te rug vlieden, niet zelden met de borst in zulk een paal loopen, en op deze wijze in de handen hunner vervolgers vallen.

In streken, waarin het Wild bij verkiezing weidt, vooral op paden, die naar het water leiden, graaft men diepe groeven, in welker midden een spitse paal geplaatst en met rijs en gras gedekt wordt. Zoodanige groeven dienen voornamelijk, om Buffels en groote Gensen te vangen.

Om de Tijgers te bemagtigen, bezigt men eenen soortgelijken paal, aan welks boveneind de kling eener Werpspies wordt vast gemaakt, onder de takken van eenen boom in den grond geslagen. Aan een dezer takken hangt lijnrecht boven dezen paal een stuk vleesch, en meer andere stukken worden in den omtrek tot lokaas geworpen. De Tijger, door het genot dezer brokken aangevuurd, springt eindelijk in eene schuinsche rigting naar het om hoog hangende grootere stuk vleesch, en stort doorgaans, bij eenen lijnrechten val, in de werpspies neder.'

p. 157

Xhosa: elephant hunt

De olifanten-jagt is de moeilijkste van alle. Slechts zelden wordt een Olifant door den Kaffer geveld. . . . Slechts een enkele Olifant, die in zulk eene voordeelige streek afzonderlijk tiert, wordt afgemaakt. In zoodanig geval sluit men hem in door middel van vuren . . . terwijl men bij ondervinding weet, dat het dier zulk eenen vuurkring, ten minste bij den dag, niet verlaat. Alsdan naderen de Jagers van tijd tot tijd en trachten het door een groot aantal van werpspiesen te dooden.

Daar zulks, echter, wegens de geringe doordringbaarheid van de huid . . . in geenen korten tijd geschieden kan . . . er loopen gewis vele dagen voorbij, eer men deze prooij geheel kan bemagtigen.

p. 158

Xhosa: lion hunt

Nothing more.

1803-6 Lichtenstein (1811) pp. 444-445

Xhosa: snares, traps

p. 444

Xhosa: snares

Nothing more.

p. 445

Xhosa: hippo trap, game pit, leopard trap

Nothing more.

1813 Campbell (1815) p. 367

'Caffer': snare, trap

'Sometimes, in order to catch game, they make an enclosure with one entrance, over which they place a large bow, as an arch, with the string extended on a catch. The creature entering, and treading on a certain stick laid in his way, the string comes with violence from off the catch, and suspends him in the air.'

When the wolf is troublesome, they suspend a piece of flesh on a bough, and place an assegay or spear in the ground, that the wolf when leaping to catch the flesh may fall upon it.'

1821-4 Thompson (1827) 2 pp. 261, 364

'Caffer': hunting, trapping

p. 261

'Caffer': hunting-drives, snares

'They generally go out to hunt in large parties, and when they find game in the open fields, they endeavour to surround the animals, or drive them to some narrow pass, which is previously occupied by long files of hunters, stationed on either side, who, as the herd rushes through between, pierce them with showers of assegais. This mode is chiefly pursued with the larger sorts of antelopes. The smaller bucks they sometimes knock down with the *kirri*, or war club, which they throw with great force and expertness: birds are generally killed with the same weapon. They have also modes of catching the smaller game by gins and springes, fixed in their paths through the woods and thickets.'

p. 364

'Caffer': hippo pits

'For the hippopotamus they dig pits in the river banks, which are slightly covered over, and have a strong stake fixed in the centre; they then lie in wait for the animal when he comes out to graze, and driving him into the paths where the pits are dug, complete his destruction.'

c. 1824-5 Smith pp. 115, 247, 392

'Caffer': hunting, trapping

p. 115

'Caffer': hunting, snares

'Hunting is one of the favourite occupations of the men not for amusement alone but for profit. The[y] seldom get animal food except it be obtained in the chase. They have two methods of [procuring] wild animals, the hassegay or kerrie and snares. The former is employed generally when they go in a body and surround game the latter when the game is scarce or so wild that they cannot be easily surrounded. They kill almost every animal with the assegay if they can reach them, even the elephant often falls under their weapons. Various kinds of snares are made the principal pits in the haunts of the game or nooses

where they feed or go to water. . . . They often form hedges of bush some miles long with openings in them where they set snares and where the animals pass through. After a hunt they often burn the grass to find the hassegays. They also take the larger game in deep pits in which are placed stakes sharp at the points.'

p. 247

'Caffer': elephant hunt, hippo pit

'It is quite surprising to see that state of their hassegays after a successful elephant hunt. The blades are bent in all directions the shafts broken and all a perfect ruin. . . . They lay wait for the hippopotamus during the night and sometimes destroy him by hassegays at other times dig pits for him in the course of the paths which he particularly frequents.'

p. 392

'Caffer': snares in fences

Nothing more.

1820-31 Steedman (1835) pp. 24, 59

Xhosa: elephant hunt

Nothing more. (It is presumed that Steedman quoted from Kay because Kay published two years before he did. Kay's account is therefore quoted here.)

1825-9 Kay (1833) pp. 51, 136-138, 350, 351

Xhosa, Mpondo: hunting, trapping

p. 51

Xhosa: game pit

'When on full gallop through a bushy valley, not far from Fort Wiltshire, my horse suddenly plunged into a deep pit that had been dug by the natives, for the purpose of ensnaring game. It was completely concealed from view by the high grass which grew around it, so that the danger could not possibly be perceived until one had arrived upon its verge. . . . The common practice of the Kaffers, as also of other classes of natives, is to fix a sharp-pointed post in the centre of these holes, designed and calculated to effect a deadly wound in whatever may fall upon it . . . hence the utmost caution is absolutely necessary when riding in mere game paths, or through those parts that have not been much traversed.'

pp. 136-138

Xhosa: elephant hunt

' . . . a numerous herd of elephants was discovered. . . . The signal was given. . . . By this means an immense concourse of men and dogs were speedily assembled near the deep and bushy ravine, in which the animals had taken refuge. . . . Three out of their number were at length brought to the ground. . . .

Their attack upon this noble quadruped is usually made from behind, in which position they are able for some time to elude the keen glance of his extraordinarily small eye; and sometimes even to hamstring him before he is aware of the approach of an assailant. . . . When thus engaged in the act of killing him, it is not a little amusing, as well as singular, to hear them lauding the animal, and crying,—"Don't kill us, great Captain, don't strike or tread upon us, mighty Chief"; while in the intervals between those different entreaties, they cast showers of spears into his tortured carcass. . . .'

p. 350

Mpondo: hippo trap

'In one of the paths on the river's brink, I observed sharp pointed posts obliquely fixed in the ground, with the view of piercing these aquatic monsters [hippos] as they slide off the bank, after their midnight excursions for food. Such is one of the plans adopted by the natives for catching them, and another is that of digging pit-falls; but neither the one nor the other seems to be very successful.'

p. 350-351

Mpondo: hippo hunting

'Some of the clans kill them [hippos] by means of poisoned darts. . . . These are eighteen or twenty inches long, pointed with sharp pieces of iron, loosely fixed into strong handles, six or seven feet in length. The latter, of course, give force to the darts, and immediately drop off the moment they have entered, leaving the barbs, with all the poison about them, to work their way into the inside of the animal. Thus armed, the native places himself in ambush in some well known walk of the hippopotamus, and, while it is silently browsing, plunges his deadly instrument into its side.'

1829 Bain p. 113

Mpondo: elephant trap

Nothing more.

1834*b* Bonatz p. 351

Thembu: hunting-expeditions

'If they engage in any thing it is in the chace. For this, they arm themselves with assagays (light missile darts), and with kirris (sticks with or without knobs), which they cast at their game. They only make use of a shield when they go on the lion or tiger-hunt, or into the field of battle. Great numbers of dogs accompany them, on whose courage and prowess they mainly rely. During these hunting expeditions, it often happens that they set fire to the grass upon the mountains, perhaps with the design of driving the game out of the clefts of the rocks. . . .'

(1853) Fleming pp. 59-60

Xhosa: snares in fences

'In the Amatolas however, they [bush and bluebuck] are still numerous, and are often snared there by the Kaffirs in rather an ingenious way. For this purpose several bushes are lopped, and with these they form a kind of rough bramble-hedge, of perhaps two or three square miles in extent, round a part of the kloof, or bush, where some bucks have been seen. These hedges they make as impassable as they can, by forming them of the most thorny kinds of shrubs, twisted closely together, and covered with the overhanging boughs of the trees.

Where these hedges cross the spoor (or footpad), used by the bucks in going to drink at a neighbouring river, or leading to some pasture in the valleys beneath, they leave openings about a yard wide. At one side of these outlets they drive firmly into the ground a slender stick (about ten or twelve feet in (length), to the upper and thinner end of which they fasten a noose or loop, made of reim (or ox's hide, cut in strips, then soaked in water, and worked and twisted

until pliable). The upper end of this stick is then bent down, the noose is laid open in the centre of the path, and temporarily pegged down with small twigs. When all the spoors are thus fortified, several Kaffirs with dogs enter the enclosure, while some lie concealed near the traps. The hunt then commences. Those, who have entered the copse begin to shout and beat the bushes with sticks in all directions, their half starved dogs aiding in the outcry and uproar which generally is far more than sufficient, to scare so timid an animal as a little antelope. If however, any are within hearing, they immediately take flight, and run unsuspectingly along the paths, where alone they find any egress. As they gallop through the openings at their extremities, they of course disturb the twigs beneath, and, trampling on the hidden noose, are generally enclosed in it. . . .'

(1857) Livingstone fp. 27

Tswana: game pit

Figure, 'The pit at the extremity of the hopo'.

1863-6 Fritsch (1872) pp. 82-83

Cape Nguni: game pits

p. 82

'Wegen der häufig zur Unmöglichkeit werdenden Schwierigkeit des Anschleichens fängt man die genannten Arten des Wildes auch auf andere, bequemere Weise und zwar vornehmlich durch Fallgruben, die man auf dem Wege, den das Thier gewöhnlich nimmt, angebracht hat. Dieselben sind der Grösse des erwarteten Wildes entsprechend, aber von geringer Tiefe, um das spätere Herausschaffen der Beute nicht zu sehr zu erschweren, und im Grunde pflegt man spitze Pfähle einzugraben, auf welche sich das Thier im Herabstürzen spiest.'

p. 83

'Die Natur führte den afrikanischen Jäger durch den plötzlichen Wechsel zwischen unabsehbarer Fläche und Engpass darauf hin, dass es nöthig sei, dem Wilde die Möglichkeit des Ausweichens zu nehmen und die ergiebigsten Jagdmethoden stützen sich auf dieses Princip. Da die vereinzelte Fallgrube den Thieren zu viel Spielraum lässt, seitlich vorbeizukommen, führt man niedrige Dornenzäune quer durch die Gegend, welche nur an der Stelle der Gruben Oeffnungen zeigen und so das Wild nöthigen, den gefährlichen Weg zu wählen. Eine eben solche Einrichtung, nur in grösserem Maassstabe, ist der sogenannte "Hopo"* , bei welchem die Grube weit genug ist, um eine ganze Anzahl grösserer Thiere aufzunehmen, und der von beiden Seiten her schliesslich in eine enge Gasse zusammenlaufende Zaun Widerstand genug leistet, um das gewaltsame Hindurchbrechen zu verhindern. Die in Form einer römischen Fünf angelegten Schenkel der Umzäunung ziehen sich, allmählig niedriger werdend, weit hinaus in die Ebene, und das Bestreben der Jäger ist darauf gerichtet, weidende Trupps des Wildes zu veranlassen, ihren Weg gegen den spitzen Winkel zu

*By giving the name 'Hopo', Fritsch shows that he is basing this part of the description on Livingstone's account (?and Baines's sketch) of the Tswana game pit. See reference above.

nehmen. Indem sie nun anfangs langsam, dann aber stärker und stärker nachdrücken, treiben sie die Thiere schliesslich in die enge Gasse, welche zur Grube führt, wo sie gezwungen sind, entweder in dieselbe hinein zu springen oder sich rückwärts gegen die Assegaien ihrer Verfolger zu wenden. Ist es gelungen, eine grössere Menge von Wild in die verhängnissvolle Enge zu bringen, so füllt sich die Grube bis oben mit einem wüsten Gemisch verschiedener Thiere, die auf das kläglichste durch den Fall zerschmettert oder von den Nachfolgenden zertrampelt werden.

In Ermangelung einer ausdrücklich für diesen Zweck angelegten Einrichtung benutzt man die natürlichen, in Süd-Afrika so häufigen, felsigen Engpässe in ähnlicher Weise, indem ein Theil der Jäger sich an der schmalsten Stelle des Passes in den Hinterhalt legt, während ein anderer das Wild veranlasst, den Weg durch den Pass zu nehmen. Auch wenn das Terrain freier ist, weiss der Kaffer durch die beständige Beobachtung der Gewohnheiten der Thiere doch sich so aufzustellen, dass die Flüchtigen in den Bereich seiner Waffe kommen, und wenn sein Ziel auch nicht "absolute certainty" ist, fällt ihm doch so manches Stück zur Beute, eine willkommene Abwechslung in der gewöhnlichen Diät darbietend.'

1845-89 Kropf (1889) p. 112

Xhosa: game pit

Nothing more.

(1874) Körner p. 177

'Kaffer': trapping

p. 177

'Kaffer': leopard trap, snares

'Für den Panther macht man einen steinernen Käfig im Boden zurecht, legt darüber ein Stück Ziege, so dass der Näscher, wenn er zugreift, in den engen Käfig fällt, aus welchem er nicht heraus kann. Für kleinere Thiere errichtet man Schlagbäume, indem man ein Dornenwerk anlegt und zum Durchschlüpfen nur eine schmale Stelle frei lässt. Dort ist ein Strick vorgespannt, welcher einen schweren Holzstamm in der Schwebe hält. Dringt nun das Thier durch die Oeffnung, so muss es den vorgespannten Strick wegziehen. In demselben Augenblicke fällt aber auch der wuchtige Schlagbaum nieder und zerschmettert das Thier. Im uebrigen sind Fallgruben ein beliebtes Jagdmittel.

Um das Wild auch massenweise zu erlegen, wendet der Kaffer Treibjagden an.'

p. 177

'Kaffer': game pits

Nothing more.

1875-87 MacDonald (1890b) pp. 277, 282

Cape tribes: hunting

p. 277

Cape tribes: large hunts

'Besides the lands used for arable and pastoral purposes, we almost invariably find huge stretches of forest and plain reserved for the purposes of the chase. On these high-lying plains the game is left undisturbed, except during the winter or hunting season. Hunts are then organized on a great scale, and continued for days at a time. On such expeditions hundreds of men and

dogs accompany the chief. The ordinary warrior's spear—Assegai—is the only weapon. I of course speak of the custom before the natives became familiar with fire-arms . . . I am not aware that natives ever succeeded in killing full grown elephants before the introduction of fire-arms, and a lion they hardly attack, unless he is old and lazy. . . .’

p. 282

Cape tribes: no hunting ceremonial

‘There are no preparations or ceremonies of any kind before entering on a hunt, beyond looking to the condition of one's weapons. . . . In the hunting field there are certain rules of precedence, but these are based on social rank, or hunter's fame, and are in no way interesting as a distinct characteristic.’

1932 Hunter (1936) pp. 95, 96, 387, 403–405

Mpondo: treatment of army for hunt, hunting-sport, bird-lime, snares

p. 95

Mpondo: army hunt

‘Only when the army went to hunt after being treated was the whole of their spoil taken to the great place. . . . In each *umzi* from which men went a girl not yet having reached puberty was given a calabash filled with red “lucky beans”, kept for the purpose, which she sat shaking at the kraal gate. . . . Immediately a buck was killed the men pierced one eye. The other was left until the spoil was brought home and set down in the kraal gate; then the girl sitting at the gate pierced it with a charred stick of hemp or an octopus arm. . . . The hunters were also treated. . . .’

p. 96

Mpondo: hunting-sport, bird-lime, snares

‘. . . hunting no longer plays any appreciable part in the domestic economy of the people. For sport, parties of men with dogs occasionally hunt blue buck or quails, and boys trap birds, smearing a sticky juice on branches of flowering *umsintsi* to which birds come for honey, fixing running nooses to heads of millet, and setting traps with stones. Medicines are still used to make dogs good hunters.’

p. 387

Mpondo: army hunt

Nothing more.

pp. 403–405

Mpondo: army hunt

(Detailed description of treatment.)

(1937) Soga pp. 162, 164

Xhosa: hunting

p. 162

Xhosa: lion trap, leopard, elephants

‘Ingonyama ibibanjiswa lula nangomgibe womhadi obekwe amanqwanqwa, watiwa, yalayala ngamasetyana emiti; wenziwe emgaqweni wayo apa. Iya kuti ke yona yeyele ingakumbulele nto, uwuve nawe lowo umgqumo wayo urazule ihlati, kanti se kupelile.

Ingwe yona ibilubawa nangentonga, ibinzwe nangomkonto lo. . . . Umxaka sisihombo ebe siinqabe kunene kwa nje ngengubo yengwe. Ibisiti indlovu yakubulawa epulo, nokuba na icolwe se ifile, mhlawumbi ibanjiswe ibitiyelwe, upondo lwayo lusiwe komkulu, apo incibi yakomkulu iya kulunqunqa imixaka

iyenzela inkosi. Lo use olu pondo komkulu wobuya nenkomo yake egudileyo. Iya kungena ke inkosi yona iyabe le mixaka isabela inkosana namapakati akowayo.'

[The lion was easily caught by means, for example, of a trap (*umgibe*) consisting of a pit (*umhadi*) with poles placed across and covered with twigs of trees; this was constructed in the lion's pathway. Suspecting nothing, it will fall in; hearing its roar, you will let yourself rip through the forest, but all will be over.]

The leopard was killed both by (beating with) a stick or stabbing with an assegai. . . .

The *umxhaka* (ivory bangle) is an ornament which was very scarce, like the skin of the leopard. Whenever an elephant was killed in a hunting expedition, or found dead, or perhaps caught by trapping, its tusk was sent to the chief, whose expert would carve bangles (from it) for the chief. The one taking the tusk to the chief will return with a sleek bullock given him by the chief. The chief will thereupon distribute these bangles among his petty chief and councillors.]

p. 164

Xhosa: hunting-drive

'Ezi nyamakazi, impofu yamatafa nolundi, nenyati etandana namahlali be zizingelwa zibulawe. Be zisiti zakubulawa enqina paya ngokuxeshwa ngamahashe namaqegu, nezinja zisukelwe nangenyawo.'

[These animals, the eland of the plateaux and mountains and the buffalo which likes forests, were hunted and killed. They were killed on the tribal hunt by being chased on horseback and with racing oxen and dogs, and on foot.]

1945 Makalima chap. 6 pars 1, 6-7, 16, 34, 36, 41

Xhosa: hunting-methods

par. 1

Xhosa: animals hunted

'*Ukuzingela*—Izilwanyana, zazizingelwa zonke. Kwakungeko nasinye esingazingelwayo ngamaXosa. Into ekoyo ezinye bezingatywa ngokwesiko.'

[All animals were hunted. There was not a single animal which the Xhosas did not hunt. According to custom, some of them were not eaten.]

par. 6

Xhosa: hunting-expeditions

'*Uhlobo ekuzingelwa ngalo*—Ingqina izintlobo ezimbini, iko le kutiwa lipulo ekuti kanti kwakugqitywa intsuku okanye icawe okanye nenyanga eziliqela, kungabuywa kuzingelwa. . . .

Uhlobo lwesibini ke lokuzingela kukuti kupunywe ngaba zingeli, kanti akulalwa ndle, kotu ukutshona kwelanga kubywe kuze kuhlinzwa izoba elo kutyiwe.'

[There are two ways of hunting. The one is a hunting expedition in which the hunters are accompanied by their wives and cattle. In this, several days or weeks or months are spent without returning home. . . . The second way is that the hunting party goes out but not to sleep in the veld. It returns home at sunset for skinning and supper.]

par. 7

Xhosa: hunting-weapons

'*Izixobo* ezisetyenziswayo—Xa kuzingelwa kwa Xosa kupatwa iminqayi zigityiselwe ngayo inyamakazi okanye indoda iyiqubule isalele iyinqume iyibulale. Nalento yezagweba intsha. Kwa ngokunjalo amabhunguza, intolo, azaziwa nezapeta kwaXosa, yinto esetyenziswa ngabaTwa namaLawu.'

[When a hunting expedition sets out in Xhosaland, the men are armed with long sticks (*umnqayi*) which are hurled at the animals, at other times an animal was taken by surprise and beaten to death with one decisive blow by a man. Hunting with small short sticks (*izagweba*) is a new invention. The same applies to knobkerries (*ibhunguza*) arrows (*intolo*) and bows (*isaphetha*), they were unknown amongst the Xhosas, they were used by Bushmen and Hottentots.]

par. 16

Xhosa: hunting-method

'Wonke umntu ube bulusha ukuvusa inyamakazi, kanti naupina umntu woyigabela, ayibulale yakuvuka ngakuye.'

[Every one beats the grass to rouse the animals, and anyone in front of whom an animal rose would deliver a blow and kill it.]

par. 34

Xhosa: game pits

'*Ukutiya*—Kuko abantu ekutiwa ukubizwa kwabo ngabanqhawi abobantu bazingela bodwa ngelabo ixesha nangezabo indlela ezahlukeyo kweziya zabazingeli basenqhina nasephulo. Bahamba bezingela ngabanye nangababini nangabatatu njalo njalo. Lendlela yokutiya ngemisele enzulu yenye yendlela zabo abazibulala ngayo inyamakazi ehlatini paya. Bemba umsele onzulu, bafake izinti zomtati ezitshwezwe zatsolo paya pakati zime ngobukali bujonge pezulu. Bazakuti ke baziqube inyamakazi zide zifike kule misele ingqunywe ngamanqwanqwa nencha, ukuze ingacaci kuzo zize zingene apo ke, zingaqondinto, zihlatywe, zihlatywe zeziya zikonkwane zomtati zisemseleni, zife okanye zingxwelereke bade bafike bazibulale.'

[There are people known as great hunters, those people hunt alone, in their own time, with their own ways which are different from those of hunting parties and hunting expeditions. They hunt in twos or threes. One of their ways is that of trapping animals, and killing them by means of deep trenches in the forest. They dig a deep trench and put in sneezewood stakes whose ends are made into sharp points facing upwards. They drive the animals until they reach these trenches which are covered with pieces of wood and grass to make them impossible to be seen by the animals until they go in and get stabbed to death by the sneezewood stakes in the trench or get wounded until the hunters come to kill them.]

par. 36

Xhosa: dassie trap

'*Indlela zokutiya*—... Olunyeke ngumthangala wamatye abekwayo afaniswe neliwa. Imbila ke zoza, zicinga uba liliwa nje, zisuke ziwelwe ngalomatye, zitatwe sezifele apo ngulomfo.'

[Ways of trapping—Another one is that of a wall of stones put up like a

cliff. The dassies will then come thinking that it is an ordinary cliff, and those stones would then fall upon them and the trapper comes to pick them up dead there. . . .]

par. 41

Xhosa: bird snare

'Kuko ukuti xa inkwenkwe iyibonisele intaka isendlwini, yenze izabata ngoboya betshoba lenkomo. Zibekwe ke apa emnyango wendlu yentaka, ukuze iti xa ingenayo nokuba kuxa ipumayo ibanjiswe nokuba kusentanyeni, nokuba kusesingeni, nokuba kuse pikweni. Enye ke indlela kutatwa indembu incanya-telise elutini olude luze ke lona lubekwe emtini liti tu apa emtini wehlali.'

[When a boy found a bird's nest, he made a fowler's snare (*isibatha*) consisting of nooses made of long hairs from a cow's tail. He placed them at the door of the bird's nest so that on entering or going out of the nest it would get caught by the neck in the noose or by the wing. Another method is that of taking bird-lime and sticking it to a long twig placed on a tree in the forest.]

1949-62 Hammond-Tooke (1962) pp. 24, 25, 78

Bhaca: hunting

p. 24

Bhaca: purpose of hunting

'Apart from the exploitation of the plant wealth of the environment, the utilization of the soil for crops and the pasturage for stock, the Bhaca, to a limited extent today but much more extensively formerly, make use of the skins and flesh of wild animals and birds. Before contact with the White man the whole country abounded in wild game and hunting was an important occupation of the young men.'

p. 25

Bhaca: hunts

'... hunting is no longer an important socio-economic activity. Boys hunt birds and hares with throwing sticks and catch small animals such as rodents in traps and, occasionally, men organize hunting parties (*iingqina*), after obtaining permission from their headman. These hunts are only arranged for sport and are no longer important economically. A long line is formed, with the dogs in front, and the men, armed with knobbed sticks (*itigweba*), walk slowly across the veld. Any animals flushed are caught by the dogs, who are trained not to eat them, and clubbed. Chief Wabana has prohibited the use of guns on these hunts and restricted the hunts themselves to every second year so that the game will have a chance to increase.'

p. 78

Bhaca: stone fall-trap

'Stone fall traps are also used, baited with the grub of the maize-stalk borer (*umnyiki*).'

1969 Quickelberge (1971) pp. 490-2

Xhosa, Thembu, Bomvana, Mpondo, Mpondomise: traps for birds

'The two most widely used traps of the more primitive type are the stone-trap and the snare made of animal hair. The latter is called *isabatha* and sometimes *isatamba* while the stone-trap is called *isigu* or *isigwe*. The *isabatha* is made from the brush hairs of a cow or a horse's mane. Usually a hank of hair about 9-10 inches long is knotted in the middle. The upper half is rolled into

a two-piece roll. The lower section is divided into sections of a few hairs each and arranged into a bundle of slipknots. The snare is placed at the entrance of the bird's nest. With the *isigu* a flat stone is propped up at an angle supported by a complex arrangement of sticks and twigs. It is so organised that when a certain part is touched the whole interlocking framework of twigs collapses causing the stone to fall and immobilize any bird under it. Birds are attracted to this spot by a bait consisting of the larvae of the maize stalk-borer. The *isigu* is arranged where birds feed and is used mainly after reaping when the maize borer becomes available. Each boy may possess 5 or 6 traps, each trapping 4 to 5 birds a day. It is safe to assume that the *isigu* would account for more birds than the *isabatha* since a bird's nest must first be found before the latter can be used, besides its use being limited to the nesting season.

Boys are occasionally seen with catapults. . . .

Larger birds such as guinea-fowl are sometimes trapped using a square structure of intertwining twigs standing about 3 feet high. The entrance has set over it a trap arrangement similar to the *isigu* and the trap is baited with a cob of mealies. On being set off the stone is said to fall down and block the entrance. This trap is called *umdiliko* (the verb *dilika* means to fall down), referring to the stone which falls when the trap is set off. It is said to be able to catch 20 guineafowl at a time, while 10 large birds a day are easily caught according to another informant.

Three reports were collected concerning the use of bird-lime. Judging from the number of birds this method is claimed to be able to catch a day, it would appear to be the most profitable of trapping media. One said 20 to 30 birds could be caught in a day while another claimed 40 a day was quite possible. Bird lime was given the name *intomfu* by the Mpondo and *indembu* by the Gcaleka. It seems rather strange that an apparently highly successful and easy means of obtaining birds should so seldom be used. Either their claims to its efficiency are exaggerated or else there may be reasons for keeping information about this method a closely guarded secret.

Another trap used only very infrequently is called the *umgibe* which is a flexible stick tied down with an intricate mechanism, easily triggered off and similar to that operating in the *isigu*. The trap has a noose about the bait and when the trap is set off the bird is caught in the noose and pulled suddenly upwards to hang suspended. . . .

Trapping methods as used by the various tribes are as follows:

Ndlambe: use *isabatha* and *isigu* mostly, also the *umdiliko*. The spring-trap is often used to trap Egyptian Geese, catching about one or two a week. The netting-wire trap for granivorous birds is also used.

Mpondo: bird-lime used and found most satisfactory. Also use *isigu* and *isabatha*. On the Ngqeleni coast the commercial rat-trap and the *isigu* is most used. The rat-trap is called *noxhaka* and one trapper said he could get two or three birds a day this way. The catapult is also used. Trapping is said to be done from June to November, when traps are set and birds are caught every

day. Again along the Ngqeleni coast fishing is said by an informant to be the most favourite pastime although boys hunt birds at some time or other. One herdboys using a home-made rat-trap made partly from springy fencing wire, claimed to get four or five birds a day. He also said this trap worked better than the old *isigu* because birds became wary of the latter. The rat-trap is covered with earth or sand only exposing the bait and thus reducing the chances of birds becoming trap-shy.

Mpondomise: use the *isigu* and the home-made and bought rat-traps. One informant claimed that the *isigu* and commercial rat-trap were equally effective. I saw home-made rat-traps in Africans' huts. These are also used for catching domestic rodents.

Thembu: the commercial rat-trap is widely used. Each boy is said to have such a trap and to trap birds every day during winter. Ten birds can be caught during a good day's trapping. Hunting and trapping birds is said to be the only pastime of the boys.

Gcaleka: use bird-lime as the most successful method of obtaining birds. They also employ the *isigu*, *isabatha*, *umgibe* and the catapult. One old man even volunteered the surprising information that he used to use arrows to kill birds.

Bomvana: only the two old traditional traps are said to be used, i.e. the *isigu* and the *isabatha*. The only catapults seen were from this area.'

TERMS

umsele 1. ditch, trench, water-furrow, drain, D. 2. gutter round base of hut, (X-Kay), general. 3. also raised skirting shelf inside walled huts, Mp Xes 469(68)

indembu mistletoe, found growing on both native and introduced trees, made into bird-lime by the boys. . . . D, general, but unknown to many individuals. This word is derived according to rule from the Bantu root *-lembu* 'viscid sticky substance, bird-lime', cf. Sotho *bolepu*, *ntepu*, Venda *vhulimbo* 470

incembu 1. edible bulb of the blue lily, from which bird-lime is prepared; bird-lime, D. 2. known to most (e.g. T Mp) only as a plant with edible bulb. This word looks like a *hlonipha* version of *indembu* 471

isiphetha 1. bow for shooting arrows, D X (Ciskei. 2. *sipeeta* 'bosjesmansbogen' (X-Lichtenstein 1811 1: 656). 3. any dry twisted cord, therefore bow-string, Xes. 4. not confirmed 472 (409)

ingqambu 1. the piece of wood on the noose of a trap for birds or game, D. 2. not confirmed 473

ubeko 1. nD. 2. thin wand or stalk lying flat on the ground amongst the bait of a trap and serving as trigger device, Mp T (from *-beka* 'place'). Others call it *inkcukumiso* 474

inkcukumiso spring of trap or snare, D (what is meant is the trigger or release device; derived from *-chukumisa* 'touch slightly, make to go off'), general 475

- irintyelo*. 1. snare, noose, loop, lasso, fishing-line, D. 2. this form or only *irintyela*, noose, loop; *hlonipha* for 'rope', X Bo 476
- intambo* thong, rope, riem, D, general, also twine 477 (242)
- isibatha* opening in game enclosure where a snare is set; fowler's snare consisting of nooses of hairs from cow's tail spread over entrance of bird's nest, D, general 478
- isaphetha* (old meaning of verb is 'bend') 1. bow for shooting arrows, D, T, but mostly not known. 2. any dry twisted cord, therefore bow-string, Xes. 3. bird snare of cow-tail noose (T-Makalima) 479 (408)
- isabatha* variant of *isibatha*, Bo X and others 480
- isigu* 1. trap, consisting of a flat stone, supported in a slanting position by an ingenious arrangement of twigs, to one of which the bait (generally *intlava* grubs from the mealie stalks) is fastened. A bird or mouse, on touching the bait, releases the supporting twigs and is killed by the falling stone, D (T-Makalima). 2. *isigwe*, Bo Mp 481
- isisinga* 1. loop or noose of a small thong with which one leg of young calves or goats is fastened; trap, snare, D, general. 2. of sinew, X. 3. thong, grass or monkey rope, Mp. 4. rope of *imizi* to catch cattle to be killed, Bo. 5. noose, in any form of trap, (T-Makalima) 482 (219, 346)
- isithambo* 1. snare laid on the ground, D. 2. not confirmed 483
- isithiyo* (-*thiya* ensnare in a loop placed in an opening or gap in fence, D.) 1. anything for ensnaring, D. 2. snare, X Mp only 484
- isiwiso* (-*wisa* cause to fall) trap, D X only 485
- umgibe* 1. a springe. A stick fastened with one end in the ground, and having a string tied to the other, the end of which is a loop fastened to the trap, keeping the stick strongly bent. At the moment an animal enters the opening of the trap, in which the loop stands, the stick rebounds, holding the animal captive, D. 2. Not confirmed, and few if any informants know this type of trap at all. 3. mostly loosely used (a) for the stone fall trap for birds and small mammals, but more especially for the bent stick thereof which holds the stone tilted up and (b) the bent stick holding up stone door of trap built like small hut, X T 486
- umgoqo* (-*goqa* shut, close, bar or lock up a kraal, etc.). 1. bar of wood; block of wood to sit on; anything heavy, large, D. 2. wattled tray, part of trap, eastern Mp. This latter meaning not confirmed elsewhere 487
- uthambo* 1. net, snare for birds, made of string, D X. 2. also fishing-net, Mp 488
- uviko* 1. pointed pole, D; pointed stick or goad (X-McLaren 1915). 2. goad, Bo 489 (353)
- isango* 1. opening or entrance to cattle-kraal; gateway, D, first meaning general. 2. loop, noose, as of slipknot; any bend on a line, general 490 (97)
- iqhina* knot for fastening; *iqhina labantu* reef knot; *iqhina lamahule* granny knot, D, general for knot as at end of string to prevent fraying, and for reef knot and *iqhina lemfene* (baboon's knot) granny knot 491

DISCUSSION

In former times and up to the early years of the last century, there was a great deal of game of all sorts in the country occupied by the Southern Nguni, and it was hunted with a vigour and wastefulness which, while possibly not the main cause, certainly helped to bring about the gradual extinction of all the larger species. The major cause was the trade in skins and ivory with the Europeans in the nineteenth century.

Although the meat of most animals was eaten, very often on the spot, and their skins, bone, horn, ivory, and sinew made into useful objects, hunting other than individual trapping has apparently always been considered primarily as a sport rather than a means of livelihood. It was a purely masculine occupation. All animals were hunted and it was considered a great distinction to be a good hunter, and particularly to kill a lion or an elephant. McDonald's suggestion that neither elephants nor lions, unless old or very troublesome, were hunted before the introduction of fire-arms is contradicted by earlier authors.

Dogs always accompanied the hunters. Some of them were specially bred for hunting, and although no special ceremony seems to have preceded a hunt, dogs were, and still are, given medicine to make them good hunters (Pl. 49: 3).

There were two major methods of hunting: actual combat with weapons, and trapping. In the first case a number of persons usually combined on an excursion, and in the second it was usually a matter for individual hunters, but there were exceptions in each case.

Hunting excursions took place mostly in autumn and winter and some chiefs declared certain stretches of country and forest closed for the rest of the year. There were short excursions which lasted only for a day, or longer expeditions, which might last for several days or weeks, when the men were accompanied by their wives and cattle. The chief frequently organized and led hunts, but anyone might do so with his permission. Boys were allowed to join in as soon as they were old enough not to tire. The animal killed belonged to the person who drew first blood, and he hung a claw from it round his arm. But he would always divide it, and certain parts of certain animals were the chief's prerogative, for example the tusks and tail of elephant, the skin of leopard, the chest of eland. According to McDonald, while there was no special ceremonial preparation for a hunt among the Xhosa, certain rules of precedence were observed, depending on social rank or fame as a hunter. For the Mpondo, however, Hunter describes certain rituals performed when the army went to hunt as a body after being treated with medicines, particularly at the ceremony of the first fruits.

The hunting party went out on foot armed with spears and clubs. According to T. B. Soga they rode oxen and later horses, but this is not confirmed except for the Hlubi. Mpondomise suggested that old men might go on horseback and wait for the beaters and dogs. They took their shields only if the quarry were lion or leopard. When game was plentiful and they came upon a herd in the open veld, the party would make a cordon round the animals and gradually

close in on them until within easy range, or till detected, when they would attack all at once. Probably the majority of the animals would get away, but quite a large number would be killed. It is reported that after such a round-up the grass was burnt in that area, so as to make it easier to find at least the iron heads of the spears that had not been recovered. Bonatz suggests that fire was used to drive game out.

The same method of surrounding the quarry was used in the case of elephants and lions, if one could be found alone, but when a noted hunter was present, the crowd remained in the background and only later came to the aid of the skilful individual who went forward to the first attack. To keep an elephant still, fires were made all around him, and the attack commenced from the rear. Smith comments on the damaged state of the spears afterwards. A lion, on the other hand, was approached from the front, and encouraged to spring by the antics of the hunter as he approached it. When it sprang, he fell down on the ground under or behind his shield, delivering a timely stab if he got the chance, and trusted to his companions in the rear to rush in and fall upon the lion. When there was no individual hero available, spears were thrown at the lion from a distance.

Another method of mass hunting, if a herd was found near a kloof, was for half the party to round it up gently into the kloof, and then increase the speed towards the other half of the party who were waiting at the narrowest part, ready to attack the animals when they came through.

Hippos, according to Barrow, were hamstrung when returning to the river, by a hunter lying in wait; according to Kay the Mpondo attacked them with 'poisoned darts'; but there is no confirmation of either of these two methods.

Small game while on the move were attacked with clubs, which were thrown from a distance with an admirable accuracy of aim up to 20 or 30 m. If not killed outright the creature was stunned and a dog or a blow at close quarters finished it off. But this was more a matter of private than of organized sport.

Trapping was the usual method employed by individuals, or when game was not so plentiful. But there was one form that was used for mass killings as well, and which, according to the early authors, took a very heavy toll indeed. That was the game pit. Pits were probably of different sizes—no dimensions were given, except that they were wide enough to take the animals intended for them, and deep enough to prevent them getting out. One or more sharpened sneezewood stakes, hardened by fire, were planted, point up, in the bottom. The pit might be placed at the end of a kloof, or in a known game path. According to Fritsch, in open country strong fences of brushwood were made, proceeding for a considerable distance in a V-shape towards the pit at the point of the V. The fences started low and increased in height towards the pit. Sometimes there was a second pair of fences on the other side of the pit. The game was gradually herded to within the confines of the kloof or the hedges, and when well inside was stampeded towards the pit, where some of the hunting

party were waiting to administer the *coup de grâce* to such as survived the fall and the smothering. Admittedly Fritsch was a careful observer, nevertheless this particular arrangement, with fences, is not mentioned by any other writer about the eastern Cape, and as Fritsch gives the fence its Tswana name (*hopo*, i.e. *gôpô*), it is possible that he had confused the localities. When not in use for an organized hunt, these pits and the smaller ones made in the game paths were covered over with a light covering of branches and grass to catch the unwary, and, as some of the early writers record bitterly, not infrequently caught human beings as well as animals. Pits were the most usual method of killing the larger game and were used for elephant, buffalo and hippo, though, according to Barrow, the latter were infrequently caught, as their cautious gait caused them to detect and avoid the pit. Körner describes a pit for leopards as a 'stone cage'.

Beutler describes a more successful way of trapping hippo which was to plant a stake pointing obliquely up the steep river bank in the path of the hippo. The hunter then lay in wait at night and when the beast came out to graze, waited till it was on the land side of the stake, and then frightened it with noise so that it turned and charged straight for the water, without caring about obstacles, and was impaled on the stake.

A similar way of trapping a leopard was to plant a spear upright under a tree, and to hang a piece of meat directly above it. The leopard would jump diagonally for the meat, and would come down straight on to the spear. (Campbell calls it a wolf, by which he may have meant hyena, since wolves did not occur. Other authors use the word 'tiger' which was commonly used for leopard at that time at the Cape, or 'panther', which does not occur here either.)

Smaller game were most commonly trapped in various snares with running nooses, such as are still used.

A common trap of this type (*isibatha* or *isithiyo*) has the end of a cord (*isisinga*) attached to a strong flexible branch or young tree stem (*umgibe*). The stem is pulled over hard by the cord and held down by a trigger (*ingqambu* or *ubeko*) attached just above the knot of the noose (*irintyelo*) at the other end of the cord. The noose is opened out and held round a circle of short sticks which offer no obstruction. The trigger is lightly caught in the arrangement, so that it is easily released by the nose or foot of an animal, at which the stem springs back and the creature is caught in the noose, probably suspended in the air by its neck or leg. This type of trap might be set in well-known animal paths through the woods, as may still be done, or very commonly a whole series might be set one at each opening of a hedged semi-enclosure, similar to the one described above for pitfalls, and 5 or 6 km² in extent, and into which the game might be driven. The latter is no longer practised.

A small variety of this type of snare, but with the cord and noose made of oxtail-hair, was and still is used by boys to catch birds, either by attaching it to a head of sorghum which serves as bait as well, or by attaching it above a bird's nest, and spreading the noose carefully over the opening so that it will

be set off as the bird enters the nest. Sometimes several nooses are so arranged. Some Xhosa, Bomvana, and Mpondo informants called this *indlwana*, small hut, a name not generally accepted.

A snare mentioned by Körner and Makalima, but not very well described by either, was similar to the above, but the trigger apparently released, instead of a noose, a heavy beam which fell and killed the animal or knocked it senseless. Körner says that this type was used at hedge openings, like the noose. The description may refer to a well-known trap (*isigu* or *uthiywa*) used particularly for birds, and which consists of a large flat stone, with one end on the ground and the other supported obliquely by an arrangement of twigs (*inkcukumiso*) that is easily released by the victim, so that the stone falls and crushes it (Pl. 49: 1-2). To make it easier, the bait, often a caterpillar, or the grub of the maize-borer, may be tied to the key twig, so that the bird's tug releases it. According to some eastern Mpondo they do not use a stone but a flat wattled tray (*umgogo*). According to Quickelberge the stone trap is considered more productive than the snare at a bird's nest, and is the most widely used of the bird traps. It is set up where birds are known to feed, and especially after the harvest when the maize-borer grub is available.

A trap in the form of a wattlework cage, and called *umdiliko* by the Xhosa, is recorded by Quickelberge. Bait was put in the cage, and a stone, when triggered, fell down and blocked the entrance. This was used for larger birds and it was said that twenty to forty could be caught in a day.

Makalima mentions the building of a wall of stones (*umthangala*) which dassies mistake for a cliff on which to sun themselves, and when they do so the wall collapses and kills them. He does not explain the mechanism, nor did our informants know it.

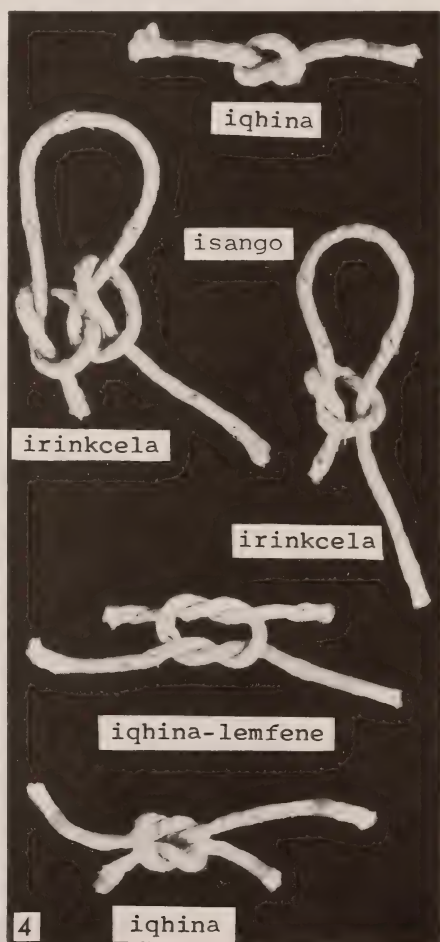
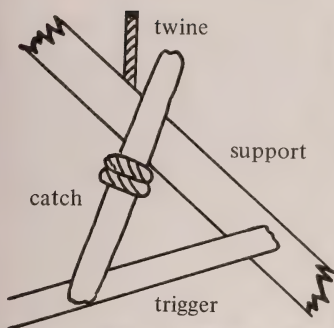
Finally there is bird-lime (*indembu*, Xho; *intomfu*, Mpo), which boys prepare from a sticky sap of a bulb or chewed mistletoe berries or boiled aloe juice, and put on branches of trees favoured by the birds, or on sticks which they hold in the air from a hide.

Nowadays the great hunting parties are a thing of the past. Knowledge of pitfalls was denied by informants, but in unopened territory near the east Pondoland coast a roads engineer fell into one in 1955. It was quite small—about

PLATE 49

Traps and knots.

1. *umgibe*, fall-trap for birds, model only, with trigger incorrectly set, Xhosa; Bojeni, Willowvale 1948.
2. *umgibe*, fall-trap for birds, model only, Fingo; Dwessa, Willowvale 1960.
3. Man with stock-whip and dogs, Mpondo; Mgwenyana, Libode 1958.
4. Knots known to the Cape Nguni: *iqhina*, overhand and reef-knot; *iqhina-lemfene* ('baboon knot'), granny knot; *irinkcela*, bowline to make either running or fast loop, *isango*, both of them unorthodox and unreliable.



0,45 m, across the top, and 0,9 to 1,2 m deep. In most places there is little other than hares or dassies left to hunt, and this is done with the aid of dogs. According to Makalima, parties still went out in the 1940s carrying long sticks (*umnqayi*) and short small ones (*izagweba*), the use of which was, he said 'a new invention'. But this did not amount to much. Bhaca are said to have organized such a drive with dogs only, for sport and only every second year. The main method of hunting nowadays is by trapping with the snares described above, or with bows and arrows when boys are hunting rodents, and, in fact, hunting for anything other than monkeys or jackals is strictly prohibited.

FISHING

SOURCES

1622 Almada (1625) pp. 17, 18
p. 17

Cape Nguni: use of fish

Cape Nguni: garths, fish traps

'... & quando chegamos ao braço do rio, que atrás digo, o achámos quasi vazio, & nelle hũa gamboa com dous còvos muyto grandes cheyos de tainhas, os quaes abrimos, & nisto deceraõ os outros companheyros como ouviraõ o estouro da espingarda, & nos carregamos deste peyxe, que em tal tempo foy hũ grande soccorro. . . .'

(p. 85 'When we reached the bank of the river aforesaid we found it almost dry, and a fishgarth with two deep trenches full of fish, which we opened. Then our comrades, who had heard the report of the gun, came down, and we loaded ourselves with this fish, which was a great relief at that time.')

p. 18

Cape Nguni: fisherman

'Indo caminhando hũs poucos de dias chegamos a hum rio, aonde da banda do Cabo num alto estava huma povoação de pescadores. . . .'

(p. 87 'After journeying a few days we came to a river, and on the side in the direction of the Cape, upon a height, there was a kraal of fishermen. . . .')

1647 Feye (1650) pp. 252, 253

'Cafres': fish for sale

p. 252 'Vindo a nõs alguns Cafres com quatro peyxes, que lhe resgatamos.'

(p. 313 'There came to us several Kaffirs with four fish which we bought from them.')

p. 253

'Cafres': brought fish

'... donde passamos a hũa ribeyra de agua, em que descançamos, havendo vista de Cafres, que chegarão á falla, & resgatárão sinco peyxes. . . .'

(p. 314 '... thence we passed on to a river of water, where we rested and saw some Kaffirs who came to speak to us and sold us five fish. . . .')

1686 'Stavenisse' (Godée Molsbergen 1922) p. 62

Xhosa: no fish

'Insgelijcx eeten sij geen visch, nog iets dat uijt de zee komt; ook geen hoenders nog eijeren, nog het ingewant van wilde varkens.'

1782 Carter p. 71

3 or 4 days east of Xhosa, ?Mambookies, ?Tshomane: fishing

'In three or four days they came to a more barren country, the natives of which appeared to be poorer than those they had hitherto met with. They had no cattle, nor any thing to subsist upon, but what they procured by fishing and hunting.'

1782 Dalrymple (1785) pp. 20, 24 (appendix)
p. 20

Tshomane: coastal fishing

Tshomane: fisherman's hut

'On the 26th [*sic*] they found a fisherman's hut on the beach, with one man only in it, where they staid till low water, and he shewed them the best place to gather muscles, after which they walked on till they came to a small river, and there slept that night.'

p. 24

Tshomane: collecting shellfish

'On the 56th they came to the mouth of a large river, on the opposite side of which they saw a woman and two children catching shell fish. They made signs for her to direct them where to cross, and she in return made signs for them to go farther up the country. . . .'

1782 Hubberly pp. 84, 89, 93
p. 84

Cape Nguni: shellfish

Tshomane: mussels, pot

'Soon after getting forwards this morning we came to a fisherman's hut. He had no cattle, but was in possession of a great many fine large mussels, of which he gave us some, and also showed us a bed of them on the rocks. . . . We at first eat [*sic*] the mussels raw, but the fisherman, observing it, gave us an earthen pot to boil them in.'

p. 89

Thembu: shellfish eaters

Nothing more.

p. 93

Xhosa: shellfish eaters

Nothing more.

1797 Barrow (1806) p. 164
Nothing more.

'Caffre': no fishing

c. 1813 Campbell (1815) p. 367

'Caffre': no fishing

'They never go a fishing, fish being reckoned unclean, as are also tame fowls, swine, etc.'

1825-9 Kay (1833) p. 125
Nothing more.

Xhosa: no fishing

(1832) Anon. p. 145

Xhosa: do not eat fish

'Fish they never eat, except some very poor kraals, who are despised on that account.'

1848 Baines (1842-53) p. 136

Xhosa: eat fish

'No one eats, drinks or smokes alone in a Kafir hut, so that all had to taste my bread as well as tobacco; and, contrary to the usual practice of their nation, they partook of the fish with evident satisfaction.'

1875-87 MacDonald (1890*b*) p. 282 South-east Africa: no fish eaten
Nothing more.

1932 Godfrey (1932*b*) p. 132 Cape tribes: fish names
Nothing more (gives twenty-six names of fish).

1932 Hunter (1936) p. 96 Mpondo: fishing
'They make no nets or traps for fish. Some now fish from the rocks with line made of a bark (*uluzi*) and trade hooks, but this is said by the older men to be a new technique learnt from Europeans. . . .

Pronged spears are used for fishing and men go in parties at night with torches of sneezewood.'

1945 Makalima chap. 7 par. 1 Xhosa: fish
'Kwa Xosa noko lento iyintlanzi asinto ibe isaziwa kudala. Ibisaziwa njengento yamaLawu, abantu ke ababeye babonakale beloba phaya ezizibeni, kwakunye nabeLungu. Kungoku esekukho abantu abayityayo ngokuyifunda kwezintlanga zixeliweyo.'

[Fish was unknown amongst the Xhosas in the olden days. It was known to the Hottentots who used to be seen fishing in the deep pools of a river, together with the Europeans. It is now that we find people who eat fish who have learnt from these races that it is eaten.]

1949-1962 Hammond-Tooke (1962) p. 25 Bhaca: fishing
'Fishing is not important and is confined to those living near the larger rivers, but generally fish are avoided as an article of diet and classified with snakes. Such fishing as is carried on is done by spearing with a harpoon made of a long wooden shaft in which a piece of sharpened wire is fixed. The fat of eels is used by herbalists for medicines.'

(1958) MacLaren p. 39 Mpondo: fish weirs
'These Port St Johns barriers are reported to be mere stick barriers in which the apertures were closed after the fish had entered (Hammond-Tooke).'

TERMS

iqeru 1. a hook, fishing hook, D. 2. not confirmed, see *iqhweru* 492

iqhweru 1. nD, but cf. *iqeru*. 2. iron fishing hook; hooked branch for pulling dry wood out of trees; probably any hook, T Mp 493

isilanda 1. needle, 4 to 6 in., eyeless, for making holes for sinew thread, removing thorns, loosening tobacco in pipe D, general. 2. (wooden) needle for making hats, Mpm Mp, or aloe thorn or iron, Mpm. 3. fish-hook bought in store, X 494 (181, 251, 376)

igoso 1. that which is crooked, bent, D. 2. fish-hook, T Mp 495

udobo (from *-loba* catch fish with line and hook) 1. fish-hook, D. 2. now obsolete and most of those who know the word are hazy as to how such a hook was made in pre-European times 496

- ulobo* (from *-loba* catch fish with line and hook) 1. angling line, D. 2. hook only ('line' being *intambo*), Bo. 3. line and hook, also rod if used, T. 4. only *udobo*, Mp 497
- umlobothi* (literally 'fishing-stick') 1. hook for fishing, D, but not confirmed and probably wrong. 2. fishing-rod, Bo Mp both at coast 498
- umnatha* 1. string figure, and net for catching fish, D. 2. not confirmed except by a few who know it as the name of one single string figure (*amambece* being the general term), and for 'net', T. 2. frog used as bait, T. 3. wire netting, X 499
- umngqungu* 1. basket made of rushes for holding tobacco, D X Bo Mp. 2. also made of *ikhwane* sedge, Mp. 3. bag for collecting fish (Beukes) 500 (974)
- uzwazwa* 1. art of making baskets, D. 2. basket of *imizi* for carrying fish, Bo Mp. 3. fishtrap, Mp 501 (179)

DISCUSSION

It is probable that most of the Cape Nguni people neither practised fishing nor ate any fish until they learnt the habit from the Hottentots or the Europeans. It is definitely stated by several early writers that fish, or according to one author all produce of the sea, were abhorrent to the Xhosa. Nevertheless, the survivors of the *St João Baptista* found 'fish garths' with two trenches, just about where they first met the dark-skinned people, and the survivors of the *Atalaya* bought fish more than once from some 'Cafres' and there is no reason to suppose that the latter knew they were coming and caught the fish specially. Over a century later the survivors of the *Grosvenor* came across some people who subsisted only on what they procured by fishing and hunting. They also passed a 'fisherman's hut' whose occupant showed them where to collect shellfish, and later on they saw a woman and two children collecting shellfish. In the two latter cases, however, shellfish only are mentioned, and though they were in Bantu territory, in no case is it definitely stated that the people were Bantu, only that they were poor.

Hlubi, Xesibe and Bhaca informants stated in 1955 that fish was not eaten, but there is definite evidence that the coastal Mpondo practise fishing and have done so for some time. The first written record is by Hunter who reported that in 1932 the coastal Mpondo used to go out for fish and crayfish at night, with spears and torches of sneezewood. J. Barker (pers. comm. 1951) stated that by 1951 they were using carbide lamps where formerly they had used sneezewood torches. Hunter described the spears as 'double-pronged', and informants at Langa drew a swallow-tail shape. In 1955, however, a Mpondo boy seen at Umtata Mouth catching crayfish for sale, was using a double-pronged instrument which he called *igefu* and which looked as modern as its name sounds (Pl. 50: 5).

Fishing hooks (*iqhweru*, *isilanda*), lines (*ulobo*, *intambo*) and rods (*umlobothi*) occur in the vocabulary and Mpondo informants also mentioned a net

(*uthambo*). Photographs as well as the vocabulary show the use of baskets for shrimping (Pl. 50: 4, Pl. 51: 1). According to Hunter the Mpondo had begun by 1932 to fish from the rocks with a bark line and trade hooks, but this was considered a new technique. She states that they did not use nets or traps. Nevertheless, one instance of a trap was described by the Mpondo at Mbotyi Mouth, eastern Pondoland, in 1948. It was not seen but appeared to be a conical basket trap, placed in position on the shore, presumably at low tide, with a guiding fence on each side of the mouth of the basket. Furthermore, old residents remember seeing 'fish kraals' at the mouths of estuaries and creeks along the Pondoland coast. These are described as fences of stakes across a mud-flat, with most of the spaces filled in with leafy branches but some left open for the fish in the incoming tide, and later blocked with branches to prevent the fish escaping. This is said to be done only surreptitiously now, because it is illegal.

Latterly some others of the Cape Nguni have taken to catching and eating fish (Pl. 50: 3), particularly catfish. Along the coast it is quite common, though rare inland, but those who do eat fish are said to be ridiculed. Hooked lines, with or without rods, are used, but the only instance reported of the use of nets was on the Bomvanaland coast, where nets of European make were said to be used by the Bomvana.

Judging by the early records, the eating of shellfish has, on the other hand, a long tradition, and Bigalke (1973) has shown that at the present time shellfish forms an important part of the diet of Xhosa, Bomvana and Mpondo who live along the coast. Collecting is done almost exclusively by women, partly by hand and partly with the aid of an iron bar (*ulugxa*), usually a converted motor-car spring (Pl. 50: 2). A cane knife is also used. Large amounts of shellfish are carried home and boiled before being eaten.

Despite the general early avoidance of fish as a food, and the evidence from the vocabulary that words now used for fishing appliances have been adapted to that use, Godfrey quotes twenty-six Xhosa names of fish species.

PLATE 50

Collecting shellfish and fishing.

1. Fingo woman groping for crawfish amongst surf-washed rocks, near Dwessa, Willowvale 1960.
2. Fingo woman collecting mussels on rocks at low tide, using crowbar made of motor-car spring, Willowvale 1960.
3. Fingo boy sea-angling from the rocks with rod, line and European-made hook, Willowvale 1960.
4. *uzaza*, shrimping-basket, Mpondo; Port St Johns, c. 1936 (photo Mrs F. Clarke).
5. Mpondo youth with crawfish, *ikolofishi*, caught amongst the rocks with a home-made *igefe*, gaff, Umtata Mouth 1955.



COLLECTING FOOD

SOURCES

1797 Barrow (1806) p. 171

Xhosa: use of wild plants

'The *Zamia cicadis*, a species of palm, grows wild in almost every part of the country, and is sometimes used, as a substitute for millet, to mix with milk as a kind of furmety. Preparatory for this purpose the pith of the thick stem is buried in the ground for a month or five weeks, till it becomes soft and short, so as easily to be reduced to a pulpy consistence. They eat also the roots of the *Iris edulis*, and several kinds of wild berries and leguminous plants.'

1945 Makalima chap. 6 par. 40, chap. 8 pars 11-19

Thembu: honey, wild plants

chap. 6 par. 40

Thembu: honey

'Ayeko amacule okusinga inyosi kudala, njengokuba nanamhlanje eseko. Indoda ungafika imi ngasemaweni nasehlatini isingile kanti ibone inyosi yoti ke ngokuzijonga izibone apo ziyakungena kona. . . .'

[There were people long ago, who were experts in watching bees. You would find a man standing by the cliffs and in the forest watching. He would be one who had seen a bee or bees, watching to see where they went in. If he found honey he would then take it out. . . .]

chap. 8, pars 11-18

Thembu: wild plants

(Gives a list of wild plants and their uses.)

par. 11

' . . . zonke ezinto bezityiwa kakulu kudala, zaye izizinto ezinempilo. . . .'

[. . . all these were eaten very much in the olden times, and they were very healthy. . . .]

par. 19

Thembu: collecting

'Ezizinto ikakulu zifundwa apa kubafazi, kuba kaloku ngabo abantu abahamba emahlatini kakulu.'

[These things are learnt especially from women because it is they who go about the forests a great deal.]

DISCUSSION

There are many wild foods, roots, berries, etc. which are known to women, and collected as an addition to the diet particularly in times of famine or bad seasons, but there are no special utensils, other than a basket, needed to collect them, and a digging-stick for digging edible roots.

Similarly some people know how to follow bees and take the honey, but they do not build hives or try in any way to control the bees.

HOUSEHOLD

SOURCES

1593 Lavanha (1597) p. 235 South of Umtata R.: beds

'Dormen entre pelles de animaes, no chaõ em huma cova estreita, de seis e sete palmos de comprido, e de hum e dous de alto.'

(p. 294 'They sleep in skins of animals, in a narrow pit in the ground, six or seven palms in length and about two deep.')

1788 Von Winkelman (1788-9) pp. 76, 84 Xhosa: mats
p. 76

'Diese Schlafmatten haben eigentlich die Gestalt, die ein langes Oval beinahe giebt, wenn an einem Ende mehr als am andern abgeschnitten wird. Mit ihren Fellen decken sie sich zu. Sie liegen auch wohl auf blosser Erde, und es ist darum auch kein festes Gesez dass alle auf solchen Matten schlaffen.'

p. 84

'*Geschiklichkeit der Kaffern*. Ihre Matten und Körbgen—their Assogais, Ohren und Armringe und dergleichen tragen in ihrer Art das Gepräge vieler Geschiklichkeit. Frauen und Mädchen verfertigen gewöhnlich die Matten und Körbchen, die ihre vorzüglichen Hausgeräthe sind. Die erstern bestehen aus dicht neben einander gelegten langen feinen Binsen. Eine dickere Art derselben wird im Lande Mattjesgut genennt. Die Binsen werden denn entweder mittelst feiner Sehnen oder auch wieder mit Binsen oder zerschliztem Mattjesgut an einander befestigt. Die Länge und Breite, richtet sich gewöhnlich nach der Länge und Stärke des Eigenthümers. Ihre Figur ist bereits bekannt. Oft fehlt diesen Matten nichts mehr, als die Mahlerei, um sie für Chinesische, deren man sich gewöhnlich zu Jalousien innerhalb der Fenster bedient, geltend zu machen. Sie verfertigen aber auch gleich den Hottentotten, gröbere Arten derselben.'

1802-6 Alberti (1810) p. 49 Xhosa: mat
Nothing more.

c. 1813 Campbell (1815) p. 369 Xhosa: stools

'Instead of chairs, they sit upon the skulls of their oxen, with the horns still united to them.'

1824 Ross p. 213 Fetcani: stools

'They have wooden seats in their houses.'

c. 1824-5 Smith pp. 87, 304, 357-358 'Kaffir': household utensils, mats
pp. 87, 305

Nothing more.

pp. 357-358 'Kaffir': light from fire

'They have no way of getting light except a fire.'

1815-37 Shaw (1840) p. 60

Xhosa: stools

Nothing more.

1815-29 Kay (1833) p. 147

Xhosa: mats

'Their mats are of two kinds, coarse and fine. In the former there is no display either of attention or art, as they are made merely to serve the most common purposes; but in the workmanship of the latter, both industry and genius are manifest. The *utyani* (rushes) of which they are composed consist of the very finest that can be found. These are neatly stitched together with thread, made from the bark of trees, and in such a manner as to give a closeness and regularity to the texture of the whole piece; so that, when well finished, they very nearly resemble many of the Indian mats. One of these, spread on the floor, forms the very best bed that Caffraria affords, and the only one used by the wealthiest and most powerful of its chiefs. Being but a single rush thick, it of course constitutes no easier couch than the ground itself; hence the weary traveller is but ill able to obtain that rest upon it which his exhausted strength and aching limbs require. The Kaffer and his consort, having arisen from their slumbers in the morning, carefully roll it up, and put it away till wanted again. It is sometimes used as a seat also; but to scatter any particle of food upon it, is accounted a great breach of decorum.'

1820-56 Shaw (1860) p. 510

Mpondo: headrest

'The kraal belonged to one of Faku's petty Chiefs, and, for a Kaffir, we found him unusually loquacious and communicative. He treated us with kindness; and it was here that, for the first time in my travels in Kaffraria, I was provided at night with a pillow to rest my head upon, while sleeping in the hut. My saddle usually served for this purpose; but on this occasion, before I lay down to rest, a native brought into the hut and placed before me a wooden article, the use of which I could not imagine; on inquiry, however, I found it was intended for my pillow! It consisted of part of a small branch of a tree, so cut off that certain projecting branches formed legs about four or five inches long: these, being set on the ground, supported the main branch, on which the sleeper was able to place his head or neck, or whatever he might find most convenient and comfortable for his repose. The supporting branches or legs were sufficiently apart to render the contrivance steady; and the connecting branch or pillow was cut about fourteen inches long. It might have made a rude sort of stool, if the seat had been broader; but it was only about three inches wide, and had been simply chopped flat and smoothed with a hatchet. As a matter of curiosity, I essayed to sleep with my head on this singular contrivance; but, although very much fatigued, I found it hindered my rest, and I was glad to substitute my saddle, which, when properly adjusted, does not make a very uneasy pillow for a weary man. I suspect no one can sleep comfortably with his head on an Amampondo pillow, unless he wears his hair very long, and has it curled up and dressed, like the Amampondo. . . .'

1836–44 Döhne (1844) pp. 29, 41, 42

Xhosa: mats, baskets

p. 29

Xhosa: mats

‘Ihr Kleid dient ihnen zugleich zur Decke auf ihrem Nachtlager, das aus Matten von einfachen Binsen besteht, die sie am Boden um das Feuer herumlegen. . . .’

pp. 41–42

Xhosa: storage baskets

‘Eine andere Arbeit der Frauen ist das Korbmachen. . . . Der grösste ist der *Itala*, welcher ungefähr 2 Scheffel fasst; dann folgen die *Amaqindiva*, die zum Aufbewahren ihrer Kleinigkeiten gebraucht werden und etwa 2 Eimer enthalten. . . .’

p. 42

Xhosa: mats

‘Die übrigen Matten sind von keiner Bedeutung; die Binsen werden bloss an einander gereiht und entweder eingeflochten oder mit einem dünnen Seile durchzogen.’

(1853) Fleming p. 108

Cape tribes: mats

Nothing more.

(1853) Kretzschmar p. 239

Xhosa: mats

‘Von der gigantischen Binse, die in Afrika zur Höhe von 10–15 Fuss wächst, fertigen sie grosse starke Matten, mit denen sie ihre Hütten auslegen, und auf diese Weise ihren Wohnungen ein ausserordentlich reinliches Aussehen geben. Wenn der Kaffer auf der Reise ist, führt er ein Paar solcher Matten immer mit sich, auf einen Tragochsen geladen; die eine breitet er auf den Grund, um darauf reinlich zu sitzen, die andere spannt er gegen die Windseite.’

(1853) Merriman p. 32

Xhosa: stool

‘The furniture placed in the hut for me, besides the food and the fire which was lighted, consisted of the skull of an ox, which being turned up, provided a seat for several of my visitors in succession; a semi-circular kaffir mat and two planks.’

(1858) Maclean p. 162

Xhosa: mat

‘. . . the Frontier tribes have extended the practice of burial to all. . . . A rude grave is accordingly dug at a short distance from the former habitation of the deceased; the body, wrapped in a mat, is laid in it. . . .’

1863–6 Fritsch (1872) p. 67 fig.

‘Kaffir’: stool

1845–89 Kropf (1889) p. 106

Xhosa: mats, headrest, cover

‘Das Unterbett besteht aus einer Binsenmatte trotz des harten Fussbodens, sein Deckbett ist der Umhang, den er am Tage getragen hat, sein Kopfkissen ein Stück Holz.’

1872 Weitz (1873) p. 184

Hlubi: headrest

‘. . . with one hand he simply picked up the crooked piece of wood which served him as a pillow. . . .’

(1881) Nauhaus p. 344

‘Kaffir’: storage baskets

‘In derselben Arbeit macht man Schnupftabacksdosen. . . . Auch grössere Truhen werden so gearbeitet, bis zur Grösse von 3 Fuss lang und 20 Zoll breit. Doch ist bei solchen Truhen der Stich nicht so eng, so dass der Grasstrang Stich vor Stich durchschimmert.’

(1887) Matthiae p. 11

Xhosa: mat

Nothing more (paraphrase of Kretzschmar).

1883–88 Bachmann (1901) p. 164

Mpondo: mats

‘Die Matten in der Hütte sind etwa $4\frac{1}{2}$ Fuss breit und nicht aus Palmblättern, sondern aus einer Art Schilf gemacht. Als Bindfaden dient allgemein ein gedrehter Baumbast.’

(1915) Kropf p. 406

Cape tribes: torches

‘*umthathi* sneezewood. . . . Splinters were used to give light before candles and lamps were known.’

(1919) McLaren p. 446

Xhosa: brooms

‘Brooms, *imi-nyani*, were made of the threshed head of Kaffircorn, *um-nyani*, or of the male flower of maize, *in-tshatshoba*, or of the bushy *u-nwele* (*Cliffortia strobilifera*), which grows luxuriantly alongside every stream in the lower and middle parts of the country, or of the broom-bush, *i-bosisi* or *i-ratsha*, of the higher plateau.’

(1919) Aitchison pp. 674–675

Cape tribes: skin mat

‘During the feast a goat was slain as an offering to the ancestral spirits (*amatongo*), and the skin of the slaughtered animal was prepared as follows: On the day after the feast, the integument was smeared over with red clay, and after being pegged out to dry was carefully rubbed over with a smooth stone (*imbogodo*). When ready the hide was used as a sleeping mat for the baby.’

(1926a) Müller pp. 22, 41

Hlubi: mats

p. 22

Hlubi: use

Nothing more.

p. 41

Hlubi: description of mats

‘Mehr in das Gebiet der kaffrischen Industrie, weil in vielen Exemplaren hergestellt, fällt das Flechten der Matten und Körbe, die sie im Haushalt gebrauchen. Da sind zuerst die Matten, auf denen geschlafen wird, oder Matten, die als eine Art Windschutz am Eingang der Hütten aufgestellt werden. Sie werden aus einem ziemlich langhalmigen Gras, drei- oder viermal in der Länge mit Bindfaden durchflochten, angefertigt. Manchmal wissen sie durchbrochene Muster am Rande solcher Matten anzubringen. Wir kauften sie zu 6 sh. das Stück für die Kirche, wo dann die Täuflinge darauf knien, oder als Bodenbelag in unser Besuchshaus. Sie sind manchmal 5 bis 6 Fuss breit und 10 Fuss lang oder noch länger und werden, wenn nicht gebraucht, im Kafferhaus aufgerollt an die Wand gelehnt.’

(1932) Soga p. 407

Xhosa: stool, headrest

'Almost every family, though not possessing a single stool, had one *head-rest* or pillow at least. Though much simpler in construction than the ancient Egyptian pillow this article follows the general character of the latter. The simplest form to be seen is the bent branch of a tree with a concave side to support the back of the head uppermost, and three or four of the smaller lateral branches cut short to form legs for the pillow.'

1932 Hunter (1936) pp. 17, 96

Mpondo: mats, headrests, torches

p. 17

Mpondo: mats, headrests

'Piled up against the wall on the left side of the door as you enter (the women's side) are . . . a wooden pillow, a roll of sleeping mats . . . on the right (the men's side) . . . the men's sleeping mats and wooden pillows. . . '

p. 96

Mpondo: torches

'Pronged spears are used for fishing and men go in parties at night with torches of sneezewood.'

(1937) Soga p. 114

Xhosa: skin as mat

'Ubone sel' eselugageni ebupakatini paya emva kokusenga. . . '

[You will see him now sitting on the dry skin (*ugaga*) with the councillors after the milking. . . .]

(1939) Duggan-Cronin pp. 25, 28

Xhosa: skin mat

p. 25

'The chief, in his leopard-skin kaross, sat on a rug of dried oxhide, surrounded by his councillors.'

p. 28

Xhosa: reed mat

Nothing more.

1944 Brownlee p. 24

Xhosa: mat

Nothing more.

1945 Makalima chap. 9 par. 14

Fingo, Thembu, Mpondomise: stools

'*Izitulo* bezisenziwe ngemiti yehlati—kwenziwe nje imiqonga kusuke kuhlaliwe kuyo.'

[Stools were made of trees from the forest, these were made into blocks for people to sit on.]

1949-60 Hammond-Tooke (1962) p. 28

Bhaca: household utensils

'Household utensils include grass sleeping-mats (*iticamba*), grass plates (*itithsebe*), brooms, baskets (*oonyaki*), clay pots of various sizes, woven beer-strainers (*iivovo*, *iintluto*), calabashes (*itshalo*) and spoons.'

1971 Gitywa pp. 109-110

Xhosa: use of mats

'Traditionally, uncircumcised males, *amakhwenkwe*, had no mats nor

were they expected to sleep on them since they were dogs, *izinja*, who could sleep anywhere. It is only on being circumcised that the youth are introduced to the use of mats. They are caused to sit on new, unused mats at the *ukuyala* custom which takes place at the end of their seclusion. It should also be noted that sleeping mats were buried with the owner, especially in the case of the death of the kraalhead, before the use of coffins. Today, though to a much lesser degree than before, mats are used to screen off a corpse in a hut before the burial. For this reason it is regarded as a bad omen to put an unrolled mat on end against a wall when airing it; it should be spread flat on the ground for this purpose. Bed sheets are now increasingly used for screening corpses.'

TERMS

- iqindiva* 1. basket for keeping small things, D. 2. not known thus, but only as something dense, tightly woven, coiled tight and hard, general **502**
- ingcambane* (cf. *isicamba*) veil of rushes or palm leaves worn by an *umkhwetha* while dancing, D X **503** (739)
- isigcobo* 1. roughly made doormat; roughly made basket in which the crane plumes are kept, D. 2. small mat, doormat, mother and baby's mat, mat for sitting on, tobacco-sweating mat, mat in which tobacco is rolled up, tied at each end and stored, in short, any roughly made mat not for sleeping on, general **504** (522, 966)
- iqonga* elevated place for storing fruit, corn, etc.; store, shelf, D, general, for various purposes, as rack for sticks, firewood, platform on poles, built in fields, for crop-watchers; rough bedstead of sticks made and used by healed *abakhwetha* (Bo-Cook) **505** (86, 109, 323, 1025)
- ixamba* 1. bag made of rushes, as a sugar bag, D. 2. for tobacco or sprouted maize, Bo Mp Bh **506** (973)
- umkhoba* 1. bastard yellowwood, *Podocarpus elongata*, D. 2. figuratively a coffin, D. 3. European barrel, Bo. 4. large barrel, or open vat, European type, for beer. Bought at stores, general **507**
- umphongolo* less usual for *umphongolo*, but found in many areas widely separated **508** (403)
- umphongolo* 1. quiver for arrows or lances; (figuratively) cask, box, case, chest, barrel, D. 2. manger or trough, Mp T. 3. milk-pail, Mp Xes **509** (444, 532)
- isitshayelo* broom, brush, D X Bo **510**
- umtshayelo* broom, brush, D Mpm T Hlu Bo Xes Bh **511**
- umnyani* 1. bushy ear of Kafircorn after the corn is threshed out, or the male flower of maize, used for sweeping; hence any shrub used as a broom, D. 2. not known for maize, nor as broom, T. 3. broom, Bo **512**
- isibhuku* 1. nD. 2. log, also for sitting on; thick branch with stumps of twigs left on it to serve as legs and used as seat, Mp. 3. stool, Bh. 4. log; short stout fellow, Bo **513**

isichopho 1. seat, D (from *-chopha* 'perch'). 2. seat of clay, built on to inner wall inside hut left of entrance, general except Bh. 3. also outside hut, and called *isiqobo*, Mpm. 4. any wooden block or similar object to sit on, Xes Mp **514**

isitulo (Afrikaans stoel) stool, chair, D, general **515**

umqamelo block of wood or small stool for head when sleeping, D, general **516**

umqonga 1. nD. 2. block used as headrest, X Mp Xes **517**

imbeka (from *-beka* 'put') 1. small square of light skin which covers a woman's breast when at work or at home, D T (Kay). 2. *hlonipha* for *incebetha* breastcloth, X. 3. mat for a child, X Bo rare **518** (673)

intungele 1. coarse kind of mat plaited from rushes, D. 2. not confirmed **519**

isicamba 1. nD. 2. small mat, small sleeping-mat for children, X. 3. large mat, Xes Bh, but some Bh say it is not Bh. 4. large mat; small sleeping-mat; sleeping-mat, Mp **520**

isicangca 1. old ragged sleeping-mat, D. 2. just a sleeping-mat, X. 3. small mat for child or for sitting on, Bo. 4. large mat, Xes. 5. fairly large mat for sitting on and for sleeping babies, Mp **521**

isigcobo 1. roughly made doormat; roughly made basket in which the crane plumes are kept, D. 2. small mat, doormat, mother and baby's mat, mat for sitting on, tobacco sweating-mat, mat in which tobacco is rolled up, tied at each end and stored, in short, any roughly made mat not for sleeping on, general **522** (504, 966)

isihlalo 1. anything for sitting on; seat, stool, chair, bench, D, general. 2. small mat, Xes **523**

iqhaga 1. any small box or case carried on the person, hence snuff-box, D. 2. any small container, as box, tin, calabash, snuff-box; nowadays also padlock and calabash penis cover, general. 3. *iqhaga lamanyama* if made of hide scrapings (T-Makalima, Mp-UCT, Mp-Poto Ndamase) **524** (952, 992)

ugaga dried skin, D X **525**

umkhanzi 1. Cape bulrush, *Typha latifolia* of which rough mats are made, D. 2. *mkaansi*, bed (X-Lichtenstein 1811 1: 654). 3. *mkaénzi*, bed (X-Van der Kemp) **526**

ukhuko 1. sleeping-mat, D, general except Xes Bh. 2. Mp and Xes pron. this *ukhukho* **527**

umahambehlala 1. nD. 2. sleeping-mat (Hlu-FH). 3. used by woman nursing baby, Mp. 4. mat to sit on, of newly married woman (up to say 6 months), taken around with her from hut to hut, X **528**

umphetho edge of mat, edge of garment; roll of matting, D, general, but mostly hem of garment (from *-phetha* 'bind border, hem') **529**

umthathi sneezewood, *Ptaeroxylon utile*, splinters were used to give light before candles and lamps were known, D **530** (160)

umkhumbi, *umkhombe* 1. wooden trough, hollowed out longitudinally on the upper side of a log of wood, used for various purposes; manger; canoe, boat,

ship, D X Mp and others. 2. obsolete since beginning of nineteenth century in sense of 'boat, ship', X. 3. not confirmed now **531** (335, 1101)
umphongolo 1. quiver for arrows or lances; figuratively cask, box, case, chest, barrel, D. 2. manger or trough, Mp T. 3. milk-pail, Mp Xes **532** (444, 509)
ithala shelf or loft for storing provisions, D, general. Such shelf may be groove in wall plaster, or wicker-work attached to it, or wicker door on poles, also in lands. Anything of this kind may be used as a stretcher or bier and would then be called by this term, but *ithala* does not mean 'stretcher, bier' **533** (87, 1095)

DISCUSSION

The household goods of the Cape Nguni, apart from those utensils used in the preparation of food, were, and always had been, few and simple. They attracted on the whole very little attention from the early writers, though some were listed. Latterly modern furniture and utensils have gradually taken the place of the traditional articles to which the following description refers.

STORAGE UTENSILS

It would appear from the vocabulary and from Nauhaus's note, which is admittedly fairly late, that in former days such small belongings as needed to be stored out of the dust and smoke of the hut were kept either in wooden chests hollowed out of a log, or in large, presumably oval or rectangular, coiled baskets, or in softly woven basket bags. It must be admitted that the two former, of which no illustrations or specimens survive, do not sound very typical of Cape Nguni culture, and there is really no evidence to show that they were indigenous to it and not adapted from European ideas during the last century. At all events, their place has now been taken by the ubiquitous tin trunk.

It is possible that the basket called *isigcobo* in which the crane plumes were said to have been stored, may in reality have been a rough mat (the other meaning of the term) in which the plumes were rolled.

The softly woven bag (*ixamba*) (Pl. 51: 2), however, was still in normal use at the time of this investigation, despite the availability of sugar and grain bags, but was used particularly for storing home-grown tobacco.

According to Döhne, the Xhosa made a large coiled-sewn basket (*ithala*) that held two bushels, and a smaller one (*iqindiva*) that held two buckets, but

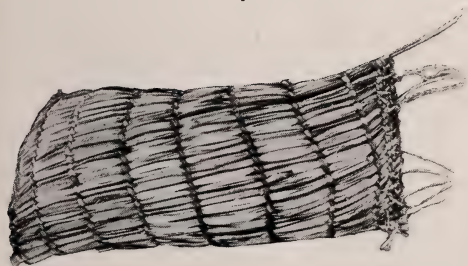
PLATE 51

Basketwork utensils.

1. *uzaza*, shrimping-basket, depth 413 mm, Mpondo; Libode 1939 (SAM-6057).
2. *ixamba*, tobacco bag, 400 mm, Mpondo; Luqhoqhweni, Lusikisiki 1948.
3. *umnqungu*, fish-collecting basket, 1 120 mm, Bomvana; Elliotdale 1935 (TM 35/450).
4. 'Basket for storing milk', diameter 480 mm. Gonaqua Hottentot; no date but probably before 1800 (State Ethnographic Museum, Stockholm, RM626).



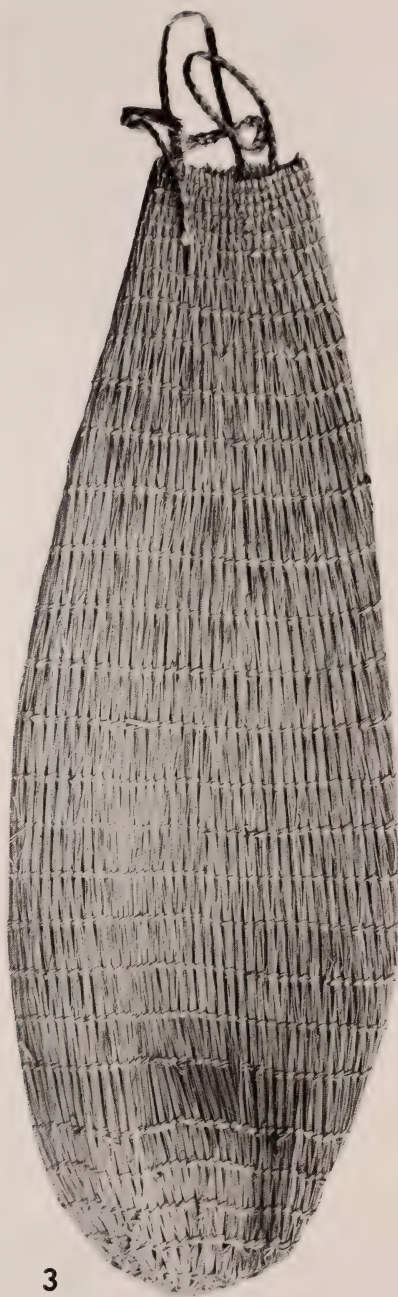
1



2



4



3

neither is known today. According to the dictionary *ithala* is a shelf for provisions (see term 533).

BROOMS

The most common type of broom (*isitshayelo*, *umtshayelo*) (Pl. 52: 1-4, 6, 7) is of besom shape, made of a bundle of coarse grass stems, up to about 60 cm long, bound together firmly for 10 cm or more at one end to form a grip, and having no handle. Quite often the binding strands are woven in and out with the strands of the broom, generally in a chequer weave, and sometimes they are of a darker material, e.g. ox tail-hair, so as to form a pattern and give a decorative finish.

A rougher type of broom (*umnyani*) is made of a similar bundle of fine-twigged shrubs (e.g. *umvele*, *Cliffortia strobilifera*), or sorghum stems after threshing, or, according to the dictionary, of the male flower of maize, which does not sound very practical.

In Pondoland a broom is sometimes made of a palm stem which has been pounded for about 20 to 30 cm at the bottom to release the fibres, leaving the rest of the stem to form the handle (Pl. 52: 5). This would seem to be an influence from Natal.

A long-handled broom, consisting of a tuft of fibres, such as *umnyani*, tied to a stick, may originally have been copied from Europeans, but has been in use in some areas probably for at least a century. It is not, however, the most common type anywhere and does not seem to be known in the east.

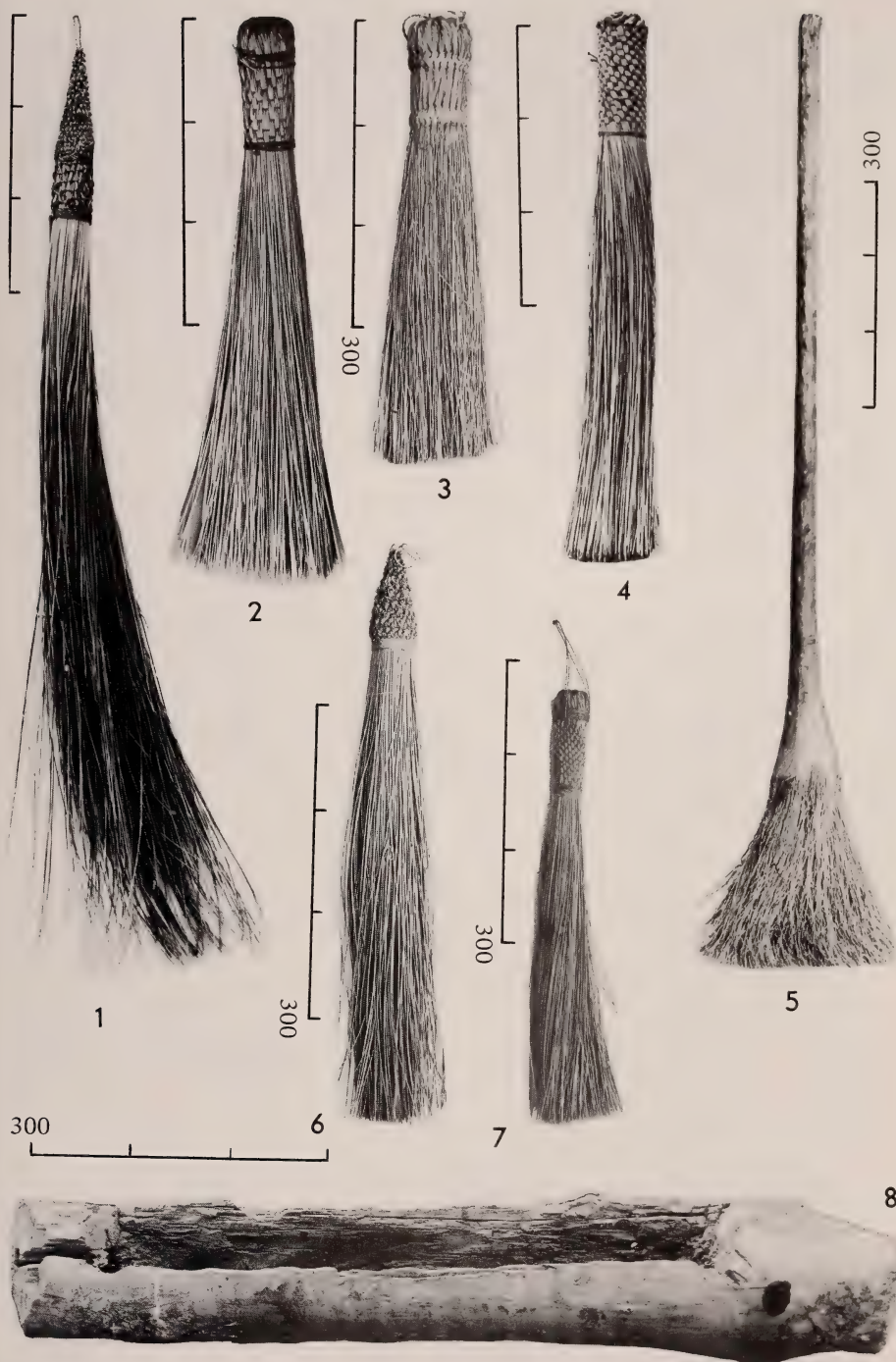
STOOLS AND HEADRESTS

Few of the early authorities had anything to say on this subject, and it seems doubtful whether the Cape Nguni had regular carved stools such as are found in other parts of the country. Fritsch figures one among '*Kaffergehäuschaften*', but it seems unlikely that this really was Cape Nguni. It looks more the Sotho type, but might have been of the Fetcani, as mentioned by Ross. Carved wooden stools were, however, seen in west Pondoland in 1958 and 1969 (Pl. 53: 3, 8) but they are not common. Ordinarily a short block of wood seems

PLATE 52

Brooms and trough.

1. *umtshayelo*, 982 mm, Mpondomise; Tsolo 1940 (SAM-6120).
2. *umtshayelo*, 558 mm, Xesibe; Mt Ayliff 1944 (EL 989).
3. *umtshayelo*, 444 mm, Thembu; Mqanduli 1935 (TM 35/322).
4. *umtshayelo*, 584 mm, Mpondo; Umvume Springs, Port St Johns 1939 (SAM-6061).
5. *umtshayelo*, 1 280 mm, Mpondo; Umtata, according to museum record, no date (PEM 592).
6. *umtshayelo*, 562 mm, Fingo; Stokwe's Basin, Cala 1935 (TM 35/475).
7. *umtshayelo*, 460 mm, Mpondomise; Tsolo 1935 (SAM-5508).
8. *umkhombe*, 890 mm, Xhosa; Bojeni, Willowvale 1948.



to have done duty for a stool, if one was considered necessary, and is still so used today. The only other type of seating described, by three independent authors over a period of 50 years, is the skull of an ox with the horns left on.

The seat (*isichopho*) which practically throughout the area is built into the hut wall to the left of the entrance, mostly inside but sometimes out, must be a development as new as the plaster walls. The word is taken from *ukuchopha*, to sit or perch, and therefore means something to sit on.

The characteristic type of headrest, until 1948 still to be seen in Pondoland and Griqualand East, is cut from a branch about 6 cm in diameter with three side branches, about 15 cm long, left on as legs (Pl. 53: 5, 7). The head-piece is about 45 cm long. According to Soga, this type of headrest was once prevalent throughout the area, but it was not seen in 1948, or subsequently, in the western Transkei, where the only headrest seen was a block of wood (Pl. 53: 1-2). Moreover, Shaw states specifically that he was offered a headrest for the first time when he reached Pondoland. Rightly or wrongly he relates it to the elaborate hair-style. The only Hlubi headrest seen was similar to the Natal type (Pl. 53: 6).

MATS

The fine fabric of the Cape Nguni mats has evoked comment from the times of the earliest travellers. Von Winkelman's description (see Shaw & Van Warmelo 1974: 150) holds good today, for the technique of mat-making has not changed.

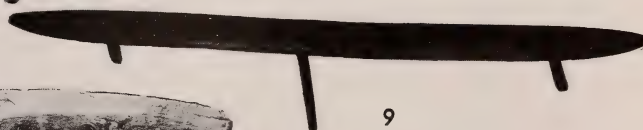
The most important mat is *ukhuko* (Xes. Bh. *isicamba*) (Pl. 54: 1-3, Pl. 55: 1-2) the sleeping-mat proper, which is also used for sitting on, or as a shroud for burial, or hung up to form a screen for various purposes. Nowadays, and in most of the early descriptions, the mat is a plain rectangle, but Von Winkelman describes it as 'like a long oval with more cut off at one end than the other'.

Müller states that the Hlubi make them up to 300 cm long by 150 to 180 cm wide, but this is unusual. Judging by specimens seen and measured, about

PLATE 53

Headrests and stools.

1. *umqamelo* c. 500 mm, Bomvana; Nkanya, Elliotdale 1948.
2. *umqamelo* demonstrated in use, Bomvana; Nkanya, Elliotdale 1948.
3. Stool, 310 mm, diameter 240 mm, Mpondo; Mbobeleni, Libode 1958.
4. *umqonga*, 570 mm, Xesibe; Elubaleko, Mt Ayliff 1948.
5. *umqonga*, 465 mm, Xesibe; Mt Ayliff 1944 (EL 1006).
6. *umgqiki*, 514 mm, Hlubi; Mt Fletcher 1942 (FH 116).
7. *umqonga*, 610 mm, Mpondo 1942 (Alb. C 1306).
8. *isigobo*, diameter 220 mm, of kraal-head and carved by himself; he was also a spoon-carver; Mpondo; Mgwenyana, Libode 1958.
9. *umqonga*, 930 mm, Mpondo; Imizizi, Bizana 1935 (TM 35/545).
10. *umqonga*, 500 mm, Mpondo; Mgwenyana, Libode 1958.



120 by 180 cm is the common size. Mats of the same quality are made in smaller sizes as well and, as the vocabulary shows, have different names for different sizes and purposes.

The mats are made from sedge stems (*imizi*, etc.) laid side by side horizontally, and joined together at intervals either by twining or by sewing through. The latter is the Hottentot style and may have been adopted; on the other hand it is also common in Natal. It is not as common in the Cape as is the former style. Some eastern Mpondo use it—mostly those connected with Natal where it is common. Thembu and Fingo said they did not use it. The weft or the sewing strand may be twisted bark, a two-ply sinew or sisal fibre thread, or even shredded sedge stem. The twining technique allows considerable scope for decoration either in grouping, or twisting the warps in between, though this latter is not often seen in the Cape. There is often a slight pattern or plain strengthening down the edges.

The sleeping-mats are laid on the floor of the hut at night, rolled up in the morning and stored against the side of the hut. According to some Fingo informants in 1951, they then slept on mattresses placed on top of the mats.

Bed coverings were the skin cloaks worn by day. The people described by the survivors of the *S. Alberto* as sleeping between skins, in a hollow in the ground, must have had Hottentot connections. Latterly blankets used as cloaks reverted at night to being blankets. Kretzschmar's statement that the huts were spread with mats is certainly not true of the Cape now, and it is doubtful whether it ever was.

There is another coarse type of mat (*isigcobo*) (Pl. 55: 3–4) made of coarser stems in twined technique and almost always having bark wefts. It is used variously for babies, children, mothers and babies, general rough use, and particularly for wrapping tobacco in for it to sweat. The tobacco is made into a long roll and the mat is wrapped round it and tied at the ends.

In addition to woven mats, dried untanned ox-hides were used for chiefs and important people to sit on. A baby slept on the soft, tanned skin of the goat that was sacrificed for it at its birth and in which it was formerly, and still is occasionally, carried on its mother's back.

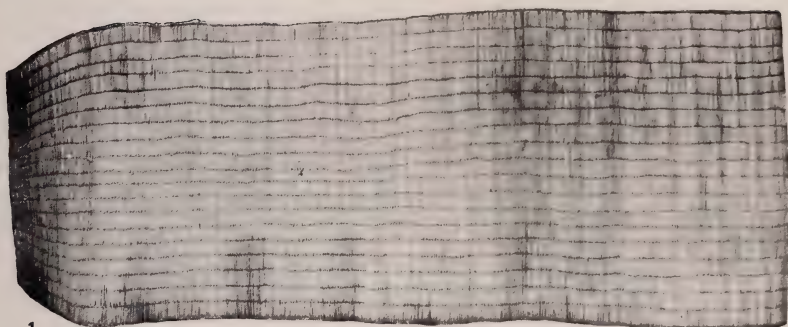
TORCHES

In the huts at night the fire was always the source of light. Traditionally torches of sneezewood (*Ptaeroxylon obliquum*) were used, especially by night

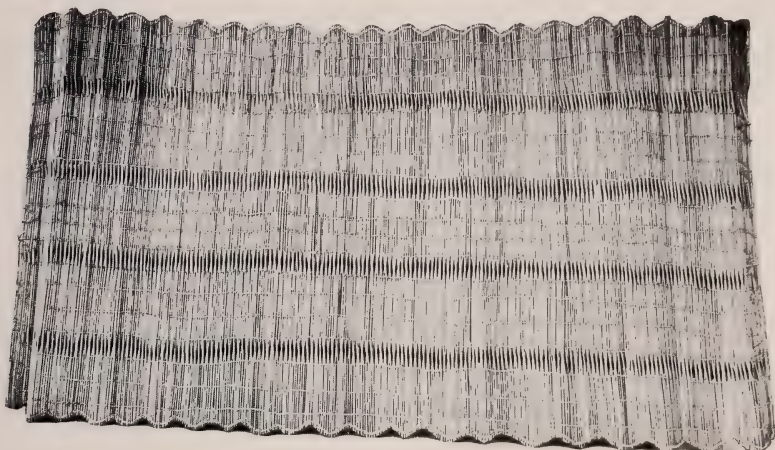
PLATE 54

Sleeping-mats.

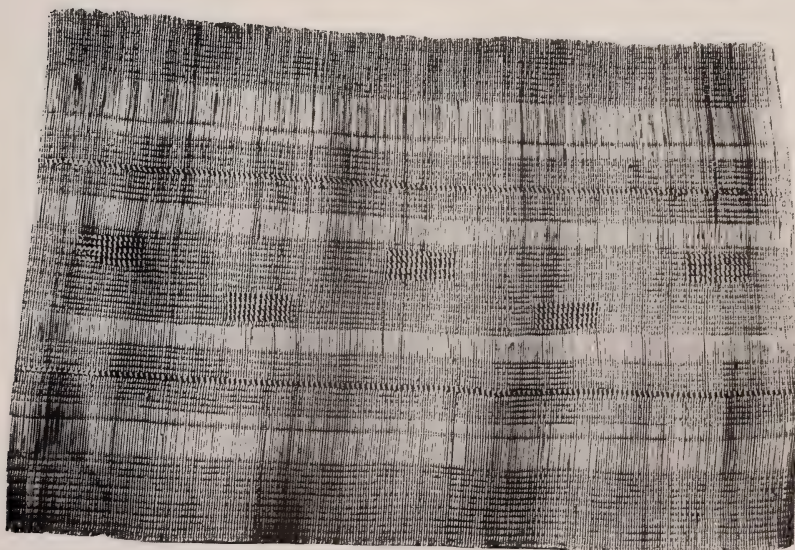
1. *ukhuko*, width 1 022 mm, Bomvana; Elliotdale 1935 (TM 35/411).
2. *ukhuko*, width 737 mm, Thembu; Xalanga 1935 (TM 35/472).
3. *umahambehlala*, width 577 mm, Hlubi; Mt Fletcher 1942 (FH 102).



1



2



3

fishermen along the Pondoland coast. They were known only to modern informants in east Pondoland. Mpondomise said that they were used formerly, but that sneezewood was no longer available. People in other areas did not know them.

TROUGHS

A wooden trough is used for feeding small stock, and watering cattle (Pl. 52: 8).

PREPARATION OF FOOD

SOURCES

1593 Lavanha pp. 234, 235 South-west of Umtata R.: utensils
p. 234 South-west of Umtata R.: grinding-stones, mortars

'Deste milho moido entre duas pedras, ou em piloens de pão fazem farinha, e della bolos que cozem no borralho, e da mesma fazem vinho misturando-a com muita agoa, a qual depois que ferve em hum vaso de barro, e se esfria e azeda, bebem com grande sabor.'

(p. 293 'Of this millet, ground between two stones or in wooden mortars,* they make flour, and of this they make cakes, which they cook among embers. Of the same grain they make wine, mixing it with a quantity of water which, when it has fermented in a vessel of clay and has cooled and turned sour, they drink with great enjoyment.')

p. 235 South-west of Umtata R.: pots, wooden vessels
'Usaõ vasos de barro secos ao Sol, e de madeira lavrados com humas machadinhas de ferro, as quaes saõ como huma cunha metida em hum pão, e com as mesmas cortaõ o mato.'

(p. 294 'They use vessels of clay dried in the sun, and some of wood carved with small iron axes, which are like wedges set in a piece of wood; with these they also clear the thickets.')

1647 Feyerabend (1650) p. 251 Xhosa: pots
Nothing more.

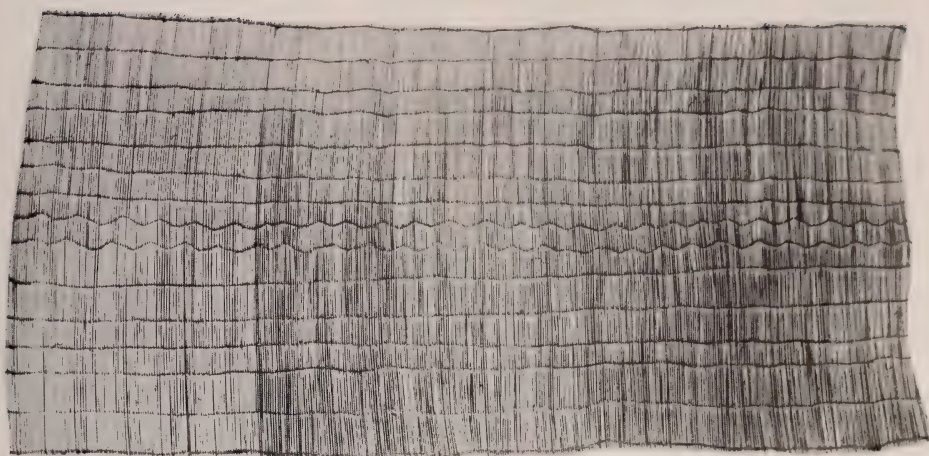
1752 Beutler p. 308 Xhosa: grinding-stones
Nothing more.

* It seems unlikely that wooden mortars, such as are used now, were in use at that time. The alternative meaning of 'piloens' is 'pestles.'

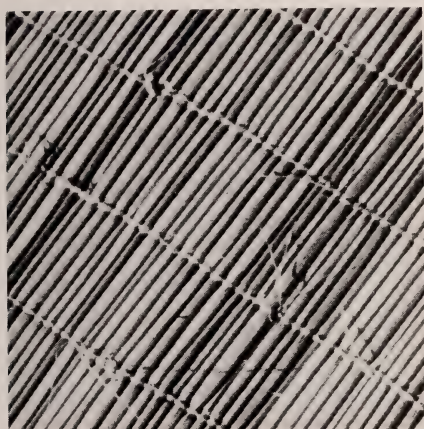
PLATE 55

Sleeping-mats and their fabric.

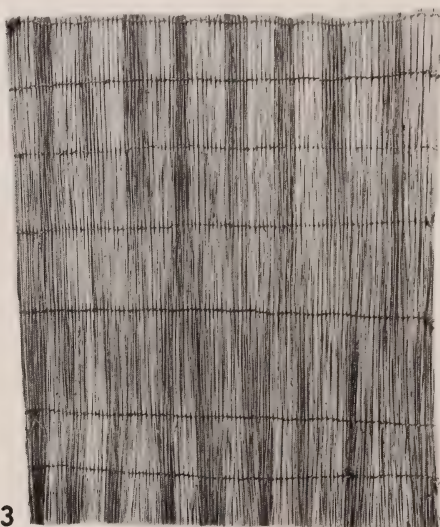
1. *ukhuko*, no scale, Fingo; Humansdorp 1945 (FH 510).
2. Fabric of *isicamba*, Bhaca; Lugangeni, Mt Frere 1948.
3. *isigcobo*, baby's sleeping-mat, width 630 mm, Mpondo; Nyandeni, Libode 1944 (FH 368)
4. *isigcobo*, width 950 mm, Xhosa; Qwaninga, Willowvale 1948.



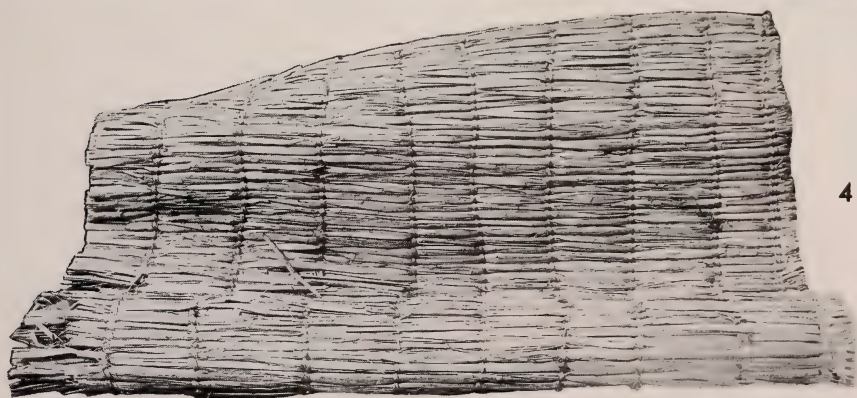
1



2



3



4

1772-6 Sparrman (1785) 2 p. 11

Xhosa: grinding-stones, bread, beer

'The Caffres use to bruise this corn between stones, and make it into loaves, which they bake under the embers.

They mostly, however, use to ferment it with a certain root and water, till it produces a kind of inebriating liquor.'

1776 Swellengrebel pp. 11-12
p. 11

Xhosa: basket, calabash-spoon

'Nadat hem en zijn gevolg eenig tabak was gegeven, liet hy een mand met melk haalen, welke voor hem gezet zijnde, roerde een jonge Caffer ze met een doorgesneeden callebas om, dronk een teug en zettede deese lepel weder in 't mandje. Wij dronken er toen meede van, maar 't smaakte zeer slegt, want 't was half dikke en zuure melk.'

1776 Hallema (1932) pp. 132, 133

p. 132

Xhosa: milk-basket, calabash spoon

Nothing more.

p. 133

Xhosa: pots

'De huisraad des Kapiteins bestond uit eenige schilden en aardepotten.'

1777-9 Paterson (1789) p. 92

Xhosa: ovens

'The large Palm . . . is used for bread by the Caffres as well as the Hottentots. They take the pith of this plant, and after collecting sufficient quantity, let it lie for several days till it becomes a little sour; after this they bake it in an oven which is erected for the purpose.'

1778 Van Plettenberg p. 49

Xhosa: pots, spoon

p. 49

Xhosa: pots

' . . . zy gebruyken gebakkene aarde potten om hunne spijzen te bereyden. . . '

p. 49

Xhosa: whisk-spoon

' . . . eenige te zaam gebondene biesen of stokjes aan 't eynde als een platte quast uyt geklopt, verstrekt hun in gebruyk voor lepels.'

1782 Carter pp. 60, 61

Mbo: milk utensils

p. 60

Mbo: milk-basket

'The milk was contained in a small basket, curiously formed of rushes, and so compact as to hold any liquid.'

p. 61

Mbo: whisk-spoon

' . . . the savages brought from their huts sticks fuzzed at the ends, and seating themselves round the bowls, dipped their sticks into the milk, and thus, in a short time sucked the whole of it up.'

1782 Hubberly p. 110, 111

Gqunukhwebe: milk-basket, pot

p. 110

Gqunukhwebe: basket

Nothing more.

p. 111

Gqunukhwebe: pot

'The old woman gave me a small earthen pot full of boiled meat. . . .'

1788 Von Winkelman (1788-9) pp. 72-73, 75, 84-85

Xhosa: utensils

p. 72

Xhosa: grinding-stones

'Sie bakken aus ihrem Hirsen theils Brod—theils verfertigen sie starke Geträncke. Sie stossen oder zermalmen ihn zu diesem Enzwek mit Steinen, bakken dann unter der Asche eine Art Brod daraus. Sie lassen ihn auch in eine Gährung übergeyen. Ich habe keins von beiden weder zu sehen noch zu versuchen erhalten können.'

p. 75

Xhosa: milk-sacks, calabash ladle

'Diese Milch bringen sie hernach in ihre Hütten und schütten sie in ein zusammengeinähtes Kalbsfell, worinnen sie bald in Gährung übergeht; die denn so genossen und auch von Reisenden sehr gut gefunden wird. Sie bieten sie diesen daher theils in jenen Schläuchen selbst, die oft unrein genug aussehen, theils in den erwähnten Körbgen an deren Peripherie jeden vom Genuss zurückschrecken sollte. Sie füllen die Milch aber auch in Kalibassen-schaalen und bringen sie darinnen den Fremden. Reisende Kafferinnen nehmen dergleichen nebst etlichen Körbgen mehrentheils, als ihr vorzügliches Haussgeräthe mit sig auf ihre Reisen.'

p. 85

Xhosa: baskets

'Sie sind von unterschiedlicher Grösse; die grössten, die ich sah, konten etwa einen Schuh hoch—oben 14-16 Zoll und am Boden ohngefahr 10 Zoll weit seijn. Sie tragen sie gefüllt mit Milch oder Wasser allemal auf der Hand, auf dem Arm, oder auch auf dem Kopf, und man kann dergleichen von aller Grösse um eine unbedeutende Kleinigkeit von ihnen erhandeln.'

p. 85

Xhosa: fire-sticks

'*Art Feuer an zu machen.* Sie nehmen ein fingerdickes Stöckgen hartes Holz von willkührlicher Länge, in solches schneiden sie ein oder zwey runde Vertiefungen der Länge nach ein; dann haben sie einen, meist gleich dicken und etliche Fuss langen Stock von eben dem Holz dessen eines Ende spitzig rund geschnitten ist, womit es in die Vertiefungen eingesetzt wird. Das kleine Stückgen Holz legen sie sodenn auf die Erde, halten es mit den Füssen fest, sezen den langen Stock in die Vertiefung und reiben drehent zwischen beiden flachen Händen denselben so lange, bis die Friktion einen Rauch und endlich eine ganz kleine brennende Kohle hervorbringt.'

1796 Stout (c. 1810) p. 22

Thembu: tinder

'One of the Caffers struck a light, and the whole, in a few minutes, was in a blaze. The tinder which he provided was of a particular description; it consisted of a pitchy substance extracted from a reed, and so tenacious of fire, that a single spark from the steel caught it in a moment.' [Stated previously that a Hottentot with them had flint and steel.]

1797 Barrow (1806) pp. 120-121, 157

Xhosa: baskets, pots

p. 121

Xhosa: baskets

'They were all nearly made after one model, which in shape was that of a common beehive. As they are never washed nor cleaned, the milk thrown into them almost immediately coagulates, in which state it is always used by this people, and never pure and sweet as taken from the animal.'

p. 157

Xhosa: baskets, pots

'These, with the manufacture of baskets with the *Cyperus* grass, and of earthen pots for boiling their meat or corn . . . furnish sufficient employment for the women.'

1800 Van der Kemp (1804) pp. 438-439

Xhosa: grinding-stones, fire-sticks

p. 438

Xhosa: grinding-stones

Nothing more.

pp. 438-439

Xhosa: fire-sticks

'Fire is lighted by the friction of a stick against another, of the wood called *vethe*; the one lays flat on the ground, the other is placed vertically upon the former, and its end rests in a cavity made in the middle of the horizontal one; the vertical stick is then turned quickly between the two hands, and at the same time strongly pressed downwards, by this means some powder is rubbed off the two sticks, which grows gradually hot, black, and at last catches fire.'

1802-6 Alberti (1810a) pp. 36, 37, 38, 40

Xhosa: utensils

p. 36

Xhosa: milk-baskets, shell, whisk-spoon

'De melk wordt niet versch genuttigd; men laat die vooraf stremmen en zuur worden, en wel zeer spoedig in korven, die tot dit zelfde oogmerk meermalen gediend hebben en alzoo reeds zuurstof bevatten. De kringvormige omtrek dezer Korven is bovenaan, doorgaans, tusschen 10 tot 16 Duim middel-lijn, van onderen naar evenredigheid iets ruimer; de wand is 1 tot 2 Lijnen dik, zelden dikker; naar beneden zijn zij eenigzins kegelvormig. De Vrouwen bereiden die zeer kunstig van Rietgras, en weten ze zoodanig te vlechten, dat zij, vooraf met Talk besmeerd, volkomen waterdigt worden. . . .

In het Kafferland vindt men eene Plant, met eenen platten stengel, omtrent een Duim breed, drie Lijnen dik, en, nadat zij gedroogd is, van eenen lijmerigen en vezelachtigen aard. Een gedeelte van dezen stengel, omtrent een Voet lang, wordt aan het een of ander einde met eenen gladden steen zoo lang gekneusd, dat de vezels zich van elkander scheuren en een Penseel van een Duim lengte ontstaat. Van deze Pen, of anders Mosselschelp, bedienen zich de Kaffers, in plaatse van eenen Lepel, om daarmede de melk te eten.'

p. 37

Xhosa: pots

Nothing more.

p. 37, note

Xhosa: fire-sticks

'Om vuur te maken, wordt een plat stuk Hout, in het midden uitgehold, diep in den grond gelegd. In deze holte steekt men eenen ronden stok van omtrent 2 voeten lang en wrijft dien met alle mogelijke snelheid tusschen de handen, even als zulks gewoonlijk bij de bereiding van chokolade geschiedt.

Het door deze wrijving veroorzaakte stof ontvlamt eindelijk, en dit vuur deelt zich mede aan het gedroogde gras, dat rondom ligt. De Kaffers, die het naast aan de Kaap wonen, zijn doorgaans van onze gewone gereedschappen voorzien om vuur te maken.'

p. 38

Xhosa: grinding-stones

Nothing more.

p. 40

Xhosa: basket, beer-strainer

'Men kookt Giersten-meel met water tot dikke brij, doet denzelfen in eene melk-korf, en giet daarop koud water. Alsdan onstaat gisting, en, nadat deze is opgehouden, wordt deze drank door een Vogelnest gezegen, en langs dezen weg van zijne nog onopgeloste gierstdeelen gezuiverd'. (His note: 'Zulk een Vogelnest is kegelvormig en heeft omtrent 4 Duimen middellijn. Aan dezen Kegel is eene langwerpige Buis verbonden, omtrent 2 Duimen wijd en van 6 tot 7 Duimen lang, welke den toegang leent tot het eigenlijke Nest. Dit laatste hangt aan het uiterste einde van eenen Boom-tak, en is een digt en zeer kunstmatig Vlechtsel, dat uit lijmachtige vezelen bestaat, welke door den Vogel van de bladen eener kleine soort van Aloë met eene verwonderlijke vaardigheid gescheiden worden.')

(See also Alberti 1810*b*: 22, 23, 24 (English edition).)

1803-6 Lichtenstein (1811) pp. 449, 463

Xhosa: utensils

p. 449

Xhosa: baskets

'Sie gewinnen alle diese Getränke aus den verschiedenen Graden und Arten der Gährung, in welche ihre Hirse übergeht, wenn sie mit Wasser eine Zeitlang in alten (schon Gährungsstoff enthaltenden) Milchkörben gestanden hat.'

p. 449

Xhosa: beer-strainer

Nothing more.

p. 463

Xhosa: fire-sticks

Nothing more.

1806-15 Carmichael (1831) p. 288

Xhosa: fire-stick

'Every Caffre carries in his hand a bundle, consisting of five or six Assegays, a Kiri and a long taper stick, of hardwood, which serves to kindle their fire and decide their private quarrels.'

c. 1813 Campbell (1815) p. 369

Xhosa: kitchen utensils

'The Caffres use no tables, dishes, knives, or forks at their meals, but everyone helps himself by means of sticks, to the meat that is in the pot, and eats in his hand. They obtain fire by rubbing one piece of wood of a certain kind against another. Some however have tinder boxes, which they obtain from the colony.'

1815-16 Latrobe (1818) p. 324

'Caffres': ovens

'The Caffres, when first permitted to settle at Gnadenthal, before they could build ovens, according to custom of their country, availed themselves

of these tumuli (ant hills) and having expelled or destroyed the inhabitants by fire and smoke, scooped them out hollow, leaving a crust of a few inches in thickness, and used them for baking, putting in three loaves at a time.'

1821-24 Thompson (1827) 2 pp. 360, 361

Xhosa: grinding-stones, pottery, wooden vessels, baskets

p. 360

Xhosa: grinding-stones

Nothing more.

p. 361

Xhosa: pottery

Nothing more.

p. 361

Xhosa: wooden vessels, baskets

'They use also a few wooden vessels, carved out of soft wood; and their rush baskets are well known, which are so closely woven as to retain milk and other liquids.'

1824 Ross p. 212

Zizi: milk utensils

'The milk from the cows is put into large calabashes with a wide mouth. They use clay pots in milking.'

c. 1824-5 Smith pp. 87, 357-358, 367, 388

'Caffer': utensils

p. 87

'Caffer': pots, baskets

Nothing more.

pp. 357-358

'Caffer': kitchen utensils

'Sits on a mat on the ground. Has not any table uses the ground for a table, uses a little basket to take his milk out of. When they kill a cow all eat, one man cooks and then carries it round to all the people who sit by their houses on a thing like a mat. They cut their meat when they fry it into long stripes and lay it round on the coals. When ready take it up with long sticks and give it to the people that stand by. They generally [boil] their meat [and] when it is fat they fry it in the earthen pots which they use for boiling . . . and fry it. As it is ready they eat it by itself. As they boil their meat, they put it out on a thing like a table which the women make of rushes. They divide the meat with the hassegay. When they make soup they boil the meat for a long time then take out the meat and put some flour in and then put it in a basket and drink it.'

p. 367

'Caffer': milk-baskets

Nothing more.

p. 388

'Caffer': milk utensils

Nothing more.

1820-31 Steedman (1835) p. 263

'Caffer': grinding-stones

Nothing more.

1825 Phillips (1827) pp. 28, 141

'Caffer': baskets

Thembu: fire-sticks

p. 28 'Caffer': baskets

Nothing more.

p. 141 Thembu: fire-sticks

'The Tambookies soon proposed to light a fire, which they do in a curious manner. They invariably carry with them a peeled rod of about five feet long, tied up in their bundle of assegais, which they sometimes use as a walking stick. They collect a little dry grass, or rotten wood; laying this on the ground they place on it one end of the stick, which has a little dent or hole half through, with another stick of the same kind, which is sharpened in the end: this they fix in the hole, and turn it rapidly round with the palms of their hands, relieving each other, until the dry grass underneath, and around, is ignited.'

1815-37 Shaw (1840) pp. 59, 60 Xhosa: utensils

p. 59 Xhosa: grinding-stones, oven

'Of the millet bread is made, which is nutritive, and by no means unpleasant to the taste. The mill used in grinding, consists of two stones, which are rubbed together with the hand; and instead of an oven, the dough is placed amongst the ashes.'

pp. 59, 60 Xhosa: pot, skewer

Nothing more.

1827 Hallbeck & Fritsch (1826) p. 307 Thembu: milk-basket

'... having tasted nothing all day, but a little sour milk, which the Tambookies had presented us with, in a species of basket, which is never washed.'

1825-9 Kay (1833) pp. 122-123, 126 Xhosa: baskets, grinding-stones

pp. 122-123 Xhosa: baskets, grinding-stones

Nothing more.

p. 126 Xhosa: baskets

'The small baskets in which their food is usually served up are made from a species of *cyperus*, a strong reedy grass that is frequently found growing about fountains. They are of a circular shape, neatly wrought; and the texture is so close as to render them capable of containing any kind of liquid. One traveller tells us that it is into these vessels the milk is thrown for the purpose of coagulation; while another, Vaillant, with still less accuracy, asserts, that they wash them with urine, to make the milk coagulate more speedily.'

(1829) Rose p. 80 Kaffer: kitchen utensils

'There are few arts among savages, for there are few wants: with the Kaffers, the assegai and kirri, a small club, suffice for war and the chase, baskets, beautifully made, to hold milk; a small rough earthen vessel for the fire, with wooden and horn spoons. . . .'

1829 Bain pp. 95, 96, 110, 115 Bomvana, Mpondo, Xesibe: bread, pots

p. 95 Bomvana: bread

'We got plenty of milk to purchase here and for the first time some bread

made by the Caffres of Caffre Corn. It was very palatable, but the idea of the filthy manner it was doubtless baked prevented us from relishing it.'

p. 96 Bomvana: cooking-pots

'There were two large pots boiling in the midst of the Kraal with the ox feet, hoofs, hair and altogether with some most beautiful beef, but of such filthy appearance as to disgust one with the sight of it.'

p. 110 Mpondo: bread

Nothing more.

p. 115 Xesibe: bread

Nothing more.

1829 Boniface p. 75 Xhosa: pots

Nothing more.

1829 Holman (1834) 2 pp. 256, 262 Xhosa: baskets

Nothing more.

(1832) Anon. p. 151 Xhosa: fire-sticks, pottery, baskets

Nothing more.

c. 1831-2 Smith pp. 167, 186 Mpondo: utensils

p. 167 Mpondo: calabash spoon

'As household articles they often cut the calabash in two and take water with it as well as hold milk and other articles, both solids and fluids.'

p. 186 Mpondo: mats

'The Amapondas use small mats to eat off; like plates.'

(1833) Morgan pp. 35, 48, 65 Xhosa: utensils

p. 35 Xhosa: grinding-stones

'This they prepare for that purpose by rubbing it into meal on a flat stone with one that is of a cylindrical form held in the hand; the meal so made is formed into flat cakes with water, and baked on the embers of their fire.'

p. 48 Xhosa: baskets

Nothing more.

p. 65 Xhosa: fire-sticks

Nothing more.

1834b Bonatz p. 352 Thembu: baskets, pots, grinding-stones, fire-sticks

'The women also manufacture baskets of various kinds, which will hold both milk and water, and round earthen-ware pots, which they mould and bake with great cleverness. For the grinding of Caffre-corn, they use a flat stone, crushing the corn against it by the help of another pointed stone, or iron pestle. It is astonishing to see, in what a short time they are able to fill a large jar with flour, by means of such an imperfect apparatus. The flour they bake into little loaves, kindling a fire, after the fashion of almost all uncivilised nations, by rubbing together two pieces of wood.'

1835 Alexander (1837) 1 p. 394, 2 p. 146 Xhosa, Fingo: utensils

1 p. 394

Xhosa: baskets

Nothing more.

2 p. 146

Fingo: pestles

'There was commonly a long roll of mat on their head . . . and large wooden pestles for pounding grain.'

1834 Gardiner (1836) p. 384

Xhosa: milk-baskets

'Shortly after our arrival, Kheeli made his appearance; it was about the time of drinking milk; his councillors and principal men soon assembled near his mother's hut, and, seating themselves on the ground, formed a semi-circle round him, while he sent portions of milk to each, the baskets being first placed before him by two servants, who, strange to say, wore each a printed cloth round his waist, the first attempt at civilised attire which has yet been made by these inveterate sons of nature. . . .'

(1836) Martin p. 158

Thembu: grinding-stones, fire-sticks

Nothing more (taken from Bonatz 1834*b*).

1837 Döhne p. 63

Xhosa: pots

Nothing more.

1820-56 Shaw (1860) pp. 368, 369, 413, 471

Xhosa: utensils

p. 368

Xhosa: meat tray

'I afterwards noticed that the Chiefs were attended by their servants with some form and ceremony. Their cooks broiled their beef on the burning embers with particular care; and, when the steaks were ready, took branches from the bushes, which they intertwined, and thus formed a kind of mat or receptacle on which the meat could be placed.'

p. 369

Xhosa: baskets, calabash ladle

' . . . from these they poured the sour and curdled milk into vessels made of rushes or grass platted together, and then placed them at the foot of the principal person in the group. A sort of ladle was provided, made from a calabash or small gourd. The attendant, or master of the milk sack, who enjoys certain privileges, dipping this ladle into the milk, drank a portion of it. . . .'

p. 413

Xhosa: kitchen utensils

'After your eyes have become familiar with the obscure light of the dwelling, which with difficulty comes in through the open doorway, you may discover a large milk-sack and some small baskets of platted grass cunningly constructed to hold liquids; also two or three earthen cooking-pots; of late years superseded by iron pots of various sizes, obtained from English traders.'

p. 471

Xhosa: basket, pot

'During the interval a basket of milk and curds was set before us, of which we partook freely. Soon after this there came boiled meat in an earthen pot, without knife, fork, plate, bread, or any vegetable, served, however, to us in the same manner as to the Chief himself.'

1839 Backhouse (1844) pp. 225, 252
p. 225

Xhosa: baskets

'The milk baskets of the Caffers are made of the stems of a species of *Cyperus*, a rush allied to the Paper-reed: these are sewed so closely together, when dry, as to be watertight when in use for any fluid. After being used for milk, the dogs are allowed to lick the baskets, and the cleansing is completed by a small species of Cock-roach, *Blatta*, which eats the remaining portion of the milk from the interstices between the rushes. So important are these insects for this purpose, that on erecting a new hut, a Caffer will take a milk-basket into an old one, and as soon as a sufficient number of *Blattae* have entered it, will carry it to the place where their services are required.'

p. 252

'Our host sent us some sweet milk, and as soon as the sour was ready, a basket of it was brought that would hold three or four gallons, and another that would contain about half that quantity from the brother's kraal.'

1838-40 Walker (Backhouse & Tylor, 1862) p. 360

Xhosa: basket

Same as Backhouse (1844: 252), see above.

1836-44 Döhne (1844) pp. 30-31, 42

Xhosa: utensils

pp. 30-31

Xhosa: milk-sack, calabash, whisk-spoon

'Zum Essen der Milch, welche sie in ledernen Säcken oder trockenen Kürbissen aufbewahren und zusammenrinnen lassen, bedienen sie sich eines Pinsels aus Binsen, den sie in die Milch eintauchen und dann ablecken; das Trinken derselben findet man selten.'

p. 31

Xhosa: spoons, knife

'Das Getreide verzehren sie in Löffeln, wozu aber entweder ein Span oder Messer oder eine Muschel und dergleichen dient, was ihnen gerade in die Hand kommt. Beim Fleischessen sind ihre Gabeln die Zähne; mit diesen beißen sie ins Fleisch ein und schneiden die Bissen vor dem Munde mit dem Messer oder der Assagaai ab.'

p. 42

Xhosa: food-mat

'... auch flechten sie eine Matte von zwei Quadratfuss mit vielen Stricken so dicht, wie die Wasserkörbe, die ihnen zur Tafel dient, auf welche sie das gekochte Fleisch oder den Kornbrei legen.'

1835-55 Ayliff pp. 5, 6

'Kaffraria', ?Fingo: calabashes

p. 5

'Kaffraria', ?Fingo: calabash spoon

'... native spoons which are made by cutting a young calabash or gourd into two parts lengthwise, the neck forming the handles and the larger part at the bottom the bowl of the spoon.'

p. 6

'Kaffraria', ?Fingo: child's calabash

'For the use of the younger children each mother keeps a calabash (*iselwa*) into which she pours the milk of certain goats allotted to her, and which she herself milks. . . .'

1848 Baines (1842-53) 1 pp. 42, 43 'Kafir': milk utensils
p. 42 Near Fort Hare—'Kafir': milk-basket and sack

'... a girl bearing on her head a basket containing more than a gallon of Amazi, or milk curdled by exposure to the sun, in a leathern sack, which they offered us for sixpence. . . '.

p. 43 'Kafir': milk-baskets
Nothing more.

1849 Baines (1842-53) 1 pp. 132, 136, 137, 138, 155 Xhosa: utensils
p. 132 Xhosa: bow and arrows, milk-basket

'... soon after fell in with some Kafir boys with a bow and arrows, from whom I got a basket of milk and their likeness.'

p. 136 Xhosa: pottery, milk-whisk, hearth

'After supper a large wooden bowl of milk was warmed upon the fire which is made in a circular hearth about thirty inches in diameter in the middle of the floor. The father then prepared two or three sticks by bruising the fibre at their ends, and, handing one to each of the children, set the milk before them, and immediately they commenced mopping it up with praiseworthy assiduity.' (Editor of *Journal* notes: 'In MS., v. 1. "wooden bowl" is changed to "clay bowl".')

p. 137 Xhosa: milk-sack

'The young man then brought in the remainder of the milk and poured it into a skin sack with a wooden neck and stopper, and laying it upon the ground, commenced patting it alternately with either hand till he caused it to curdle and become sour.' (Editor of *Journal* notes: 'MS., v. 1. reads: "the young man brought in the imbaava, or milk sack, which, I am informed, no woman is allowed to touch . . .".')

p. 138 Xhosa: water-basket, calabash ladle

'Then, taking the basket of water and a ladle made of a calabash split longitudinally, I stood by to quench any spark that might fall on it. The frail tenement was soon burned to the ground but the light embers were still flying about, and I thought it advisable to send for water, which was only a mile distant down the hill. The old man and his son performed three journeys, bringing up each time a basket each; and with this, not ten gallons in all, I contrived to quench the fire, or nearly so. . . '

p. 155 Xhosa: food-mat

'As soon, however, as their own supper was served, a handsome portion of well-cooked beef on a clean mat with as much milk both sweet and sour as I could consume was set before me. . . '

1848-52 Baines paintings of scenes near Fort Hare Fingo, 'Kafir': baskets

1851-2 King (1853) p. 164 'Kaffir': milk-basket

Nothing more.

1851-5 Brown (1855) pp. 97, 115, 116
Nothing more.

Xhosa: milk-baskets, pots

(1853) Fleming p. 108
Nothing more.

'Kaffir': milk-baskets

(1853) Kretzschmar pp. 239, 241, 242
p. 239

Xhosa: utensils

Xhosa: wooden vessels

Sie verwenden sehr viel Mühe auf die Anfertigung grosser hölzerner Näpfe, die sie aus einem Blocke Holz aushöhlen und in deren Aussenseite sie allerlei Figuren graviren.'

p. 241

Xhosa: baskets

Nothing more.

p. 241

Xhosa: mortar and pestle

'Gewöhnlich lebt er jedoch nur von einem Brei, gemacht aus der gigantischen Hirse, dem Kafferkorn, und Milch. Kafferkorn pflegen sie in einem harten hölzernen Mörser mit einer hölzernen Keule gröblich zu stampfen, und in ein schwarzes Brod zu backen.'

pp. 241-42

Xhosa: grinding-stones

Nothing more.

(1856) Fleming p. 223
Nothing more.

Cape tribes: household utensils

1856 Warner pp. 9, 13
p. 9

Thembu: utensils

Thembu: whisk-spoon

'When milk is plentiful, their mode of eating it is by inserting a small brush made of the stalk of the wild date, into the milk; the curd only attaches itself to this brush, and when it is well covered with this beautiful white curd, they convey it to their mouths. By this means all the curd is extracted from the whey, which is then given to the children and dogs.'

p. 13

Thembu: beer-strainers, pots

'They put the grain into grass bags, and soak it in the River for two or three days; after which they place it (still in the bags) in a warm place until it is sufficiently grown; and during this process of germination they are very careful not to move the bags or disturb the grain, lest the germination should be checked. When it is sufficiently grown, nothing more is necessary than to spread it out on mats in the sun until dry. It is then ground together with a quantity of unmalted grain, into very fine flour; when it is mixed with water and boiled to the consistency of thin water gruel. It is then strained into large earthen pots kept for that purpose. . . .'

(1858) Maclean pp. 152, 153-154, 155

'Kaffir': baskets, grinding-stones, serving meat

pp. 152-54

'Kaffir': milk-sack, baskets, grinding-stones

Nothing more.

p. 155

‘Kaffir’: serving meat

‘The men assemble outside the cattle kraal, and the meat is placed before them upon green boughs, or in baskets.’

1862 Anon. p. 87

Xhosa: pots

‘. . . pots for cooking are, or were, made of baked clay.’

1863–6 Fritsch (1872) pp. 67, 73–74, 75, 76, 89 fig. 22

Cape Nguni: household utensils

p. 67

Figure.

p. 73–74

Cape Nguni: spoons, ladles

‘Die Löffel zeigen wesentlich drei verschiedene Typen: Eine Art ist gross und flach, mit stumpfer Spitze und einem kurzen einfachen Stiel, der zuweilen eine Oeffnung nach Art eines Oehres zeigt; das Material, aus dem sie gefertigt wird, ist Holz; Unterseite und Stiel sind meist mit eingeschnittenen Figuren verziert, indem man die dunkel gebräunte Oberfläche mit dem helleren unveränderten Grunde des Holzes contrastiren lässt; solche Löffel dienen wesentlich zum Austhuen der Speisen. Eine andere Art, die eigentlichen Esslöffel, sind sehr mannigfach in ihrer Gestalt, indem sie bald mehr die Form unserer Kellen haben, bald wirklichen Löffeln von wechselnder Grösse entsprechen, der Stiel ist länger (durchschnittlich 30 cm), im Allgemeinen gerade und die üblichsten Verzierungen sind spiralige Drehungen desselben mit vorspringenden Knöpfen, geringelten Absätzen und Aehnlichem, wenn der Künstler nicht seiner Phantasie freieren Spielraum lässt und eine Thierform wählt. Die dritte Art sind Schöpf-löffel mit bedeutend längerem Stiel und tieferer Höhlung, um aus grossen geräumigen Gefässen Flüssigkeiten auszuthun; man fertigt sie zuweilen ebenfalls aus Holz, meistens aber werden Flaschenkürbisse dazu verwendet, indem man einen Theil des kolbigen Endes abträgt und das dünne als Stiel benutzt. Diese Sorte von Gefässen werden wenn sie kleiner und kürzer sind bei Zechgelagen in dem heimathlichen Bier zugleich als Becher gebraucht. Das Oberhäutchen des Kürbisses lässt sich, bevor derselbe ganz trocken ist, leicht einschneiden, und solche Geräthe werden daher gern in dieser Weise verziert; die Muster sind auch hier meist die gewöhnlichen, schräg gestellten Karreaux oder Dreiecke, doch kommen auch complicirtere Figuren aus Systemen von geschwungenen Linien vor.’

p. 74

Cape Nguni: wooden vessels

‘Die Schüsseln, von denen die kleineren als Essschüsseln dienen, wenn überhaupt eine solche Weitläufigkeit beliebt wird, und man nicht, wie gewöhnlich, aus dem Kochtopf direct zulangt, werden wie die übrigen Geräthschaften von solchem Material aus solidem Holz geschnitzt und zeigen eine mehr oder weniger napfförmige Gestalt; die grösseren, welche zur zeitweisen Aufbewahrung mannigfacher trockner Nahrungsmittel verwendet werden, sind in gleicher Weise angefertigt, häufig lässt man aber jederseits einen soliden Vorsprung der

Substanz stehen, welcher dann die Stelle eines Henkels vertritt, zuweilen ist es nur einer von beträchtlicherer Länge, der nach Art eines Stieles vorragt.'

p. 75

Cape Nguni: pots

Nothing more.

p. 76

Cape Nguni: beer-strainer, baskets

'Von demselben Material, aber lose geflochten, findet man Sieber, an Gestalt unseren Kaffeefiltern ähnlich, nur grösser, welche bei der Bierbereitung gebraucht werden. Ferner sieht man allerhand gewöhnliche Körbe von Stroh, Schilf oder Ruthen geflochten, die in Form und Grösse sehr wechseln, indem sie bald einfach napfförmig (siehe Fig. 16 und 18) sind, bald sich oben nach Art einer Kanne verengen und mit Deckel versehen sind. Damit ist aber die Reihe der geflochtenen Utensilien noch nicht erschöpft: denn Wood hat ganz Recht, wenn er die Häuser der Kaffern ebenfalls als eine Art Körbe bezeichnet, die nur in grösserem Maasstabe ausgeführt sind.'

p. 89, fig. 22

Cape Nguni: grinding-stones, pots

'Die gewöhnliche Art, es zuzubereiten, besteht darin, dass es gekocht und dann auf einem flachen, breiten Stein mittelst eines kleineren, walzenförmigen zu einer dicken Grütze gemahlen wird, welche in Verbindung mit saurerer Milch (eigentlich Quark) das Hauptnahrungsmittel der Kaffern ausmacht.

Das Mahlen und Kochen besorgt natürlich wiederum die Frau, welche die Speisen in dem von ihr selbst gefertigten, irdenen Topfe kocht, auf dem ein anderer, mehr schüsselförmiger als Deckel gestülpt und durch Einstreichen von Kuhmist dicht verbunden wird, an einem Feuer, zu dem sie ebenfalls das Material herbeizuschaffen gehabt hat.'

1858-89 Stanford 2 p. 124

Mpondo: baskets

'Kaffir beer in very clean baskets was set before the Chief.'

1845-89 Kropf (1889) pp. 99, 100, 101, 102, 105, 122

Xhosa: utensils

p. 99

Xhosa: household utensils

Nothing more.

p. 100

Xhosa: grinding-stones, mortars

'Der Mais, wenn noch milchig, wird in Kolben entweder in Wasser gekocht oder in der heissen Asche geröstet gegessen, oder auf dem Mahlsteine zerrieben und eine Art Pudding daraus bereitet. Wenn er aber ganz hart ist, wird er in hölzernen Mörsern mit Stampfkeulen abgehülst oder auch ungehülst gekocht. . . .'

p. 101

Xhosa: spoons, pots, mats, baskets

'Sie essen aus dem Topfe oder von einer aus Binsen geflochtenen Matte, die ihnen als Tisch und Schüssel zugleich dient; den Kindern wird oft etwas auf den flachen Mahlstein geschüttet, was sie dann auflecken. . . .'

Zum Trinken der Milch bedienen sie sich kleiner aus Binsen geflochtener Körbe oder der halben Schale eines Kürbisses. . . .'

p. 102

Xhosa: whisk-spoon

Nothing more.

p. 105 Xhosa: tinder-box, fire-sticks
 '... Stahl, Stein und Zünderdose oder neuerdings eine Dose Schwefelhölzer befinden, während sie früher harte und weiche Hölzer aufeinander rieben, um Feuer zu machen.'

p. 122 Xhosa: artificial teat
 'Stirbt die Frau im Kindbette, so wird das Kind nicht in jedem Falle getötet. Es bekommt Milch in einem Brustwarzenhut, der von Antilopenhaut gemacht ist.'

1877 Padel (1876 *sic*) p. 216 Hlubi: pots, stones as plates
 'A kind of greenish soup composed of maize with some vegetables, was smoking on the table in a pot into which they dipped and then poured the liquid on stones, which served as plates.'

1877-8 Norbury (1880) pp. 7, 13 Xhosa: domestic utensils
 p. 7 Xhosa: grinding-stones

Nothing more.

p. 13 Xhosa: tinder-box, fire-sticks
 '... fire they usually procure from a flint and steel, which they buy of the traders, but sometimes by rubbing dry wood together; this is, however, a tedious and difficult process.'

(1881) Nauhaus p. 345 'Kaffir': wooden vessels, spoons
 Nothing more.

(1881) Theal p. 68 'Kafir': basket
 'indebe is a drinking vessel made of reeds.'

1875-87 MacDonald (1890a) pp. 174, 216-217 Cape Nguni: cooking implements
 p. 174 Cape Nguni: spoon

As below.
 pp. 216-217 Cape Nguni: fire-sticks
 'Two sticks, made of the *Uzwati* tree, and called the "husband and wife" are given to him by the chief. These sticks are prepared by the magicians, and are exclusive property of the chief, the "wife" being the shorter of the two. The doctor cuts a piece off each stick, and proceeds to kindle fire in the usual manner, by revolving the one rapidly between the palms of his hands, while its end rests in a small hollow dug in the side of the other.'

1875-87 MacDonald (1890b) p. 278, 280 South African tribes: cooking implements
 p. 278 Africans: fire-sticks

'Africans obtain fire by preparing two pieces of wood. One has a hollow dug in its side, the other is carefully rounded at the end so as to fit loosely into the pit or hollow. . . . The upright stick is grasped between the palms of the hands and revolved lightly and rapidly, men relieving one another in order

that the motion may not be interrupted. When once obtained fire is kept always burning when possible.'

p. 280

Cape tribes: spoons

'They are, however, supposed to be fed by the head of the village. It is he alone who is responsible for hospitality. Often the same basin or tub is used to hold the food of a considerable number of persons, and in that case each has a large spoon, with which he lifts a portion, eating it with the aid of his fingers. Giving a stranger a separate vessel apart from the family basin would be regarded as an insult. It is supposed to indicate fear of some contagious disease such as leprosy. In the evening the meal is taken in the hut, but otherwise differs in no essential from the forenoon meal, except that flesh is more frequently used at night than during the day, which however, may be regarded as equivalent to late dining.'

1883-88 Bachmann (1901) p. 165

Mpondo: beer-basket

Nothing more.

(1887) Matthiae pp. 10, 11

Xhosa: milk-baskets, grinding-stones, mortars, wooden vessels

Nothing more.

(1894) Ratzel 2 pp. 68, 74, 98

'Kaffir': spoons, skimmer, calabash

Figures.

1901 Scully p. 45

Hlubi: baskets

'Then the milk-filled baskets are removed to the various huts to which the respective cows are assigned, and the contents poured into calabashes, or skin bags, for the purpose of being turned into "koumis".'

(1904) Kidd pls 26, 79 legend, pp. 51-52

Mpondo: pot

pl. 26

Mpondo: grinding-stones, grain mat

Figure.

pl. 79 legend

'This woman is seen with a basketful of grain by her side. In front of her is a stone which is slightly hollowed out. Some grain is placed on this, and the mass is ground up with a round stone which she holds in her hands. As the grain is ground it is pushed out on the dirty mat in front.'

p. 51-2

'Kaffir': fire-sticks

Nothing more.

(1907) Sim pp. 166, 246

Cape tribes: fire-sticks

p. 166

[Sneezeewood] 'is still employed by the Kafirs as tinder, and was formerly employed by them to produce fire by friction.'

p. 246

'He also mentions that this [*isiduli*] is one of two timbers formerly used for producing fire: "These fire-sticks yield a kind of dust when a pointed stick

is moved rapidly forwards and backwards in a groove. The dust turns brown, then red-hot, and can be blown with tinder into a flame. This process of fire-making is called *u-Zwati*." The other tree mentioned for this purpose is *u-Luzi*.'

(1919) McLaren p. 445

Xhosa: calabash

'... for use as a milk-container, *iselwa*. The calabash was often tied round, *tandela*, with string or a thong to strengthen it. A mealie-cob, *um-pa*, served as a cork.'

(1926a) Müller pp. 23, 24, 41, 42

Hlubi: grain utensils

p. 23

Hlubi: grinding-stones

'Nun wird es mit Wasser angefeuchtet und in der rauhen Höhlung eines besonders präparierten Steines ein oder mehrere Male ganz fein gemahlen, indem die mahlende Person unausgesetzt einen ganz runden Stein in der Steingrube hin und her bewegt.'

p. 24

Hlubi: mortar

'Die ausgewehten Körner werden in einen oben ausgehöhlten Baumstumpf geschüttet, mit Wasser angefeuchtet und mit Hilfe zweier Klöppel aus Holz, die zwei Mädchen abwechselnd im Takt auf und ab stossen, gestampft, wozu sie ihre eintönigen, nur aus drei Noten bestehenden Weisen singen und unaufhörlich schwätzen. Das Herausspringen der Körner aus dem ziemlich flachen Loch wird durch Umbinden eines alten Sackes um den oberen Umfang zu vermeiden gesucht. Durch dieses Stampfen lösen sich die unverdaulichen Schalen, die nachher zu Hühner und Schweinefutter dienen.'

p. 41

Hlubi: grain mats, beer-strainers

Nothing more.

p. 42

Hlubi: baskets

'Eine ziemliche Menge Körbe der verschiedensten Grösse ist in einem kaffrischen Haushalt nötig. Sie werden sämtlich am Platz hergestellt, sind alle rund, oben offen und weit, wie eine Schüssel, und haben, wie unsere Bierflaschen, ein Gewissen, das beim Tragen des Korbes auf dem Kopf ausgezeichnet auf den Schopf der Person einpasst.'

(1927) Poto Ndamase pp. 116-117

Mpondo: kitchen utensils

'Njengokuba bekupekela kwakulendlu ibiba nezimpahla. 1. Umpanda wokuka amanzi: ububa lodongwe olutshisiweyo. 2. Umcepe wokukelelela nokusela. 3. Bekupekwa ngembiza yodongwe. Ibifana nompanda, ingenamilenze nayo, ibekwa emasekweni xa kupekwa. Isiciko sayo ibikwa ludongwe olutshisiweyo, ebesiye sisetyenziswe xa kutyiwa sibe sisitya. 4. Umlilo ubusenziwa ngozwati. Lendlu bekukwadelwa kwakuyo ize-ke ibe nezizinto zokudlela. (i) Inkamba ezenziwe ngodongwe olutshisiweyo zokudlela. (ii) Izitebe zokudlela. (iii) Imicepe yokudlela. (iv) Imvaba zamasi. (v) Amatiniko, amacepenziwe ngomti. (vi) Imbiza zotywala.'

Umbona namazimba ayesilwa ngamatye, utywala buhluzwa ngentluzo, ezalukwe kakuhle ngoluzi, ize buselwe ngamalala, izitya ezenziwe ngorasi.

Izitya zotywala bezihlala kulendlu yokuhlala, kuba notywala bekuselelwa kona apo.'

[As this hut was also used as a kitchen, it had utensils. 1. The large clay pot (*umpanda*) for drawing water; it was made of burned clay. 2. Half a calabash (*umcepe*) for drawing and drinking water. 3. Cooking was done in a clay pot. It was like the pot for drawing water, it also had no legs and when cooking was done it was placed on hearth stones (*iseko*). Its lid was also of burned clay, at meal time this lid was used as a dish. 4. Fire was kindled by means of a fire-stick (*uzwati*). This hut was also used as a dining room and it had the following things used for meals. (i) Pot-sherds (*ukamba*) made of burned clay to serve food. (ii) Mats (*isitebe*) to serve food upon. (iii) Half a calabash (*umcepe*) to eat with. (iv) Leather milk-sacks (*invaba*). (v) Wooden spoons (*utiniko*). (vi) Beer pots (*imbiza zotywala*).

Mealies and sorghum were ground with stones, beer was strained with strainers (*intluzo*), nicely woven with rushes, it was drunk from receptacles (*ilala*) made of a species of grass (*irasi*). Beer vessels were kept in the living hut, and the beer was also consumed there.]

(1928) Brownlee p. 180

Fingo: meat plate

'... meat was distributed to all the principal people, who, from their portion, gave a share to those subordinate to them in rank. This applied also to myself, and a liberal portion was laid before me, an aloe leaf serving for a plate.'

(1929) Kawa p. 80

Fingo: pots

Nothing more.

(1931) Cook pp. 57, 68

Bomvana: implements

p. 57

Bomvana: calabash spoon

'The boys must sleep on the floor. They don't use spoons but *umcepe*—a little ladle made by cutting a small calabash down the middle.'

p. 68

Bomvana: skewer

'When given meat to eat she may not touch it. She uses a stick known as the *uluti lomshwamo* (the stick for tasting). This stick is held by the *nkazana* or attendant woman and the girl bites the meat off it.'

(1932) Soga pp. 210, 317, 399, 401, 406

Xhosa: utensils

p. 210

Xhosa: calabash spoon

Nothing more.

p. 317

Xhosa: feeding-bottle

'*u-Twisha*—feeding-bottle: when a Xosa man or woman was no longer able to take the ordinary food an ox or cow was slaughtered, and the inner lining of the skin, the dermis, was peeled off (*uku-twebula*) then pegged down to stretch and dry. It was afterwards dressed or curried till soft and pliable, and then sewn into a small bottle-shaped article, open at the one end. This article was called *u-twisha*, a term derived from the verb *uku-twisha*—to gnaw

a bone. Into this miniature bottle was poured milk, either curdled or sweet according to taste, and the aged person either fed himself or was fed by someone detailed for that duty, much as an European child is fed with the bottle.'

p. 399

Xhosa: beer-strainers

Nothing more.

p. 401

Xhosa: grinding-stones

Nothing more.

p. 401

Xhosa: beer-strainer

'When a suitable time has been allowed for the boiling, the preparation is taken out and placed in open dishes to cool, and when cool is put through strainers—*i-ntluzo*. Thus being completed it becomes beer—*u-tywala*, and is ready for consumption. A certain amount of pressure and squeezing is exerted on the strainers, so that a proportion of the yeast passes out along with the liquid, and in consequence this beer has a certain food value, but in this respect it is not equal to *ama-rewu*, which is not put through strainers.'

p. 406

Xhosa: baskets

Nothing more.

1932 Hunter (1936) pp. 17, 22, 53, 85, 170, 365, pl. 8b

Mpondo: utensils

p. 17

Mpondo: meat trays, household utensils

'Within the great hut a fire glows on the mud hearth in the centre of the floor. Maize is cooking in a three-legged trade pot. Piled up against the wall on the left side . . . are two grinding stones and a mat to hold the meal ground, a trade bucket with water . . . a grain basket, two beer baskets, two tin cans. . . . Along the back wall are beer-pots, and next to them on the right . . . are the milk bucket, bowl, and six calabashes. . . . Against the wall are . . . grinding-stones, sieve for snuff, and meat trays. A basketful of spoons is hung on a pole, and in the thatch over the fire is a bunch of sugar-cane seed.'

p. 22

Mpondo: stirrer

'There are some prohibitions regarding the serving of food. It must never be put into the men's dish first, because a stick (*iphini*) is used for stirring during the cooking, and it is an *umkhonto* (spear).'

p. 53

Mpondo: pots

'Because of the taboo on non-relatives drinking milk special utensils—usually clay bowls and wooden spoons—are kept in which to serve milk food. Occasionally when there is a shortage of dishes at a beer drink, a milk-pot is used for beer, but only a relative of the owner of the *umzi* may drink out of it.'

p. 85

Mpondo: grain basket

'A grain basket full of mealies weighed, on an assized scale at the store, 50 lb. Formerly the whole of the crop was transported from field to *umzi* in this way.'

pl. 8b

Mpondo: household utensils

p. 170

Mpondo: skewer

'She cannot drink milk and must not touch food with her hands. She eats

meat with two wooden pegs, and dry food with a spoon, used only by her. A mealie cob she spears on the end of her peg.'

p. 365

Mpondo: food mats

'Important persons . . . are served first and given large portions and a grass-plate to themselves, but they are expected to share what is given them with their followers.'

(1939) Duggan-Cronin p. 28

Xhosa: food mats, pots

Nothing more.

1939 Fox pp. 68, 70

p. 68

Cape tribes: grinding-stones

'The mealie is ground on a large flat stone by means of a small stone rolled over it. This is one of the favourite ways of treating the grain, but it is a slow process and requires a good deal of practice to perform properly. Grinding is said to bring out the full flavour of the grain. Now-a-days machine-ground mealie meal of uncertain age is being more and more used.'

p. 70

Cape tribes: mortar and pestle

'The practice of pounding whole mealies by means of a wooden pestle in a wooden mortar is of comparatively recent origin in the Territories. Natives are often very definite about this though very vague as to its origin, which presumably was from the East Coast. Stone mortars and stone pestles are also used and the stone mortar may be a communal one. Stamped mealies are very popular amongst the Xhosa, but less so in Pondoland, where grinding remains the standard method. It is much quicker than grinding. During stamping the fibrous coating of the grain is removed and this, together with any powdered germ is then winnowed away by repeatedly pouring stamped grain from one basket to another in the wind.'

1945 Makalima chap. 8 pars 3, 20, 21, 22, 55

Fingo, Thembu Mpondomise: utensils

pars 3, 20, 21, 55

Fingo, Thembu, Mpondomise: grinding, stamping, milk calabashes, drinking-vessels

Nothing more.

par. 22

Fingo, Thembu, Mpondomise: milk calabashes

'Amaselwa anobisi agcinwa endlwini yomninimzi ahlala paya entla.'

[Calabashes containing milk are stored in the hut of the head of the kraal, they are kept in the innermost part of the hut opposite the door.]

(1949) Duggan-Cronin pls 52, 53, legends

Mpondo: beer-baskets

pl. 52, legend

'Beer is made at home from mealies and Kaffir-corn, and traditionally was served in beautifully sewn baskets. These girls are carrying baskets of beer as a present to someone.'

pl. 53, legend

Nothing more.

1949 Hammond-Tooke (1953) pp. 79, 80

Bhaca: implements

p. 79

Bhaca: fire-sticks

'Early on the Wednesday morning the *inyanga yempi* kindles the sacred fire. This must not be lit with matches but in the traditional manner by using fire-sticks called *uvatsi*. A piece of the very hard, black wood of the *uvatsi* tree, with a conically rounded base, is swiftly rotated between the hands in a hole bored in a section of soft wood . . . which has been placed on a bed of dried grass mixed with soot (*umle*) and other tinder. Twirling the *uvatsi* is a very laborious operation, as a steady pressure must be kept on the apparatus, and the *inyanga* is relieved by his assistant and other helpers. As the stick rotates backwards and forwards, the soot in the hole begins to glow and is forced out, grass and tinder is carefully added and the fire kindled.'

p. 80

Bhaca: stirrer

'The herbalist now takes a clay pot containing certain *intseleti* medicines and twirls (*ukuphehla*) a stick in the mixture until it is churned into a foam that spills over the lip of the receptacle.'

1949-62 Hammond-Tooke (1962) pp. 28, 40

Bhaca: utensils

p. 28

Bhaca: mortars, spoons, wooden vessels

'Stamping blocks are made from hollowed-out tree trunks lined with stones to prevent wear. Pots and calabashes are preferred to wooden buckets for milk, but wooden spoons, woven meat-trays, yokes and knobkerries are manufactured by the more skilled of the men.' (His note: 'It is said that each man makes his own wooden spoon.')

p. 40

Bhaca: grinding-stone

'Near it is the pecked grindstone.'

(1954) Duggan-Cronin pls 162, 163, 183, 191

Bhaca, Hlubi: utensils

pl. 162, legend

Bhaca: mortar and pestle

Nothing more.

pl. 163, legend

Bhaca: grinding-stones, mat

'Note the flat, slightly hollowed grindstone and the pecked grinder. A grass mat receives the ground mealies.'

pls 183, 191

Hlubi: garden basket

1963 Hammond-Tooke p. 305

Mpondomise: food mats

'This is the grouping of members of a location into what are called *izithebe*, groups of people who sit together at certain feasts and are allocated meat and beer as a group. The word *isithebe* means literally a grass tray or eating mat made from the sturdy *incema* reed, which is found on the banks of rivers and in marshy areas and is used for serving meat and other food. Nowadays these mats are not as common as formerly, and people frequently cut a section from the leaves of the *agaves* which so often form the wall of a stock-kraal, or use an old piece of corrugated iron, for this purpose, but the word is retained for these

makeshift utensils and is applied to the groups who use them.'

(1964) Louw p. 110

Fingo, Thembu: utensils

p. 110

Fingo: beer-strainers

'*Intluzo* Beer-strainer woven of grass. These strainers are given to the pig to eat when they are worn out.'

p. 110

Thembu: grain mat

'*Isithebe* Large grain mat, round coarsely woven, for grinding grain, with hole in the centre for winnowing.'

TERMS

ilala. 1. (a plaited thing D.) 2. strips of leaf of palm (*Hyphaene crinita*), general; an object made from this material, X Mp Mpm Bh but also *ulala*, Bo. 3. plaited drinking-vessel, or for milking into, T. 4. small closely woven sedge basket (Bo-Beukes). 5. beer-basket (Mp-Poto). 6. basket, Mp. 7. small *ingobozi* basket or palm leaf mat, Xes. 8. grain basket (X-McLaren 1915) **534** (223)

ingcebe 1. nD. 2. small *ingobozi* basket, Xes. 3. thought to be Bh by T **535**

ingceke 1. nD. 2. white clay used by *abakhwetha* to smear on body, general. (Note: *inceke* (Em) white paint, D, is erroneous.) 3. small *ingobozi* basket, X Xes Mp **536** (738, 941)

indebe 1. calabash, ladle, D. 2. calabash Xes. 3. wooden spoon, X Bo. 4. gourd shell, (X-Lichtenstein 1811 1: 656) **537** (558)

ingobozi 1. large elastic basket for storing corn, D. 2. garden basket, general. 3. small pot-shaped closely woven basket, (Bo-Beukes) **538** (337)

ijoma 1. nD. 2. large beer pot or paraffin tin for beer; actually a measure, one tin or four gallons (18 ℓ), X Mp Bo. 3. large beer-basket or pot, but uncertain whether really a Xhosa word, T **539** (583)

ijomo 1. vessel for holding beer, D. 2. basket made of *imizi* rushes, X. 3. large beer pot, Mp. 4. otherwise not confirmed **540** (584)

isitya (from *-tya* 'eat') 1. vessel for eating and drinking from; basket, plate, dish, basin, cup, etc., D, general. 2. *sihtja* milk-basket, (X-Lichtenstein 1811 1: 655). 3. beer-basket of palm leaf, Mp Xes. 4. food-basket, Mp Xes **541** (358, 548)

ulala 1. nD. 2. basket, similar to *ingobozi*, only smaller, Bo. 3. not confirmed elsewhere **542**

isiludu (Xhosa pron. of Sotho word *seroto*) medium-sized basket for carrying, Hlu Bh Fgo; style adopted from Sotho, Bh **543** (340)

umnyazi 1. coarse grass basket made of rushes, used as a fan or sieve for winnowing, D. 2. small garden basket, (*ingobozi*) X Bo Mp Xes. 3. various sorts of basket, (T-Makalima) **544**

umzwazwa large basket made of little sticks, D, not confirmed **545**

isithebe 1. small closely woven mat used as a kind of tray or dish to serve up meat or other food, D, general. 2. or to receive meal falling from grind-

- stone, general. 3. Bo, Xes, and probably others distinguish between *isithebe sokusila* (grinding) and *isithebe senyama* (meat) **546**
- isixazi* 1. nD. 2. wicker meat tray, X **547**
- isitya* (from *-tya* 'eat') 1. vessel for eating and drinking from; basket, plate, dish, basin, cup, etc., D, general. 2. *sihtja* milk-basket (X-Lichtenstein 1811 1: 655). 3. beer-basket of palm leaf, Mp Xes. 4. food-basket, Mp Xes **548** (358, 541)
- intluzo* sieve, strainer, filter D, general except Bh (from *-hluza* 'strain') **549**
- isihlengo* 1. nD. 2. sieve of European type, Bh (from *-hlenga* 'assort, leave out; separate good from the bad', D) **550**
- isihlungulo* 1. sieve, D (probably of European type, as a sieve was not known). 2. European sieve Xes. 3. any shallow article, e.g. dish or mat to *hlungula* with, i.e. move to and fro, in order to winnow out, T (from *-hlungula* 'shake, so as to bring the husks or chaff to the top; move a mass in a circular way, hence, to sift out', D) **551**
- isihluzo* 1. nD. 2. European sieve, strainer, as tea-strainer (from *-hluza* 'strain') **552**
- ivovo* (Zulu word) 1. nD. 2. strainer, Bh **553**
- umlala* 1. (a) (Em) fibrous plant, (b) beer-strainer made from it, D but not confirmed. 2. old grass and maize stalks of last year, not grazed, T Xes Bh **554** (227)
- idliwa* 1. nD. 2. milk calabash, Mp Bo **555** (149)
- igubu* 1. dried calabash prepared for use as a musical instrument, connected by a bow to a single string, which is beaten and resounds in the calabash with a sound like *gubu gubu*, D X Xes (X-Kirby); string is of horse-hair, X. 2. also calabash for drinking beer, Mp. 3. calabash for salt, Bh. 4. drum (i.e. European drum, as of Zionists), D X **556** (1032)
- igula* 1. species of milk calabash, so called from the noise made by fermentation within it, D Xes Hlu (as in Zulu). 2. large calabash for snuff (not to carry around), Mpm T. 3. calabash as container for white clay, used by *abakhwetha*, Bo **557** (990)
- indebe* 1. calabash, ladle, D. 2. calabash, Xes. 3. wooden spoon, X Bo. 4. gourd shell (X-Lichtenstein 1811 1: 655) **558** (537)
- ingwetshe* 1. nD. 2. half calabash shell used as ladle, Bh. 3. not confirmed **559** (150)
- iqaku* 1. calabash, D. 2. small drinking-cup made of rushes, D. 3. small cup made of *ilala*, X Mp. 4. any small thing, Bh. 5. generally unknown **560**
- isiqoko* (Fingo form *iqoko*) bowl, jug, calabash with handle, used for drinking Kafir beer, D. 2. not confirmed **561**
- iselwa* 1. calabash that has been dried and perfectly cleaned out; it is then used for holding *amasi* (curds), D, general; actually also the plant and fruit. 2. not Mp (who use *idliwa*) nor Bh (who use *itshalo* pron. *itjalo*) **562** (151)
- isigubu* 1. bowl out of which beer is drunk, D. 2. wide-mouthed calabash,

medium-sized 15–20 cm diameter, for salt and other dry substances, e.g. seed, Mp. 3. large calabash for beer, Mp. 4. calabash for beer, obsolete X. 5. calabash wash-basin, X. 6. calabash not used for milk, Xes Bh **563** (1012)

itshalo (pron. *itjalo*) 1. nD. 2. milk calabash, Bh only **564** (152)

iwara 1. calabash, the milk of which is used only by nursing mothers, D. 2. not confirmed **565**

umcakulo (Em) drinking-vessel made of a calabash (= *umcephe*), D Mp **566**

umcephe half a calabash, used as a ladle, for drawing water, milk, beer, D, general except Bh **567** (153, 1014)

umgqephe 1. cup from a calabash, a great drinking-vessel, D. 2. not confirmed anywhere **568**

umngqephe 1. cup made from a calabash, a great drinking-vessel, D. 2. not confirmed anywhere **569**

uzwathi 1. process of fire-making by friction; fire-stick, D, general. 2. wood from which fire-sticks are made, X Xes (X–MacDonald 1890a) **570**

uvathi 1. nD. 2. fire-stick, not confirmed today but cf. 3. *vethe* wood used for fire-sticks, (X–Van der Kemp). 4. *veethe* fire-sticks, (X–Lichtenstein 1811 1: 655). 5. cf. *uvatsi*, Bh, *uzwathi*, X **571**

uvatsi male fire-stick, Bh pron. for *uvathi*, *uzwathi* **572**

iqangalaba 1. nD. 2. (or *iqangalabe*) species of low bush, pith of which used for tinder, X T Mp **573**

icwilika 1. steel used for striking fire, D, general. 2. origin unknown and now used for steel of all kinds **574**

uluzi 1. fine inward bast of trees of genus *Ficus*, used to make baskets, mats and string; the creeper when dry is used as a fire-stick, D. 2. also any other smooth bark that is sufficiently fibrous to make rope and binding, general, whence 3. such binding material, string, cord **575** (206)

iduku stone for grinding upon, D X Bo only **576**

ilitye 1. stone, (lower) grindstone, D, general. 2. flat stone, as used for grain-pit cover, general **577** (106, 265, 961)

imbokotho, *imbokothwe*, *imbokothwa*, *imbokodo*, *imbokodwe*, *imbokodwa* round or oval stone, especially upper grinding-stone for grinding corn; smoother for clay, general **578** (144)

isingqusho (-*ngqusha* stamp in mortar) 1. mortar, D, general, but also *isingqushu*, *ingqutsho* Mp, *ingqusho* Bo. 2. pestle (X–McLaren 1915), general **579**

isintilo (-*ntila* stamp, pound) 1. pestle, stamper, D. 2. not confirmed **580**

iphini 1. stick for stirring porridge, D X Bo Mp, general. 2. pestle of wood or iron, X Bo **581** (608)

intonga yesingqusho pestle, Xes Bh (lit. 'stick or club of the mortar', a descriptive coined expression, not a term) **582**

ijoma 1. nD. 2. large beer pot or paraffin tin for beer; actually a measure, one tin or four gallons (18 ℓ), X Mp Bo. 3. large beer-basket or pot, but uncertain whether really a Xhosa word, T **583** (539)

- ijomo* 1. vessel for holding beer, D. 2. basket made of *imizi* rushes, X. 3. large beer pot, Mp. 4. otherwise not confirmed **584** (540)
- ikhanzi* 1. nD. 2. large beer pot, Mp. 3. not confirmed **585**
- imbiza* 1. formerly, earthen pot for cooking as distinguished from an iron one; now any pot for cooking, D Mp (X-Lichtenstein 1811 **1**: 655). (This is a misleading definition, as formerly there were only earthenware cooking pots, and no iron ones from which to distinguish them.) 2. the introduction of iron pots has caused the term to be generally applied to them. 3. the Bh pron. *imbita* is a regular sound shift. 4. no longer general, X. 5. three-legged iron pot, Bo. 6. pot for cooking, Xes. 7. large pot for beer, Xes (derived from a causat. of *-bila* boil, therefore means 'article in which one causes things to boil', and is the equivalent of *pitsa*, *pitša* of the Sotho-Tswana tribes of the interior **586** (146)
- impiso* (from obsolete vb *-phisa* 'heat') 1. (Em) large clay pot for holding beer, D. 2. not confirmed **587**
- incagu* 1. (Em) jug for drinking Kafir-beer, D. 2. X informants think it is Mp. 3. Mp informants think it is a half-calabash in some other dialect not Mp. 4. Griqualand East and Hlu informants know it, but pron. it *inqagu* **588**
- ingcaza* 1. nD. 2. small pot, Xes Bh Mp Hlu **589**
- inkongo* (No. 2) 1. nD. 2. large pot, Mp. 3. collar-topped pot for small bits of foodstuff (Mp-Clarke) **590** (see 11)
- ingqayi* 1. round earthen vessel, an earthen bowl, D, general. 2. small spherical pot, general. 3. large pot (T-Makalima) **591** (147)
- igqongo*, *ugqongo*, *igqongwe* empty paraffin tin, box, bag, D and general, with local variants of shades of meaning **592**
- ugcedevu* 1. piece of an old pot of flat shape; piece of tin used for roasting maize or coffee, D Mp. 2. potsherd, piece of iron or tin; flat dish, platter (X-McLaren 1915), but not generally known **593**
- ukhamba* 1. old pan or pot; potsherd, D Xes Bh (Mp-Poto Ndamase). 2. for roasting maize, obsolete X. 3. for eating from, or iron pot lid for roasting maize, Mp. (This word is from the root *-kamba*, very widely distributed over the Bantu area. Zulu *ukhamba* etc.) **594**
- umphanda* 1. earthen pot or vessel; pitcher in which water is kept for use; cask, D. 2. large pot, X Bo Mp. 3. large pot for water, Xes **595** (1027)
- umtila* 1. nD. 2. small pot, Bh **596**
- intshulana* (pron. *intjulana*) 1. nD. 2. middle-sized vessel, (Mzamane). 3. not confirmed **597**
- umchula* 1. sharp, pointed stick or iron (needle, assegai), often used as a fork for picking up meat etc., D (from *-chula* 'hold by the end, not firmly; take up on a fork'). 2. not confirmed **598**
- incula* 1. nD. 2. sharp, pointed stick or iron used as fork for picking up meat etc., Xes. 3. spear with round awl-like blade, also used for picking up meat, Mp **599**
- isikhetho* 1. (partiality, D.) 2. skimmer, Mp (Mp-Beukes) but other Mp say

- they call this item *isihlenga*. 3. skimmer of branch with about three twigs at tip interlaced with bark to form strainer, Mp. 4. obsolete as skimmer, X (from *-khetha* 'choose') **600**
- isongulo* (-ongula skim off cream, etc.) 1. skimmer, D. 2. now obsolete; it was for skimming off cream; had a wicker head and wooden handle, X **601**
- isihlenga* 1. float made of reeds, a raft, D. 2. not confirmed. 3. beer-skimmer, Mp, known to T who regard it as Mp and Bh (from *-hlenga* 'assort, leave out, separate good from bad') **602** (1100)
- icephe* 1. chip or concave article used as a spoon; a spoon, D. general. 2. spoon of horn or wood, Xes. 3. spoon of horn, Mpm **603**
- igxebeka* 1. spoon, ladle, D, general. 2. *ig²abbekha* 'Löffel' (X-Lichtenstein 1811 **1**: 655) **604**
- imbombe* 1. fruit stalk of palm grass, stripped into small shreds, made into a brush, used in supping sweet or sour milk, D X. 2. brush of vegetable fibre for eating milk (X-McLaren 1915). 3. not confirmed outside X area **605**
- umhlunza* 1. brush with a bushy end, made of rushes, with which milk is eaten, D. 2. *umslonsa* 'Pinsel-Löffel' (X-Lichtenstein 1811 **1**: 655) (from *-hlunza* eat milk with *umhlunza*=*-ncunza*, D) **606**
- inqora* 1. nD. 2. wooden spoon, X only **607**
- iphini* 1. stick for stirring porridge, D X Bo Mp, general. 2. pestle of wood or iron, X Bo **608** (581)
- ubondo* 1. big wooden spoon for stirring food, D. 2. spoon or piece of wood for stirring (X-McLaren 1915). 3. may be either spoon-shaped with bowl, or just a stick, X. 4. a stick, not a spoon, Mp (from *-bonda* 'stir round') **609**
- ucwecwe* 1. any flat shell, such as a limpet. Such shells are used as spoons, D X. 2. thin disc-like thing, Mp Xes Bh **610**
- udukudo* 1. large wooden spoon for stirring food, D X (from *-dukuda* stir, as porridge). 2. *hlonipha* for *ubondo*, Xes. 3. not Mp nor Bh **611**
- ukhezo* wooden spoon, D Mp Xes Bh **612**
- uthiniko* 1. (that which is hard and does not bend, D.) 2. spoon of horn or wood, Mp Xes Bo **613**
- uzamiso* (-zamisa cause to move, stir) 1. porridge stick, D X. 2. *hlonipha* for *iphini* porridge stick, Mp Xes, but other (or the same?) Mp, Xes say *izamiso* instead of *uzamiso* **614**
- uthwisha* (-thwisha gnaw a bone) 1. nD. 2. feeding-bottle for old infirm people, made of skin, (X-Soga), confirmed but practically unknown today **615**
- isiciko* 1. lid of any kind, D, general. 2. also, e.g. stone cover of grain pit **616** (102, 148)
- isivingco* (-vingca 'close up, stop') cork, stopper, D X Mp **617**
- isivingcwa* (Em) stopper, D **618**
- isivimbo* (Em) cork or stopper for bottle or jar, D X Mp **619**
- unqheba* handle of cup or dish, fixed (as opposed to swinging handle of pail, *umphambo*) D, general **620**

umphambo 1. anything circular and binding; handle attached to both sides of a vessel, D; as of bucket, jug, X Mp. 2. repair or binding of a pot, Mp 621

DISCUSSION

In addition to the household utensils described in the last section, there are others that are connected specifically with the preparation of food.

BASKETS

The use of baskets to carry grain and other produce from the fields has already been noted under 'agriculture' in Shaw & Van Warmelo (1974: 158ff). The same sort of basket (*ingobozi*, *ingceke*) (Pl. 35: 2, 5—average height 35 cm) and its smaller variants (Pl. 61: 1–2) in most tribes, and *isiludu* in others (Pl. 35: 3) serve to store food in the hut, or as a container when preparing food and also for winnowing threshed corn and stamped maize. Winnowing is done by pouring the grain to the ground from a basket held high, so that the chaff blows away during the drop (Pl. 35: 1). *Ingobozi* is woven in a split-warp twine (Pl. 27: 5), the warps being of sedge or grass and the wefts nearly always sedge. It is light and flexible, and often has a concave base, which makes it easier to balance on the head. A double loop of twisted sedge for hanging is generally attached to the base. *Isiludu* is coiled, with a grass foundation simply oversewn with the same sort of grass (Pl. 27: 3).

Baskets were formerly used considerably in the actual preparation, and particularly serving, of food and drink.

In the west of the area, as has already been mentioned under 'animal husbandry', the common milking-vessel until the beginning of this century was a basket (*imbenga?*, *ithunga*). The baskets are said to have been shaped like an inverted beehive, and as far as can be deduced from the descriptions and from Sparrman's Gonaqua basket, were closely coiled with simple or furcate oversewing (see Pl. 27: 1); both foundation and sewing strand were of sedge stems. The swelling caused by dampness, together with a certain amount of accumulated grease, made them impervious to liquid.

Sour milk was served in other baskets of the same kind which varied in size from a diameter of about 40 cm at the mouth and holding a number of litres, to quite small. From these the milk was either scooped with a calabash or a whisk, or, in the case of the smaller ones, drunk directly.

All early authors comment on the extreme dirt of the milk baskets, and most agree that they were never washed and that the only cleaning they got was a licking by dogs. Backhouse, however, has a story that a special type of cockroach was prized because it cleaned up the grease in the interstices.

Some authors seem to have been under the impression that the milk was put into the baskets to curdle and that for this reason they were never washed, but there is no reason to suppose that this was the usual practice. Curdling took place in the milk sacks or calabashes into which the milk was poured from the milking-basket after milking.

Alberti states that the milk-baskets were used for holding boiled meal that was put to ferment in the process of making beer, to which Lichtenstein adds that the process was aided by the bacteria of fermentation already in the basket. Informants denied that this was done, and in view of the restrictions regarding milk (see p. 266), it is more likely that they were similar baskets but confined to that use.

Similar baskets were used as water vessels, and presumably for beer, though this is not mentioned in the literature. The likelihood that beer was also served in baskets in the west is suggested by surviving examples from the Bomvana (Pl. 56: 2, 5).

The type of basket that was used for serving soup, porridge, and other food, is not described, but is likely to have been the same coiled type as the above, or may have been closely woven (Pl. 59: 3).

The eastern tribes appear to have used wooden pails for milking (Mpondo) and pots for most liquids. For beer, however, a large beaker-shaped vessel was coiled in a simple oversewn technique of finely split palm-leaf (Pl. 56: 6, Pl. 57: 1-2, 4). The same technique was used for making a shallow food bowl (Pl. 57: 3, 5). Modern informants are of the opinion that the technique came from Natal. (If this is so surely it was with the Mpondo themselves.) The name *isitya* applies to both these vessels, which are still made by men.

Ingobozi is still used as before through the greater part of the area, as are *isiludu* in the north-west, and both forms of *isitya* in the east, but for most of the uses mentioned above baskets have been replaced by modern store-bought utensils. As early as 1927, Davies (1927: 521-524) recorded the use of tin cans for drinking beer among the Bomvana.

FOOD-MATS

The food-mat (*isithebe*) has two functions and is made in two sizes accordingly. *Isithebe senyama* (Pl. 58: 3, Pl. 59: 5-6, Pl. 60: 1-5), which is used as a plate for serving food for one or more persons, is the smaller of the two, on an average 35 by 40 cm, and may be square, rectangular, semicircular or round. (This name was also given by the Bomvana to a very shallow woven bowl (Pl. 59: 3).) *Isithebe sokusila* (Pl. 58: 1-2, Pl. 59: 1) which is placed in

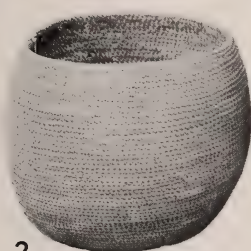
PLATE 56

Iron pot and baskets.

1. Homestead, late afternoon, Mpondomise; Tsolo 1955.
2. Beer basket, diameter mouth 165 mm, Bomvana; Elliotdale 1935 (TM 35/454).
3. *ingobozi*, diameter 200 mm, Thembu; Xalanga 1935 (TM 35/482).
4. 'Tambuki' basket, diameter 185 mm, Thembu ('Kurve til opbevaring af smykker'), collected by H. M. Naested 1856-7 (National Museum, Copenhagen Gd52).
5. Beer basket, diameter mouth 141 mm, Bomvana; Elliotdale 1935 (TM 35/390).
6. *isitya*, in use at Mpondo party; Tshonya, Lusikisiki 1948.



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front of the grinding-stone to catch the ground meal as it comes off, is larger, on an average 45 cm long by 55 cm at its widest, with flanging sides and the front edge wider than the back, which is tucked under the stone. The front edge usually has a convex curve, and the back is sometimes concave to match. One of the grain-mats seen at the place of the paramount chief of eastern Pondoland was large enough to take four grinding-stones (127 cm long by 72 cm back and 184 cm front).

Both sorts of *isithebe* are woven in the same technique, a close twine, frequently decorated in a diaper pattern. The side edges of the angular shapes, and usually the larger curve of the semicircular shapes, are reinforced by thickening the last warp. The weft is always of sedge, and the warps sometimes sedge and sometimes grass.

In addition to the small twined food-mat, there was, in western Pondoland and possibly Bomvanaland, a heavy twined wicker meat tray, with wooden rods as warps and creeper stems as wefts (Pl. 63: 1). According to Mrs Fred. Clarke these were used only by men—women used the *isithebe*. Shaw, in 1860, described a Xhosa chief's meat being served on trays or mats of intertwined branches of bushes, but this was on a journey and the trays were evidently improvised by his attendants. The same method, or a basket, was reported by MacLean (1858: 155) as being used for serving all men with meat, and it was mentioned by Xhosa informants in 1955.

Informants of other tribes appeared to know this type of tray even if they did not use it. The Xhosa called it *isixazi*, the Bomvana *ucango*, the word for wicker door which it resembles in everything but size, the eastern Mpondo *uhlango*, and the Xesibe simply *isithebe senyama*. The Bhaca did not know it.

In lieu of food-mats, Padel reports of the Hlubi in 1877 that they used stones as plates, and Brownlee, when among the Fingo in 1928, was served meat on an aloe leaf, as were Mpondomise and Bhaca men until recently.

STRAINERS

Strainers are used primarily for straining the fermented beer during the process of manufacture, but also for straining thin porridge for children. The earliest strainer mentioned in the literature was a nest of the weaver bird, which consists of a bulb about 10 cm diameter and a long cylindrical neck about 16 cm long and 5 cm diameter. According to Alberti, repeated by Lichten-

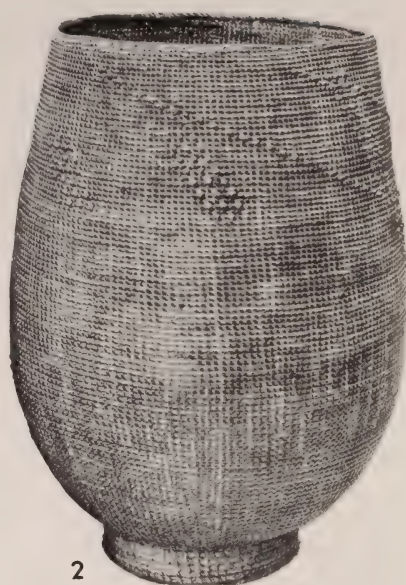
PLATE 57

Basketwork utensils.

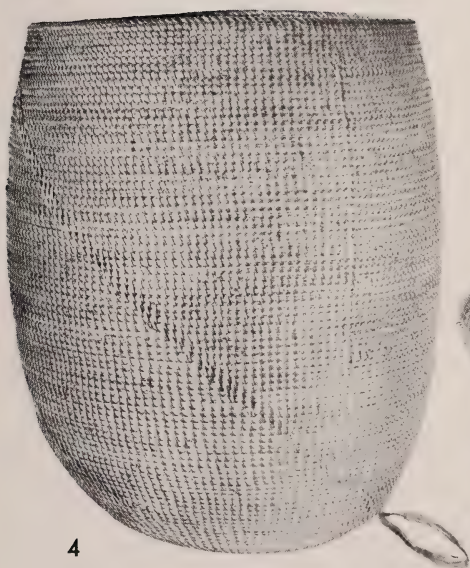
1. *isitya*, diameter c. 265 mm, Xesibe; Elubaleko, Mt Ayliff 1948.
2. *isitya*, diameter 220 mm, Mpondo; Bizana 1935 (TM 35/420).
3. *isitya*, diameter 200 mm, Xesibe; Elubaleko, Mt Ayliff 1948.
4. *isitya*, diameter 220 mm, Mpondo; Lusikisiki 1935 (TM 35/422).
5. *isitya*, diameter 230 mm, Mpondo; Nyandeni, Libode 1942 (FH 369).



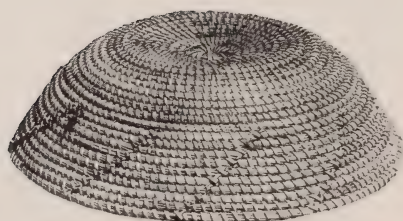
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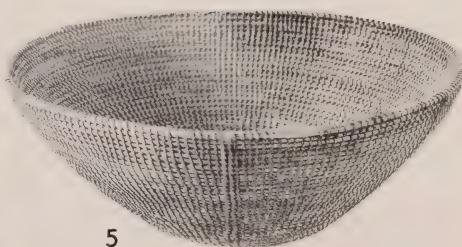
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stein, this was customarily used by the Xhosa for straining beer. From then until Warner and Fritsch, 60 years later, beer-strainers do not appear to have caught the eye of the travellers. Fritsch's very slight description would still fit the type wherever used throughout the area today.

The strainer (*intluzo*) is shaped somewhat like a jelly bag, and averages 50 cm in length and 15 cm across the mouth when open. The closed end has a strap for hanging. It is a loose fabric of sedge, grass, or split palm leaf, and three techniques are used. The most common is straight sewing; the foundation strands are two- or three-ply cords of split sedge stems, and they are sewn in a spiral at about 2 cm intervals by a similar cord of sedge or grass, which passes through the twists of the foundation strands (Pl. 28: 4). The work starts at the mouth, the widest part, and the width is reduced towards the base by knotting the strands on the inside, until a point is reached and tightly bound. This type of strainer was seen in use by Xhosa, Thembu, Bomvana, Mpondo, and Xesibe, and is made by women (Pl. 61: 3, 5-6).

The second technique is a diagonal open split-warp twine (Pl. 30: 2), the twining being again at intervals of about 2 cm, and both warp and weft being sedge stems. The work proceeds in the same manner as before mentioned. This type was found among Thembu, Bomvana, and Bhaca, and is also made by women (Pl. 61: 4, Pl. 62: 4-5).

The third technique is a diagonal twill of split leaf of the palm *Hyphaene crinita* (Pl. 30: 4), and is found only in the eastern part of the area, where it is the more common variety among Mpondo, Xesibe and Bhaca. The work commences at the mouth by knotting the wefts together in pairs and at right-angles, and commencing the twill straight away. The narrowing is brought about naturally by the narrowing of the strips of leaf foliole. This sort of strainer is made by men (Pl. 62: 1, 3). An entirely different type of strainer was seen at Lugangeni (Bhaca). It was like a small *ingobozi*, but was said to be a strainer.

According to Hamilton-Welsh (Louw 1964: 110) the Fingo gave the beer-strainers to the pigs to eat when they were worn out.

CALABASHES

Calabashes, made from the gourd *Lagenaria* sp., are very useful kitchen utensils and have not yet been entirely ousted by store goods. (Shaw & Van Warmelo 1974: 148f. See also Böhme (1976) for further discussion.)

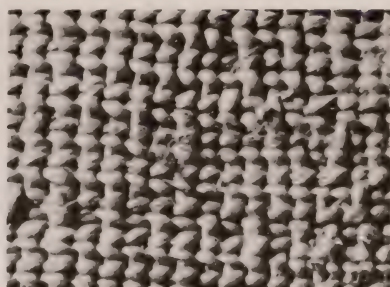
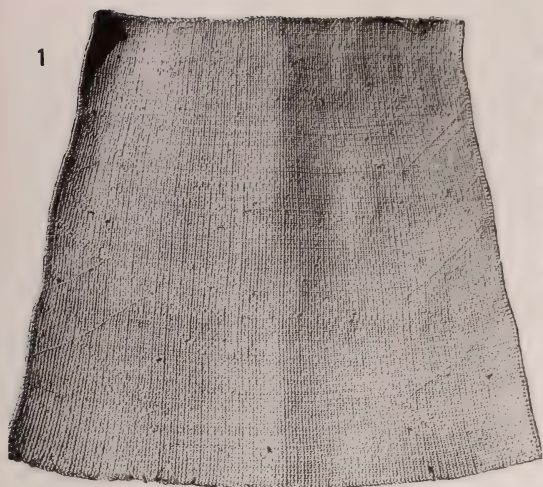
The most important is the milk-calabash, into which milk is poured after

PLATE 58

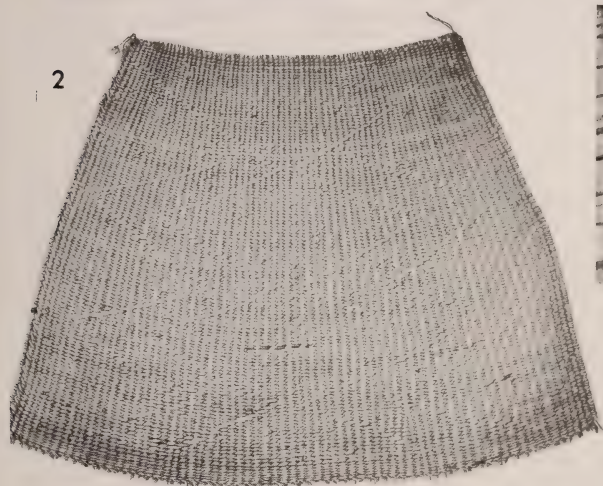
Grain mats and their fabric.

1. *isithebe sokusila*, base 640 mm, and fabric, Xhosa; Qwaninga, Willowvale 1948.
2. *isithebe*, base 693 mm, and fabric, Mpondo; Bizana 1935 (TM 35/481).
3. *isithebe*, straight edge 406 mm, and fabric, Bomvana; Elliotdale 1935 (TM 35/410).

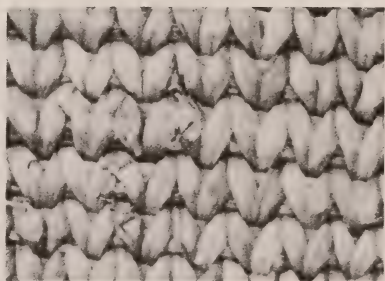
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milking and allowed to go sour (Pl. 63: 5). In former days it was only the poorer households that used calabashes for this; the others used skin sacks. Nowadays, however, calabashes may be used by all and, according to Makalima, are stored in the innermost part of the hut of the head of the homestead. Nursing mothers have a special calabash set aside for them and a small one is kept for each baby (Pl. 64: 2). This small one is carried by mothers when they go on journeys. A mealie cob is generally used as a cork (Pl. 26: 3), though Ratzel depicts a nicely carved wooden stopper.

The flask often has a network of cord or thong by which it is supported and carried (Pl. 63: 3, 6, Pl. 64: 2). One seen had a fibre cord passed through the mouth, and out at the base, where it was fixed to a toggle. This was to drain away the whey (Pl. 63: 5).

The long-stemmed calabashes used to have one side cut out of the bulbous part and were used as drinking-cups for beer and other liquids, but they have mostly been replaced in this function by store-bought mugs.

Small long-stemmed gourds are cut in half to serve as ladles or scoops (Pl. 64: 3-4, 6) and the smallest used to be cut in half to serve as spoons. These latter are not often seen now, except in initiation schools.

Makalima mentions that pumpkin seed is stored in a calabash.

FIRE-STICKS

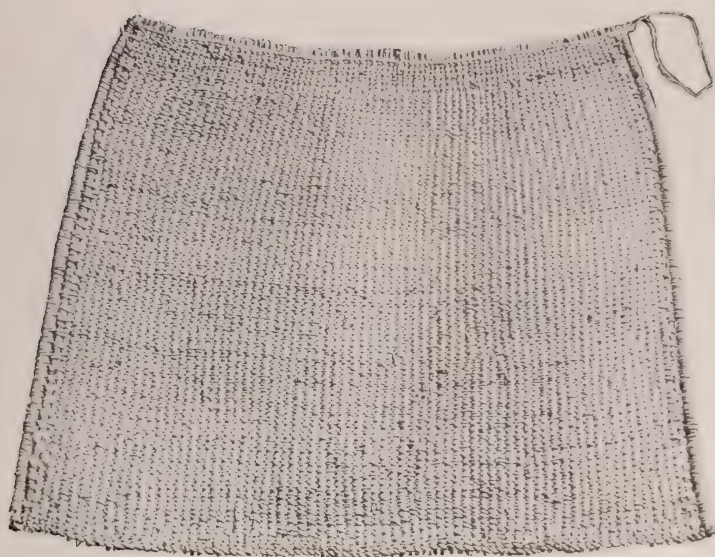
Fire-sticks are no longer in use for ordinary purposes. As early as 1782 the survivors of the *Grosvenor* saw a Hottentot using flint and steel, and Alberti, in 1802, observed that the Xhosa near the Colony had tinder-boxes. But fire-sticks survived for about a century after that before giving way first to flint and steel, and then to matches. They were still used in 1949, however, for kindling the sacred fire at the Bhaca feast of the first fruits.

Two types of fire-stick are described. The first and most commonly mentioned consisted of a pair of sticks, about 30 cm long, one of hard wood and one of soft. A small circular depression was made in the soft one, which was held on the ground between the feet. The hard one was held between the palms of the hands with its end in the depression, and made to rotate rapidly. The

PLATE 59

Food mats, stone knife and cupping-horn.

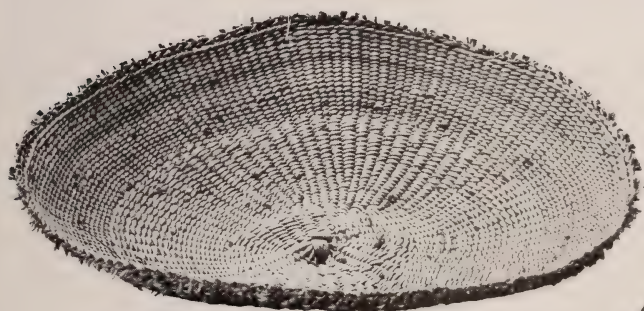
1. *isithebe sokusila*, grinding-mat, base 650 mm, Xesibe; Elubaleko, Mt Ayliff 1948.
2. *isilumeko*, cupping-horn, 142 mm, Bhaca; Lugangeni, Mt Frere 1948.
3. *isithebe*, food mat, diameter 315 mm, Bomvana; Elliotdale 1935 (TM 35/507).
4. *intshengece*, stone knife, for severing umbilical cord, c. 100 mm; Fingo, Hogsback 1940-50 (Alb. no no.).
5. *isithebe*, diameter 360 mm, Mpondomise; Zingcuka, Tsolo 1963 (collected by W. D. Hammond-Tooke).
6. *isithebe*, no measurement, Xhosa; Ntlabane, Willowvale 1948.



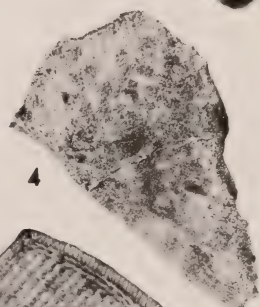
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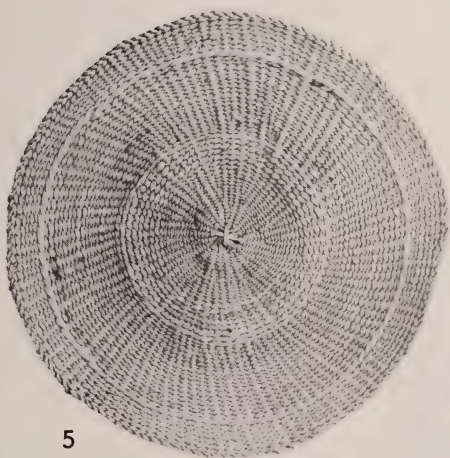
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depression was surrounded by dry grass, among the Bhaca mixed with soot, or an inflammable pith as tinder. (Stout mentions the Thembu use of a highly inflammable 'pitch' from a reed, but surely this should read 'pith'.) When the wood dust in the hole began to glow, the tinder was added carefully and the fire kindled.

The other type described by Alberti and Lichtenstein, had the same hard drill but, instead of a stick on the ground, a flat piece of wood 'laid deep in the ground'.

According to Phillips, the Thembu, when on a journey, used as the lower fire-stick one of the straight 150 cm long sticks that they always had as walking or defence sticks tied up with their spears. Carmichael speaks of this as common Xhosa practice when away from the homestead.

The woods used were said to be *umthathi* (sneezewood, *Ptaeroxylon utile*) according to Sim the most common, *isiduli* (*Brachylaena elliptica*, bitterblaar), and *uluze* (*Ficus*). The wood shown and named *uzwathi* by an elderly Xhosa informant was identified as *Ficus burtt-davyi*, and the shrub which provided the pith for tinder, as *Berkheya* (*Stobaea*) *seminivea*.

GRINDING-STONES

Grinding-stones (Pl. 64: 5) are mentioned in the earliest records of this area, and although Fox states that by 1939 machine-ground meal was being more and more used, grinding-stones are still in use in the great majority of homes even of the westernized people. The reason is that stone-ground meal is preferred to machine-ground.

The lower stone is an oblong piece of granite, which is lower at the front than the back, and has a hollowed surface which is pecked out when the stone is new and increases with wear. The pecking used to be done by the women with a sharp, hard stone, but now some use an iron crow-bar.

A conveniently shaped hard pebble is chosen for the upper stone. According to Bonatz, the Thembu in 1834 were using alternatively an iron pestle. This sounds strange, as it involves a different action, but Bonatz was a careful observer. It is possible that it was a careless use of the term.

The women sometimes damp the grain (maize or sorghum) before grinding

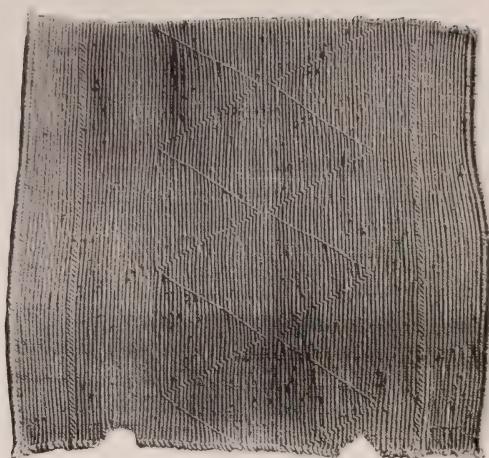
PLATE 60

Food mats.

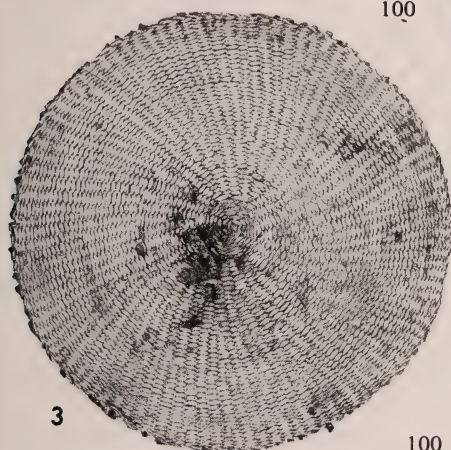
1. Food mat, base 394 mm, Xesibe; Mt Ayliff 1935.
2. *isithebe senyama*, greatest width 500 mm, Xesibe; Elubaleko, Mt Ayliff 1948.
3. *isithebe*, diameter 317 mm, Bomvana; Guse, Elliotdale 1948.
4. *isithebe*, base 455 mm, Mpondo; Bizana 1935 (TM 35/478).
5. *isithebe*, 362 mm between corners, Xesibe; Mt Ayliff 1935.
6. Women eating food from *isithebe*, Mpondo; Umvume Springs, Port St Johns c. 1939 (photo Mrs F. Clarke).



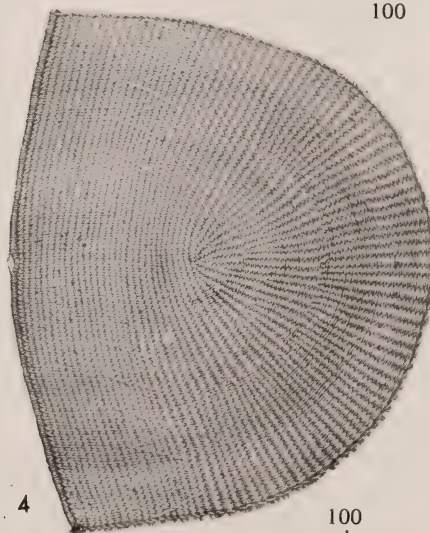
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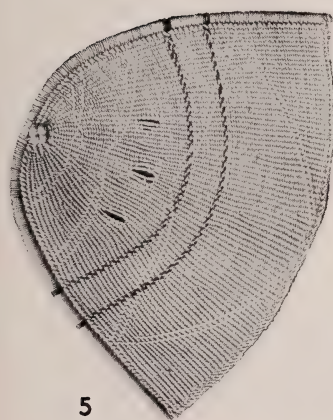
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it, depending on the dish to be prepared. Damp or dry it is placed in the hollow, and the woman kneels behind the stone, takes the small stone in both hands, and bears down with all her weight in a rhythmic motion from back to front (Pl. 64: 8). A mat is placed in front of the stone to catch the meal. Corn is ground for flour or for making malt for beer.

The Xhosa and Bomvana have their stones fixed on a sort of clay pedestal in the back of the kitchen hut. The others do not have them fixed, but can move them wherever they want them.

MORTARS AND PESTLES

Despite the fact that wooden mortars were seen by the survivors of the *S. Alberto* in 1593, though among a people who seem to have been predominantly Hottentot, writers of the late nineteenth century and modern informants all assert that the use of mortar and pestle by the Cape Nguni is a recent thing learnt from Hottentots or Europeans. Certainly the early descriptions of the Xhosa make no mention of them, nor are there specific terms for mortar and pestle; *isingqusho* is a derivative of the verb *ukugqusha*, to crush, and is used for both mortar and pestle. The earliest description after that of the *S. Alberto*, is Alexander's report that he saw Fingo women on the march carrying pestles. There is, however, no evidence that the Hottentots used wooden mortars—they did not cultivate grain, and such pounding of foodstuffs as they wished to do could be done on stone. Mortars seem to be characteristic of the non-Nguni peoples of the interior, who have specific and very old terms for each of the articles.

At all events mortars are now generally used, in addition to, not instead of, grinding-stones. They are used for stamped maize, which is a different dish from the ground meal. After stamping, the husks are winnowed out by pouring from basket to basket, or to the ground, in the wind.

Mortars may be made either of stone or wood. The stone mortar is of variable but substantial size with a hollow at the centre, pecked out to start with, and increased with use (Pl. 65: 1–2, 6). The wooden mortar is a hollowed tree trunk shaped roughly like an egg-cup, about 90 cm high and 30 cm in diameter at the top (Pl. 65: 3, 5, 7). In 1948 among coastal Xhosa, Bomvana, eastern Mpondo, Xesibe and Bhaca, only wooden mortars were seen (Pl. 63: 2),

PLATE 61

Baskets and beer-strainers.

1. *ingceke*, diameter 276 mm, Xesibe; Elubaleko, Mt Ayliff 1948.
2. *ingceke*, diameter 241 mm, Xesibe; Elubaleko, Mt Ayliff 1948.
3. *intluzo*, 551 mm, Xhosa; Qwaninga, Willowvale 1948.
4. *intluzo*, 690 mm, Thembu; Mqanduli 1935 (TM 35/325).
5. *intluzo*, 720 mm, Bomvana; Nkanya, Elliotdale 1948.
6. *intluzo*, 710 mm, Mpondo; Umvume Springs, Port St Johns 1939 (SAM-6053).



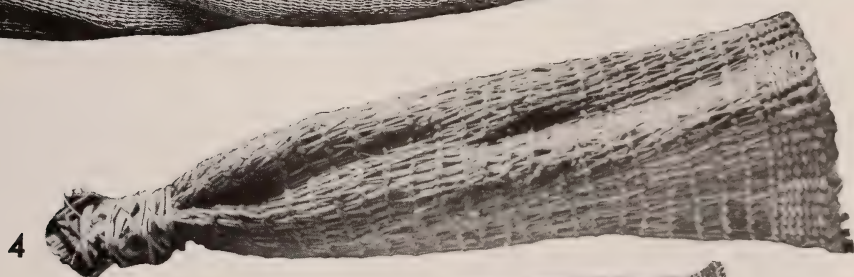
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and in 1955 eastern Mpondo confirmed that they used wood only. In 1955 among Thembu, Mpondomise and Fingo, stone mortars were far in the majority—it seemed that every household had one—and the Thembu of Herschel, in 1961, used stone mortars exclusively. This may have been fortuitous, or possibly that the increasing shortage of suitable tree trunks had made them necessary. Wooden mortars are obtainable at the stores, nevertheless some informants mentioned the difficulty of obtaining them, and said that the use of stone mortars had started as a necessity and become a preference, because women found it quicker. That stone mortars are not a new idea is emphasized by the finds on old homestead sites in the Ciskei, and the opinion has been given that it is the old-fashioned families that use the stone mortars.

The pestle for use with wooden mortars may be a heavy pole of wood, about 90 cm long and 10 cm in diameter. With stone mortars, a short cylindrical stone, about 25 to 30 cm long and 8 to 10 cm diameter is used. With both sorts of mortar, however, iron crow-bars of various lengths and narrower than the other pestles may also be used, and are the more common with stone mortars. According to Müller, among the Hlubi two girls work together, and each brings down her pestle alternately. Informants, including Hlubi, said that it was a matter of taste whether one or two worked at a time, but not more than two would do so.

POTTERY

The most important uses of pottery in food preparation were for cooking food, and brewing beer.

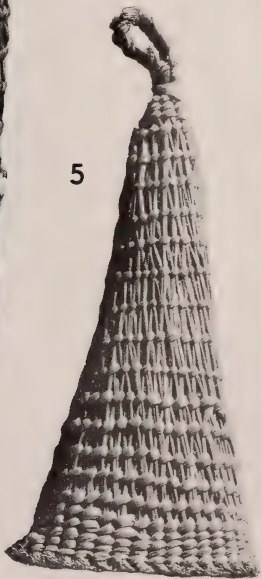
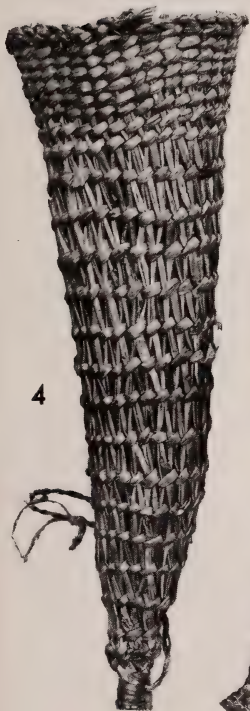
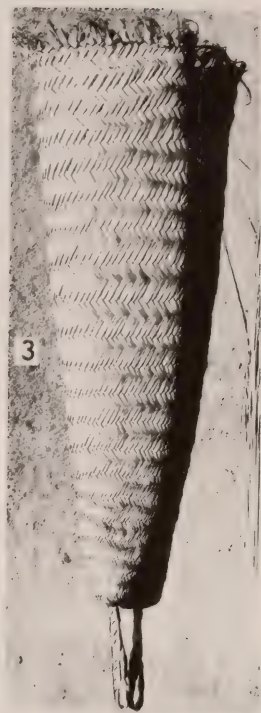
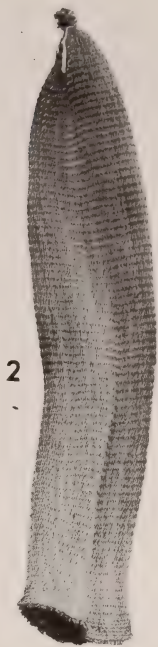
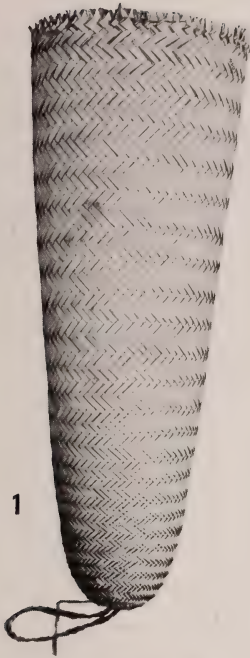
The cooking-pot (*imbiza*) was of fairly large to medium size, and is mentioned both for frying and boiling meat, and cooking porridge and other food. Fritsch and Ndamase mention the use of a shallow food bowl as a lid for the cooking-pot, and Fritsch adds that when it was desired to exclude air, a coating of dung was put over the join. No information about this is obtainable today because earthen pots are no longer used for cooking.

Very little mention is made of beer-pots in the literature, but they must have been, as they are today, those of the largest size (*umphanda*) (40–70 cm high) (Pl. 20: 1, 3–4, Pl. 22: 1–4, Pl. 24: 4). The beer is stood in these to ferment, and is later strained off into somewhat smaller, but still fair-sized pots.

PLATE 62

Beer-strainers.

1. *intluzo* made of palm leaf, 596 mm, Mpondo; Umvume Springs, Port St Johns 1939 (SAM-6054).
2. *intluzo*, 643 mm, Xesibe; Mt Ayliff 1944 (EL 986).
3. *intluzo*, 605 mm, made of palm leaf, Xesibe; Elubaleko, Mt Ayliff 1948.
4. *intluzo*, 228 mm, Thembu; Mqanduli 1935 (TM 35/341).
5. *ivovo*, 173 mm, Bhaca; Lugangeni, Mt Frere 1948.
6. Woman straining beer, Qwathi; Qebe, Engcobo 1965.



Large-sized pots were also used for storing water, which was drawn daily in smaller pots.

Small pots (15–25 cm high), spherical or with everted lip, were used as drinking-vessels for beer and milk (Pl. 20: 5–9, Pl. 21: 1–3, 5, 9–10, Pl. 24: 2, 7). According to Hunter those used by the Mpondo for milk are kept apart from those used for beer, because of the restrictions regarding milk-drinking.

Food was served in shallow basin-shaped bowls (Pl. 20: 7, Pl. 24: 1).

Finally, pots might be used for the storage of dry foods—grain or the left-overs of food.

Today, among Xhosa and Thembu, pottery has completely disappeared. Its place for cooking and beer-brewing was taken as early as the middle of the nineteenth century by the three-legged, lidded iron pot (Pl. 56: 1), and tin or enamelware utensils serve its other purposes. In the 1960s, however, some Xhosa were importing pottery made by South Sotho potters settled in Griqualand East.

The only potter seen in Bomvanaland in 1948 made a fairly large range of shapes for different uses (Pl. 20).

In Pondoland and Griqualand East, pottery is more common, and though the iron pot is generally used for cooking, earthen pots are preferred for beer-making.

SKEWERS

There is little more to be said than appears in the vocabulary about these sticks or pegs. They were presumably in general use, in lieu of forks, for serving meat, as mentioned by Campbell and Smith. It is recorded that Bomvana and Mpondo *intonjane* eat with sticks, as they are not allowed to touch food with their hands. Xesibe, eastern Mpondo and Xhosa informants said sticks were used to take meat out of the main pot but others said they were not used for any purpose at all.

SKIMMERS

The skimmer (Pl. 66: 4–6) is a small basketwork spoon made and used primarily for skimming flies and scum off the top of beer. Its use does not appear to have been very widespread in the west of the area. Except for Ratzel's

PLATE 63

Meat tray, mortar and calabashes.

1. Men's meat plate, width 416 mm, Mpondo; Umvume Springs, Mantusini, Port St Johns c. 1939 (SAM-6091).
2. *ingqusho*, mortar, 440 mm, Bomvana; Guse, Elliotdale 1948.
3. *iselwa*, calabash, diameter 150 mm, Abelungu; Elliotdale 1935 (TM 35/384).
4. Calabash, diameter 173 mm, Xhosa; no locality, no date (EL 471).
5. *iselwa*, no measurement, Xhosa; Bojeni, Willowvale 1948.
6. *idliwa*, calabash with strapping, diameter 240 mm, Mpondo; Lusikisiki 1935 (TM 35/453).

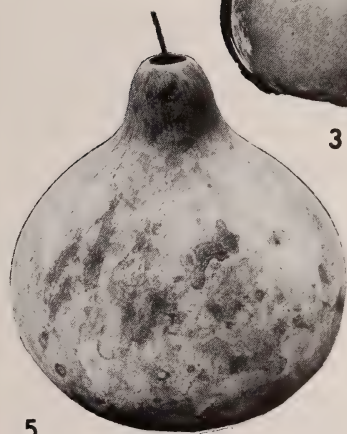
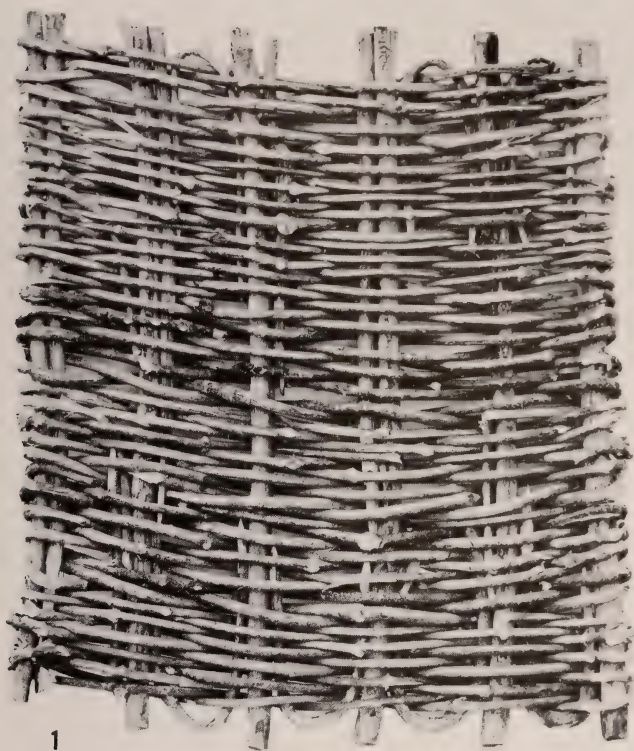


figure it is not mentioned in the literature. It may still be seen, however, and apparently is well known in Pondoland and Griqualand East. It seems likely that it may be an item adopted from the Natal tribes, by whom it is commonly used.

SPOONS

From the literature one gains the impression that spoons were possibly not an indigenous feature of Cape Nguni culture, and that they may have been adopted after contact with Europeans or Fingo. The vocabulary, however, seems to deny this. Early records of the Xhosa and Thembu mention only the whisk (*imbombe*) which was used for supping sour milk. This is described variously as the flat stem of a fibrous plant or of the wild date, pounded to loosen the fibres at one end, or as a small bundle of rushes or little twigs. A whisk (*umhlunza*) for the same purpose, seen at the Albany Museum (G 1401), is made of strips of palm leaf bound together in a bundle. In use the whisk picked up the curds of the milk and left the whey.

Besides this, Alberti and Döhne record only that shells, slivers of wood, half-calabashes, or any other handy objects, were used as spoons for milk or other food.

Wooden and horn spoons were mentioned by Rose in 1829, but the first real description is by Fritsch in 1872, when spoon-carving was evidently flourishing. He mentions three types—a large short-handled wooden spoon for serving, a small, long-handled spoon (material not given) for eating, and a deep-bowled ladle, sometimes of wood, but more often of calabash, for serving, and sometimes drinking, beer.

According to MacDonald, individuals used the large spoons to help themselves from the common bowl, and then ate from the spoon with their fingers.

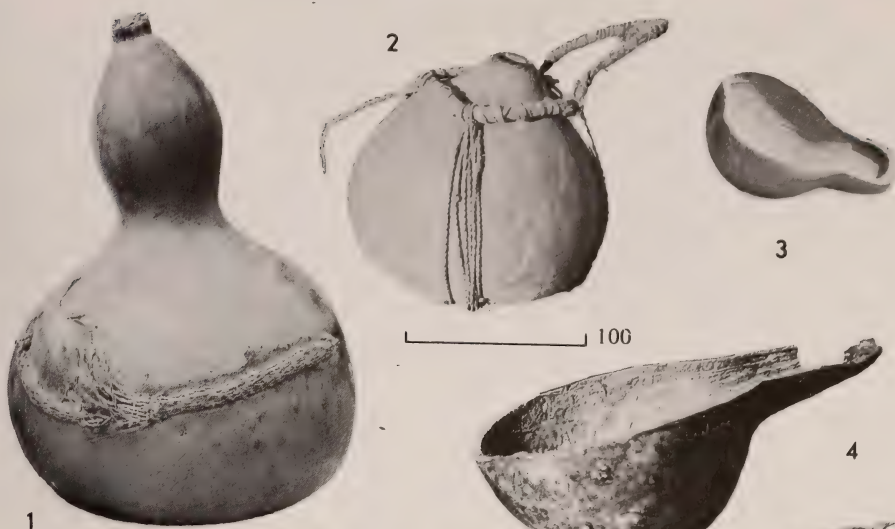
From early illustrations and from modern examples seen and photographed the following styles seem to be distinguishable:

1. A rather deep, sometimes circular sometimes oval bowl, in the same plane as the handle, which is straight (Pl. 66: 1 right).

PLATE 64

Calabash utensils and grinding-stone.

1. Calabash with mended crack, diameter 190 mm, Bomvana; Elliotdale 1935 (TM 35/431).
2. *itshalo*, child's calabash, height 140 mm, Xesibe; Elubaleko, Mt Ayliff 1948.
3. *umcephe*, calabash scoop, 115 mm, Xesibe; Elubaleko, Mt Ayliff 1948.
4. *umcephe*, calabash scoop or ladle, 222 mm, Mpondo; Lusikisiki 1948.
5. Grinding-stones, c. 400 mm square, Xhosa; Willowvale 1948.
6. *umcephe*, calabash scoop or ladle, 218 mm, Mpondo; Ntontela, Lusikisiki 1943 (Alb. C 1307).
7. *umcephe*, no measurement, Bomvana; Nkanya, Elliotdale 1948.
8. Women using grinding-stones, Mpondo; Mpimbo, Ngqeleni 1958.



2. An oval bowl set at an obtuse angle on the handle which may be curved (Pl. 66: 1 left, 3, 10, 11).

3. Bowl and handle in one, somewhat like half a calabash (Pl. 66: 8, 9).

4. Oval, leaf-shaped bowl, not divided from the straight handle, but bowl curved slightly towards the front (Pl. 67: 3).

5. Large oval bowl in the same plane as a short handle (Pl. 66: 13).

All these styles were seen in wooden specimens but those made of horn were of shapes 2, 3 and 4. In wooden specimens the handle, the underside, and sometimes the rim of the bowl were decorated with incised and/or branded patterns. The handle in both materials was frequently decorated with raised ridges and spirals, which in the case of wooden specimens might also be branded.

Examples of all the above types are still to be found generally, in either wood or horn, but in the west, particularly, they are not as common as they were early in the twentieth century, and are giving place to store-bought spoons (Pl. 66: 2).

Stirrers for porridge instead of being spoon-shaped may have a narrow blade in the same plane as the long handle or may have a bowl and a blade (Pl. 67: 1). Sticks are mentioned for stirring, but there is no indication that they were specially shaped.

WOODEN VESSELS

There is no word in the Xhosa vocabulary for wooden vessels and the fact that they are not mentioned in lists of domestic utensils recorded by several reliable observers seems to indicate that they were not a general feature of Cape Nguni culture. Nevertheless, they are mentioned in the literature and the first record is in 1593. Of the six records, five are for the Xhosa and one for the Bhaca. Of the first five, three are by writers who use the term 'Kaffir' rather widely or are writing general descriptions. While they are mentioned again by Thompson (1821-4), 230 years after the first record and by Kretschmar (1853) and later by Nauhaus (1881) and Hammond-Tooke (1949) for the Bhaca, the only adequate description is by Fritsch (1872), one of the generalizers, who describes shallow bowls for food, and large spherical vessels for storing dry foodstuffs. He describes them as cut out of the solid, sometimes left plain, and sometimes decorated with raised and/or branded, or incised patterns, mostly

PLATE 65

Stone and wooden mortars.

1-2. Stone mortar, Thembu; Idutywa 1955.

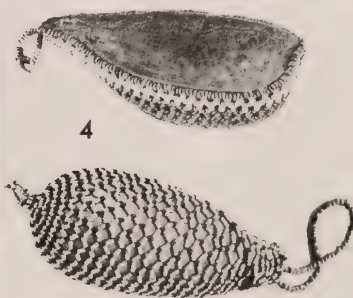
3. *isingqusho*, mortar, no measurement, Bhaca, Lugangeni, Mt Frere 1948

4. Beaded calabash scoops, ornamental and not for kitchen use, Xhosa; no locality 1931 (PEM 229).

5. Worn-out wooden mortar, no measurement, Fingo; Tsomo 1955.

6. Stone mortar and crusher inside hut, Mpondomise; Tsolo 1955.

7. Mortar and pestle, 787 mm, ? Xhosa; no locality, no date (McGregor Museum ?211).



conventional. On the large vessels a projecting lug was left on each side to take the place of handles, or even a single projecting handle might be left.

Of the five specimens seen surviving in museums, none is very well authenticated. Three are shallow dishes, and two are fairly large bowls standing on three feet. All but one of the five has incised and branded decorations.

OVENS

There is no word for oven in the Xhosa vocabulary, although two authors, Paterson and Latrobe, mention the 'Caffres', who were evidently Xhosa, using ovens to bake bread. The statement of several early authors that, instead of in an oven, the dough is placed among the ashes of the fire, seems to be correct. Modern informants did not know of the use of ovens.

MISCELLANEOUS

Soga's *uthwisha* is a feeding-bottle made of the 'inner lining' of an ox-skin, peeled off, dressed, and sewn into a bottle-shaped article. Although one informant in 1948 knew this article, there was no confirmation of its use then or later.

Kropf stated that if a woman died in childbirth the baby was fed by means of a teat made of antelope skin. This was not confirmed by modern informants.

Lids, stoppers and handles were generally known for their functions.

SUMMARY

The Cape Nguni depended for their subsistence both on agriculture and animal husbandry, augmented by hunting and the collecting of wild plants and fruits and, along the coast, sea-food. The implements used and the household furniture and cooking utensils were simple. More important and varied were the weapons used for war as well as for hunting.

PLATE 66

Spoons.

1. Spoons, 'Löffel der Kaffern', 250-190 mm, at $\frac{1}{3}$ not $\frac{1}{4}$ natural size, as erroneously stated (Ratzel 2 1895: 682-5).
2. *icephe*, tin spoon decorated with beads, c. 140 mm, Bhaca; Lugangeni, Mt Frere 1948.
3. Horn spoon, 207 mm, Mpondomise; Tsolo 1936 (SAM-5553).
4. Skimmer, 'Schaumlöffel der Kaffern', 192 mm (Ratzel 2 1895: 74).
5. *isikhetho*, skimmer, 210 mm, Mpondo; Nkunzimbini, Lusikisiki 1948.
6. *isikhetho*, skimmer, 200 mm, Mpondo; Bizana 1935 (TM 35/436).
7. *uthiniko*, 282 mm, Mpondo (UCT 23/163).
8. Sour milk ladle, 400 mm, Mpondo; Ngqeleni 1939 (TM 8034).
9. Ladle, 'Schöpfgefäß der Kaffern', 255 mm, scale as 1 above (Ratzel 2 1895: 681).
10. Spoon, 244 mm, ? Xhosa; no locality, no date (KM 175F).
11. Horn spoon, 300 mm, Xesibe; Mt Ayliff, presented by F. Brownlee 1945 (TM 8634).
12. *icephe*, 300 mm, Mpondo; Lusikisiki 1935 (TM 35/400).
13. Ladle, 362 mm, Xesibe; Mt Ayliff 1944 (EL 1001).



Although the Cape Nguni had a tradition of agriculture, the methods that were used prior to the introduction of the hoe and the plough were very elementary and relatively few crops were grown. Until the end of the eighteenth century the only implements mentioned in the records were the wooden spade and a pointed stick for digging, a spear-blade for reaping and a stick for threshing. The crops mentioned during that period were sorghum, pumpkins, melons, sweet potatoes, gourds (for use as utensils only), beans, hemp and tobacco, and right at the end of the century, maize. All except maize, hemp and tobacco are indigenous to Africa. Judging by South African Bantu names which derive from the Hindi *bhang*, hemp came from an Indian source via the east coast of Africa. It is an open question when and by which route maize and tobacco arrived from America.

Early in the nineteenth century the more efficient iron-headed hoe was introduced. The European style was introduced by the missionaries from the west, and the northern Nguni style was introduced from the east by the immigrant tribes from Natal to whom agriculture was more important. The latter, however, could only have brought hoes for their own use, and there is no evidence that they manufactured hoes in the Cape. The former type of hoe was therefore easier to obtain and so became the dominant and, finally, the only type used.

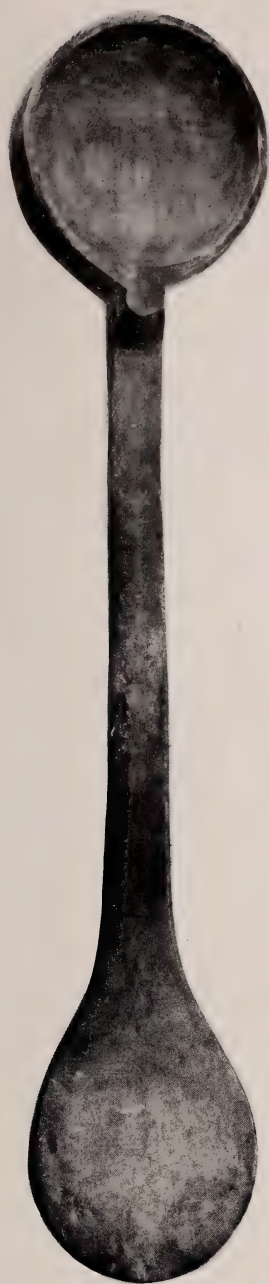
Among the older settled tribes—Xhosa, Thembu, Bomvana, Mpondo, and Mpondomise—agriculture was almost entirely the domain of women, but among the later immigrant tribes the men were accustomed to help with the hoeing, and when the missionaries in the west introduced the plough, to be drawn by oxen, men everywhere became involved because women did not work with cattle. The early nineteenth century, therefore, saw a considerable revolution in Cape Nguni agricultural method, which then remained fairly static until the recent introduction of modern methods.

Animal husbandry, especially cattle-keeping, was the most important factor in the economic life of the Cape Nguni, whether the first settlers or the later immigrants. The Xhosa are said to have had a sacred herd for ritual purposes, and as late as 1927 the Bomvana still had one. The importance of cattle over all other stock is shown by the fact that their care was exclusively the domain of men and that women were restricted from having anything to

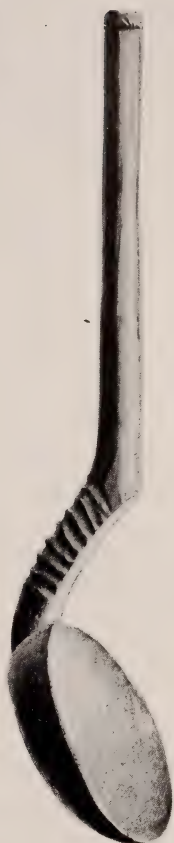
PLATE 67

Spoons.

1. Combined spoon and stirrer, 428 mm, Thembu; no locality, no date (EL 209).
2. *uthiniko*, 286 mm, Bomvana; Elliotdale 1935 (TM 35/433).
3. *inkezo*, 277 mm, Mpondo; no locality 1935 (TM 35/434).
4. *icephe*, 310 mm, Bhaca; Mt Frere 1948.
5. *umhlunza*, reed food-mops for eating thick milk, upper 400 mm, lower 375 mm, Xhosa; Aylesby farm, Grahamstown, presented by F. Schonland, no date (Alb. G1401).



1



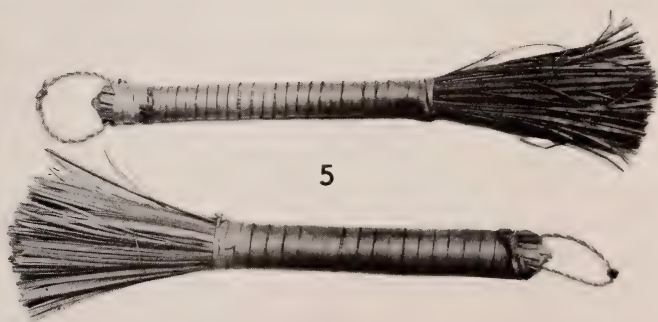
2



3



4



5

do with them. Milk was a staple item of diet. It was milked into baskets or wooden pails and emptied in earlier times into skin bags, later into calabashes, to go sour. Only old women and young children drank fresh milk. There were restrictions on individuals drinking any milk under certain circumstances.

According to the records of the survivors of shipwrecks in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, goats and sheep were known to all, but were more numerous east of the Bashee River. Goats, particularly, have increased in number in all areas and take the place of cattle in poorer families.

Before the nineteenth century, fowls, a small breed, were encountered only east of the Bashee.

The existence of pigs in the area before their introduction from the west is ruled out by the fact that the only names for them derive from English and Afrikaans.

Dogs have always been kept as hunters. Only mongrels are seen today, but there are several records of a large greyhound type, that has disappeared since the imposition of restrictions on hunting.

The Cape Nguni had few formal tools besides stones of suitable size and shape which were used for many purposes. The iron blade of the domestic axe could be used in the other plane in a different haft-head to make an adze for skin-dressing and wood-carving. An iron awl was used in skin-dressing, basketwork and for many other purposes where a sharp point was needed. Its value is indicated by the fact that it was usually hafted and sheathed in wood and the finer sort hung on a strap round a man's neck or upper arm, or was attached to a cloak.

Knives were not an indigenous item, but spear-blades, occasionally given a short handle, served their purpose. A curved blade for hollowing out wooden utensils was said to be used by Xesibe and Bhaca.

Smithing had its own tools, mainly of stone.

All sorts of modern tools are used now and, in addition, craftsmen, pipe-makers in particular, make for themselves specialized tools, using modern materials.

The very large vocabulary for weapons and particularly for clubs and spears shows a preoccupation with war and hunting, at both of which the Cape Nguni, and especially the Xhosa, were very skilled.

Battle-axes, bows and arrows were not indigenous to the Cape Nguni. Those found must have been obtained from elsewhere.

There are names for a variety of clubs and sticks, not all identifiable at this stage. Sticks of various sorts were used for support and protection. There was only a slight border-line between some of them and the club, which was a definite weapon that was handled with great skill both in war and in hunting.

For protection in both those arts a large ox-hide shield was carried, with which to parry the opposing weapon or foil a lion's spring.

The spear was the Cape Nguni weapon *par excellence*. In the west great

skill was shown in throwing it; in the east greater reliance may have been placed on the stabbing spear for close combat. Twenty-seven different names are recorded, six of which are reasonably identifiable and seem to have been commonly known to all. The rest may be dialectical terms.

The game that abounded in the eastern Cape in former times was hunted vigorously by the Cape Nguni, but, at least latterly, as much for sport as for subsistence. Hunting was, of course, confined to men and it was considered a great distinction to be a good hunter. A great deal of trapping of single animals and birds was done with snares by individuals. The special sporting events were the great drives where the game was surrounded by a cordon of hunters, ambushed in a kloof or driven into pitfalls. Autumn and winter were the main hunting seasons and some chiefs declared certain stretches of veld and forest closed to hunters for the rest of the year.

The inference from the historical records is that fishing and the eating of fish were taboo throughout the area. Shellfish were, however, collected on the coast, where the practice continues today. The Mpondo, at least, in this century, have fished as well. Shipwrecked people in the seventeenth century reported finding 'fish garths' full of fish, which they took. The garths might have been of Hottentot origin, although the people amongst whom they found themselves appear to have been Bantu-speaking.

All the Cape Nguni collected wild plant foods.

Cape Nguni household equipment was of the simplest. Mats of sedge served to sleep on or to sit on, and the skin cloak was used as a blanket at night. Stools were rare and encountered only latterly. Some persons used the skull of an ox or sat on the wooden headrest that at night served as a pillow. In general, the fire on the hearth was the only light at night, but sneezewood torches were used by some people. Brooms were made of twigs or strong grass. Large baskets are said to have been used to store clothing and valuables, but they have not been recorded for a very long time.

The utensils used in the preparation of food and drink were equally few and simple. Of basketwork were made baskets, food-mats and trays, strainers and skimmers. Fire-sticks, skewers, spoons, dishes, and, rarely, mortars and pestles were made of wood. Gourds provided calabash containers, spoons and ladles. Spoons were also sometimes made of horn. Cooking-pots and containers were made of earthenware.

The passage of time and the fact that most of the earliest records refer to the Xhosa, have, as has been stated, made it difficult to distinguish tribal differences that may have existed in the methods and implements of subsistence before the influx of refugee tribes from the north-east at the beginning of the nineteenth century. One cannot distinguish in the record differences in agricultural method amongst the old Cape Nguni. In animal husbandry there seems to have been a difference in that those east of the Bashee River are said to have had plenty of sheep and goats, and also fowls, while those west of the river had few sheep and goats and fowls were not mentioned.

As regards weapons, the impression one gets is that the thin, finely tapered and flexible spear-shaft was characteristic of the Xhosa and Thembu while the stouter, blunt-butted shaft was favoured by the others. Shields, too, seem to show some evidence of tribal style, with larger oval shields being characteristic of the west. But these impressions are based on a minimum of evidence.

There are still some indications of former differences in style of a few household articles. The fine, coiled basketwork of the Xhosa, Thembu and Bomvana, impervious to liquids, had disappeared by the end of the nineteenth century, having been ousted by alternative store-bought containers and introduced basketry techniques, though a rougher variety was found among the Bomvana in the 1930s. The Mpondo, Mpondomise and Xesibe used an equally distinctive coiled technique, with simple oversewing, for their beer-beakers. The woven work of the Mpondo, Mpondomise, Xesibe and Bhaca survives, though its usefulness is declining with the changing way of life of the Transkei. It is not impervious to liquids.

There are three sorts of beer-strainer, one made of sedge and straight-sewn and found throughout the area and throughout southern Africa, one woven of sedge in split-warp twine and not very common, and the third of twilled palm leaf, made and used by the Mpondo, Xesibe and Bhaca, who live near the area where the fan-palm grows. The latter type is made all the way up the eastern coastal area of southern Africa and beyond.

Pottery must originally have shown definite local styles, but by the time this survey was commenced it was not possible to find pottery at all among the Xhosa and Thembu. The few museum specimens attributed to Xhosa are very rough ware, and, considering the use that was made of baskets for holding liquids as well as solids, it seems likely that pots were used by the Xhosa for cooking only. A good series of pots was seen both among the Bomvana and the Mpondo, and a few amongst the Xesibe and Bhaca, and these showed differences in style and decoration (Shaw & Van Warmelo 1974: 137). The two latter tended to blacken their finer pots.

An influence that it is not possible at present to evaluate could be from an earlier population whom the southern Nguni overran. There is nothing to suggest this in oral history, but archaeological material is yielding dates of seventh and eighth centuries A.D.

Influences from outside have brought about great changes. The most revolutionary were in agriculture in the nineteenth century, with the introduction from the east of the iron hoe and the habit of working harder in the fields, and from the west the European hoe and the plough. The latter superseded other implements for the initial preparation of the ground and, through the use of oxen, brought men into the agricultural sphere everywhere. Soga suggests that the plough was important not only economically and socio-logically, but as regards nutrition as well, since better crops were obtained from better prepared ground. Improved agricultural method was taught first by missionaries and later by government demonstrators. Europeans also brought

in other food plants and, eventually, private ownership of land—a totally new concept.

Contact with Europeans in the west also had great influence on animal husbandry, in that the obtaining of cattle, legally or illegally, from the colonists greatly affected the Nguni strain, so much so that the latter is no longer recognizable. In addition, poultry, horses and pigs, and a new strain of sheep were obtained from Europeans. The earlier origin of sheep in the Transkei is a problem. The derivation of the two terms for sheep, *imvu* and *igusha*, suggests that sheep were obtained from Hottentots first at some distant time and again more recently.

The only non-indigenous tools appear to have come from European sources, either by inspiration, for example thatching tools and needles, or by direct purchase, for example axes, chisels, drills and knives.

There may have been a few isolated borrowings of weapons from outside before contact was made with Europeans. Bows and arrows may have been inspired by the Hottentot weapon, but the bow is really only a boys' plaything. An occasional axe of Sotho style, but said to be Cape Nguni, is preserved in museums, and the spear quiver may have been adopted from the South Sotho or may have been a local improvisation after the introduction of horses, to hold the spears when mounted. The most important introductions in this sphere were, of course, guns, gunpowder and powder-flasks from Europeans in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The introduction of fire-arms had a great influence on hunting and, together with the enormous stimulus of trade with the west in skins, horns and ivory, helped to bring about the virtual extinction of game in the area. Later government prohibition of hunting could not restore game to any importance in the economy.

It is possible that the practice of eating fish as distinct from shellfish was learnt from Hottentots and Europeans.

Outside influences are very obvious in household furniture. The sewing, as distinct from weaving, of sleeping-mats may have been taken from the Hottentots, but, later, chairs, tables, beds and bedding have been imported directly from Europeans, while clay shelves have been built into the walls of the huts.

There is nothing to show outside influence in the utensils used for food and drink before contact with Europeans, except for two items, beer-skimmers and mortars and pestles. Beer-skimmers are used only by those who are near the Natal Nguni, among whom they are in common use. The absence of special terms for mortar and pestle, such as are found in all groups of the interior, is an indication that, though now widely used, these are relatively new things among the Cape Nguni. It is suggested that they were adopted from Sotho neighbours, possibly strengthened later by European influence. The really revolutionary influence in domestic utensils came from the contact with Europeans. Starting with the three-legged iron cooking-pot, a whole range of kitchen utensils has

been introduced.

Indications of the secondary importance of agriculture in comparison with animal husbandry are the very elementary tools and methods used, and the fact that it was, at least among the Xhosa, Thembu, Bomvana, Mpondo and Mpondomise, not considered important enough for men to be involved.

Possibly the remarkable lack of tools may also be considered a characteristic of a mainly pastoral rather than a settled people, just as the great importance of weapons, especially the spear, may indicate the need for skill in protecting a people on the move. On the other hand, the fact that, at the time the first records were made, hunting appears to have been looked on rather as a sport than as a means of livelihood, suggests a certain security of life.

The extreme paucity of household furniture and the simplicity of the vessels for food and drink are pointers to a people used to moving on, as pastoralists do, and taking with them only what a pack-ox could conveniently carry. The emphasis on grinding-stones, which can usually be found locally, instead of heavy wooden mortars, which are difficult to carry, and the use of light and tough basketwork, even for liquids, suggest a people who needed to be prepared to travel light, and not to burden themselves with heavy items such as mortars and pots. The original Cape Nguni settlers would seem, therefore, at the time of their arrival, to have been only little removed from nomadic pastoralism.

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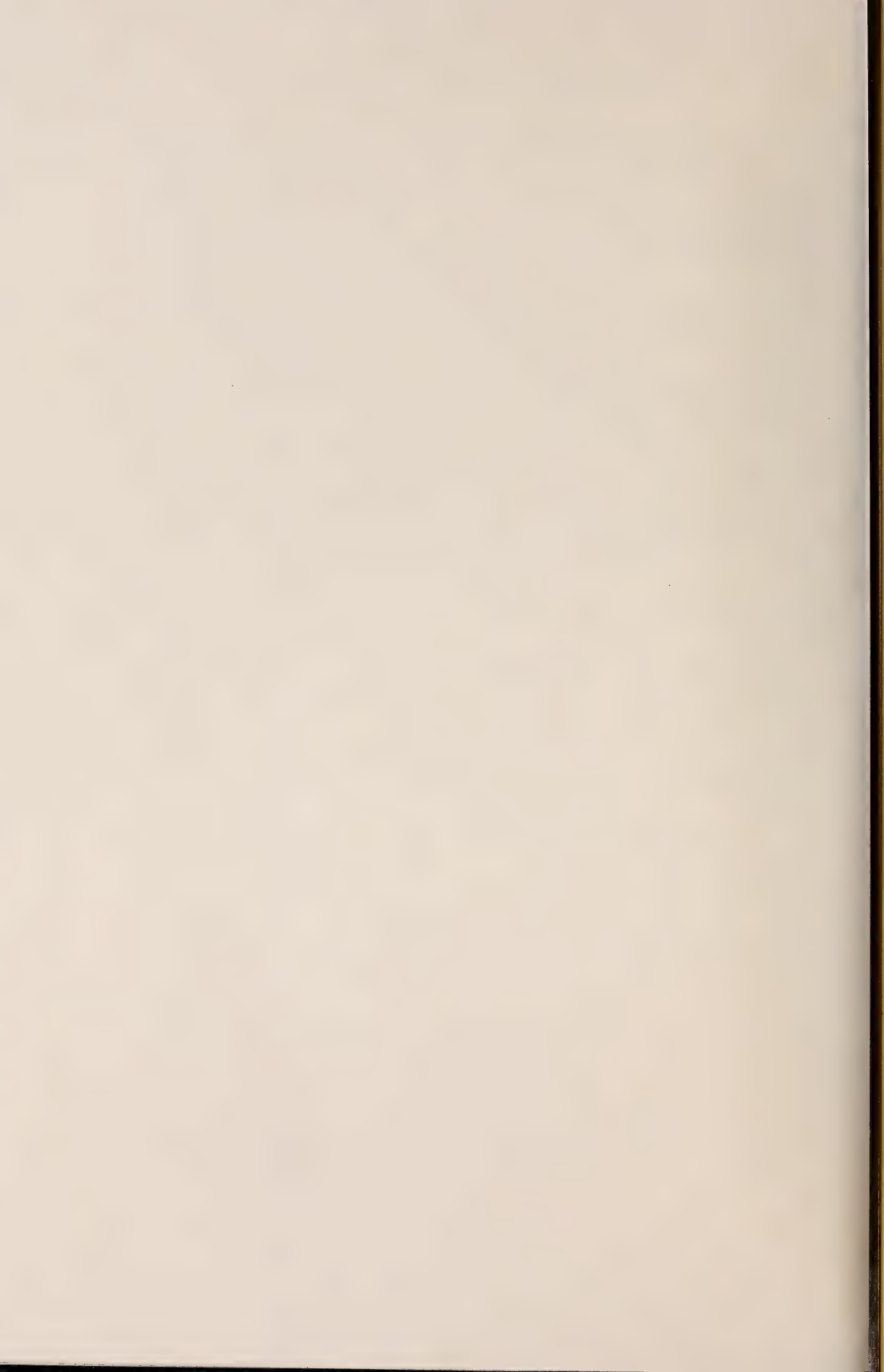
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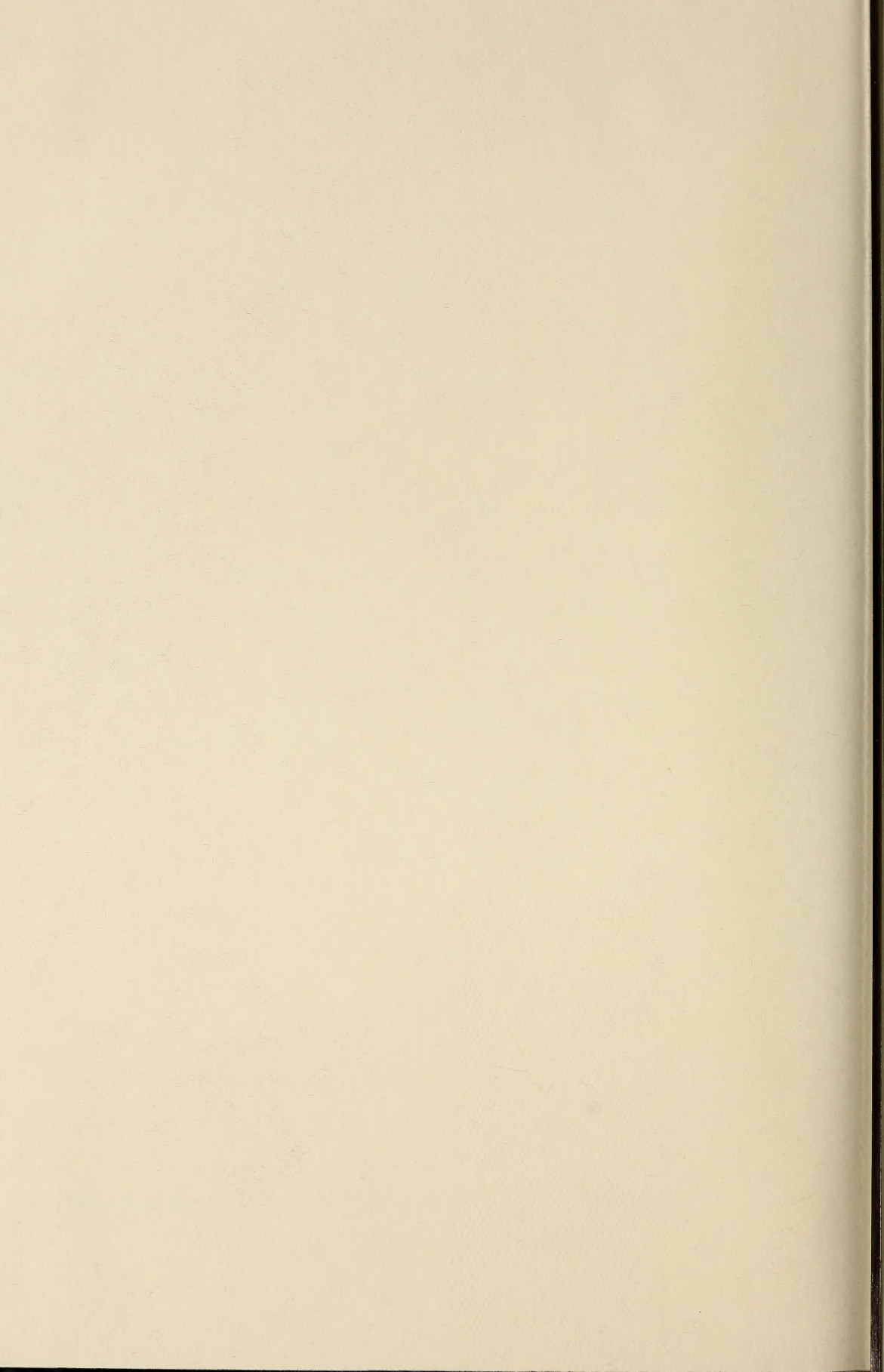
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